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INTRODUCTION.

I. MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE, 1675–1678.

In the first section of this volume the selections from the general correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond are continued from the point at which those printed in Volume III of the present series of the Ormonde Papers terminated. It will at once be noticed that although the space occupied by this section is little less than that devoted to the corresponding section of Volume III, the period embraced by the correspondence here printed is much shorter than that covered by the earlier volume. This disparity is due to two circumstances. In the first place, to the entrance of the Duke of Ormond, in 1677, on his third and last tenure of the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his consequent resumption of residence in Dublin and of direct concern with public affairs in Ireland; in the second, to the fact that the final period of Ormond's public activity attracted, as was natural, a comparatively slender share of his biographer's attention, with the result that the correspondence preserved at Kilkenny between the years 1677 and 1685 has suffered less than any other portion of the Duke's papers from Carte's liberal interpretation of the licence given him for the purposes of his book.* Of the great mass of the Ormond papers which found their way to Oxford, only those volumes of the Carte collection numbered 38, 39, 40, 45, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 216 and 217 relate to this period; and a large portion of their contents are duplicate drafts or contemporary office copies of the documents still at Kilkenny.†

The eighth and last book of Carte's Life of Ormond, which embraces the years from 1677 to the Duke's death in 1688, is, accordingly, much the shortest of the whole work; and this for obvious reasons. It deals with a period which, by comparison at least with the two earlier of Ormond's Viceregal terms, was one of civil peace and social calm. Irish affairs, which

* See the Preface to Carte's Life of Ormond, and see also the Introductions to Vols. II and III of the present series.

† See Russell and Prendergast's Report on the Carte Papers at the Bodleian Library. Oxford (Thirty-second Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Record Office, Appendix I).

during the great struggle between King and Commons in England had exerted a powerful influence on the greatest issues of British constitutional history, and which, owing to the social confusion created by more than ten years of war, and by the ensuing Cromwellian confiscations, had demanded a large share of the attention of English Ministers after the Restoration, had at the time of Ormond's arrival in 1677 resumed in a large degree their normal provinciality, and no longer provided the stage on which imperial dramas might be enacted. And although at the moment of Ormond's return there were many outstanding questions, social and financial, which demanded attention, and which the Viceroy intended and earnestly desired to deal with in the Irish Parliament, these were almost at once obscured and obstructed by the development of domestic politics in England. The orgy of religious fanaticism produced by the monstrous perjury of Oates and his fellows completely diverted the attention of ministers in both islands from the questions which most called for their solicitude. Thus it comes about that the history of Ormond's last viceroyalty is the history not so much of domestic reforms as of the repressive measures against the Roman Catholics which were loudly demanded from England and which the Irish Government were obliged to enforce. And thus it is that both the concluding portion of Carte's work and the section of the Duke's correspondence belonging to the same period are occupied with matters which, however fierce the passions they aroused, had little to do with any of the great social problems upon which the development of Irish society depended. Hence it results that the instalment of Ormond's correspondence now published is valuable rather for the light it throws on a period of violent religious excitement in Great Britain than for the information it affords on those questions of Irish administration with which we should naturally expect it to be most fully occupied.

Ormond's principal correspondents during the early years of his last viceroyalty were his two sons, the Earls of Ossory and Arran, by one or other of whom his interests were continuously represented at Court; Sir Henry Coventry, the Secretary of State, who, until 1680, was responsible for the conduct of the Irish business of the English Privy Council; Sir Cyril Wyche; Sir William Temple; the Earl of Longford; Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church; and, most important of

all perhaps, Sir Robert Southwell, Clerk of the Privy Council in England, and the intimate and life-long friend of Ormond. Southwell's letters are presented in a connected sequence in the second section of this volume, and are separately noticed in the second section of this Introduction. In Ireland Ormond's chief correspondents were two members of the great family of the Boyles. Of these, Michael Boyle, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin, appears in the character of Ormond's most active and capable assistant in the Irish Government, and Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery, in that of the severest critic of the Lord Lieutenant's official actions. Other correspondents of importance whose names occur less frequently are the Duke of Lauderdale, the Earls of Danby, Shaftesbury, Essex and Burlington, Viscount Granard, and Sir Robert Howard. The letters of Lauderdale and Granard chiefly relate to the military expedition to the West of Scotland in 1677-78; Sir Robert Howard's communications with Ormond refer, among other more official matters, to the pecuniary interests of Nell Gwyn in Ireland.

Ormond arrived in Ireland to take up the duties of the Vice-royalty with a resolution to summon a Parliament in Dublin at the earliest possible moment. No meeting of the Irish legislature had been summoned by any of his three predecessors in the Government, and eleven years had elapsed since the dissolution of the only Parliament called in Ireland during the reign of Charles II, a Parliament which had assembled during Ormond's previous tenure of power. Alike in relation to the agrarian settlement of the country, as defined by the Act of Settlement and Explanation; to the regulation of the revenue, which had for years been the source of endless difficulty and the subject of serious peculation; to the provision of adequate defences against external attack; and to the King's anxiety for an Irish subsidy; the assembling of Parliament was urgently required. Ormond lost no time in procuring the preparation and approval of the Bills to be submitted to it, of which the principal was a Bill for the Confirmation and Settlement of Estates—a measure the preparation of which caused no little excitement among all who had an interest in Irish land. It was settled that the Irish Parliament should meet in Dublin as soon as the English Parliament at Westminster should be dissolved, and

the Viceroy even got the length of suggesting the designation of Sir John Temple, the Solicitor-General, as Speaker of the House of Commons in the new Parliament, to the early meeting of which Ormond still looked forward as late as September, 1678. "The Bills in order to the calling of a Parliament" he wrote to Danby, "were transmitted the latter end of July, and though, I suppose, some time has been lost that might have been saved, yet I know not why it may not be possible to return them so that still a Parliament may be called in November to sit before Christmas.*

But the scene was quickly and gravely altered by the fever of excitement and alarm aroused in England by the pretended revelations of Oates and Bedloe and their infamous comrades in perjury. In spite of the urgency of financial matters all idea of calling a Parliament was thenceforth abandoned, and no favourable opportunity of summoning the legislature recurred during the remainder of Ormond's seven years' tenure of the Government, a period which practically synchronised with the remainder of his master's reign. The rest of the correspondence for the period covered by this Report is practically filled with communications relative to the so-called Popish Plot, and to the measures to be taken for the safeguarding of Protestant interests in Ireland. The same topics form the main burthen of the numerous letters of Sir Robert Southwell which follow the general correspondence.

Probably no one in the long list of his predecessors in the office of Lord Lieutenant had had greater experience than Ormond of one of the most difficult of all difficult positions in the service of the Crown. In his first Viceroyalty he had been called on to defend by force of arms the title of his master to the kingdom entrusted to his charge in the face of an almost universal repudiation of that title. In his second term of office he had been confronted with the impossible task of reconciling the conflicting claims of rival interests to the ownership of the soil of Ireland, and had been assigned the thankless duty of "determining which party must suffer in default of means to satisfy all." He was now in a position in which it was impossible that he could satisfy anyone. He stood alone between those who, infuriated by the inventions of the informers, clamoured for strong measures against the

* *p.* 205.

religion of the majority of his countrymen, and the unfortunate victims of their fury. But he was absolutely without support. Urged by the English Ministers at Whitehall to violent courses, for which he could see no justification, he was equally subject to incitements to the same methods from those in Ireland who dreaded a confiscation of the estates in the possession of which they had not long been quieted. While Shaftesbury declaimed at Westminster against the Lord Lieutenant's want of zeal against the Papists, Orrery was busily employed in supplying Ormond's enemies at Court with innuendoes to the like effect. Orrery, whose large interests in the South of Ireland, joined to important English connections, enabled him to exercise much influence on Ministers at Whitehall, had ever since the Restoration been openly or covertly opposed to Ormond's policy. As the principal representative of the views of the extreme Protestant party he had done his best in Ormond's previous administration to thwart all measures of conciliation, and had been largely instrumental in procuring the Lord Lieutenant's recall from Ireland in 1668. From the day when Ormond returned to Dublin in 1677 Orrery appears to have been engaged in similar intrigues with a like object. Several letters in this volume testify to the strained relations which existed between the two men; and there is an accent of bitterness seldom manifested in Ormond's letters in some of his allusions to the "Charlatan of Munster." That the Viceroy felt deeply the embarrassments created by this opposition appears very plainly in a letter addressed by him to Orrery's eldest brother, the Earl of Burlington, in which Ormond deplores both the opposition given by Orrery to the Bill for the Confirmation and Settlement of Estates and the advantage the latter had taken of Oates' plot to insinuate a want of zeal on Ormond's part for the safety of "the British interest and the Protestant religion."*

Among the earlier portions of the correspondence are several letters and documents bearing upon the rising of the Covenanters in the West of Scotland, for the suppression of which considerable reinforcements were despatched from Ireland. Throughout the reign of Charles the Second a large force appears to have been continuously maintained in Ulster; and it was from the troops stationed in Carrickfergus and other northern forts that Viscount

* *p.* 266-7.

Granard, who commanded the army in Ireland, was directed by Ormond to find a force capable of seconding the preparations made in Scotland under Lauderdale's direction to overawe the Covenanters. The communications which passed between Lauderdale and Granard and their respective subordinates afford not a few details of the condition of affairs in the West of Scotland at the commencement of that struggle with the Covenanters, which, under the successive direction of the Dukes of Lauderdale, York, and Monmouth, so long occupied the zealous energy of Graham of Claverhouse. A 'memorandum, and instructions concerning the disorders in the Western Shires' gives particulars of the arrangements made for the co-operation of the Irish with the Scottish military forces. A 'warrant for establishing a horse post between Edinburgh and Portpatrick,' together with an 'agreement for a packet boat between Portpatrick and Drogheda,' with a view to facilitating communications between Edinburgh and the North of Ireland in connection with the military preparations, are documents interesting as illustrating the cost and tediousness of postal communication between Scotland and Ireland at that period.*

A considerable, and it may perhaps be thought disproportionate share of the correspondence, is devoted to a matter which appears to have been regarded by the Government of Ireland as one of first rate importance, viz., the defence and fortification of the harbour of Kinsale. Throughout the seventeenth century Kinsale occupied a position of consequence which it can hardly be said to have since maintained. At the beginning of the century it had been the scene of the landing of the Spaniards, under Don Juan de Aquila, sent to the assistance of O'Neill, and of the prolonged siege by Mountjoy and Carew. Thither Prince Rupert had come on the morrow of the execution of Charles I with a force of sixteen frigates, and there he had proclaimed Charles the Second King with all solemnity. And at the Revolution Kinsale was the port selected by James the Second for his landing when the deposed Monarch embarked at Brest. During the frequent apprehensions of trouble with France, which marked the reign of Charles II, it was to Kinsale, in virtue of its situation and its facilities as an anchorage for a large fleet in those days, that the Irish military authorities

* *pp.* 62, 66–69, 71–76, 79, 88–89, 96, 99–100.

looked most anxiously as the most vulnerable point in their defence against possible invasion. Cork had not at that time the pre-eminence among the southern cities of Ireland which it has long since attained, nor were the great natural advantages of the harbour at the Cove, the modern Queenstown, at that time adequately appreciated.

In the earlier period of Charles' reign, and of Ormond's responsibility for the Irish Government, the importance of Kinsale had been emphatically asserted by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, a nobleman whose authority as an influential representative of the English interest in the South of Ireland was second only to that which had been exercised a generation earlier by his father, the great Earl of Cork. In 1667 steps had been taken to fortify the promontory of Rincurran, which overlooks the harbour, and "upon information that the Duke of Beaufort, Admiral of France, was preparing for a descent at Kinsale . . . . his Majesty was pleased to order the immediate construction of Chares Fort, capable of receiving 200 guns; accordingly the first stone being laid by the Earl of Orrery, and the works with all possible diligence and expedition at an expense of £80,000 completed, were planted with requisite artillery and munitions, stores, and habiliments of war provided."* Robert Southwell, father of Sir Robert Southwell, on whose property the fort was erected, was appointed Constable at the same time. By 1677, however, the works at Rincurran, which had been neglected in the interval, had fallen into great disrepair, and a complete reconstruction was found to be necessary. Large ordnance which Orrery "had got back out of his Majesty's ships and planted at Rincurran," had become unserviceable from neglect and much of their gear had been stolen.† Arrangements were accordingly made by Ormond, soon after his arrival in Ireland, for the reconstruction of the fort, and a large sum of money was provided to meet the necessary expenditure, though it was not an easy matter to raise ready money. "If but a reasonable part of what the revenue yields," the Viceroy wrote to Southwell, "had been applied to the use of the kingdom, as it might have been, we should have been in a better state than we are to resist an invasion, or suppress an insurrection; I am designing the fortifying the harbour of Kinsale, and do hope out of unbegged scraps of the revenue to

* 'Annals of Kinsale.' *See The Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale from 1652 to 1800.* Edited by Richard Caulfield *p.* li. † *p.* 103.

set to the work next month."* Ormond took a constant and close interest in the progress of the works, and himself visited the place in the course of the construction of the fort. This, however, was a protracted and apparently an ill-managed business. Though large sums were spent, the fortress can hardly have been so efficient as it was expected to be, since Thomas Phillips, reporting in 1686 on the condition of Irish fortifications, declared that "the new Blockhouse or Charles Fort, being situated on the side of a hill, can no way be made tenable without great cost and charge,"† and estimated that an expenditure of £23,000 was required to secure the place from surprise.

Among the more personal interests of Ormond at this period a considerable place was occupied by the education of his ultimate heir, the eldest son of the gallant Ossory, and afterwards 2nd Duke of Ormond. Lord James Butler‡ was in 1677 a lad of still tender years; but at a time when it was the custom to go to a university at an age not much beyond that at which a boy is now sent to one of the great public schools, the problem of the destination of a boy of fourteen was necessarily the subject of much family concern. Several letters on the question passed between the father and grandfather of the boy, for whose support Ormond appears to have undertaken to make adequate provision; and Arlington, who was married to the lad's maternal aunt, was taken into council as to the relative advantages of an education abroad under the superintendence of a governor, and residence at Oxford. It was ultimately decided to send the youth to Christ Church, where he was placed under the direct supervision of Dr. Fell, then Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, a don whose letters to Ormond and Sir Robert Southwell give a pleasant impression of his character and do something to rebut the undesirable innuendo contained in a well-known epigram. Lord James had for his college tutor the accomplished Henry Aldrich; afterwards, in his turn, Dean of Christ Church himself, and for his private tutor and governor Peter Drelincourt, subsequently Dean of Armagh, a son of the French refugee minister, whose discourse on

* *p.* 102. † Ormonde Report, Vol. II., *p.* 325.

‡ The boy is styled 'my Lord James,' and 'my young Lord' throughout the correspondence, though the heir of a nobleman bearing the courtesy title of Earl would not nowadays be so distinguished.

"Death" is curiously linked with one of Defoe's satirical pieces. Dr. Fell's letters give some insight into college life in the Oxford of that day. "The personal expenses of a nobleman here," so the Dean of Christ Church writes to Sir R. Southwell, "you fully understand from my Lord Courcy's account; the accession which will be made by the salary of the governor, the wages and diet of servants, the keeping of horses and other equipage, you will without difficulty compute, the rates of this place being much the same with London. Our accommodation for lodging is such as I think will be very convenient. For the furniture of my lord's ante-room and bedchamber I presume it may be best to send hangings from London, our rooms being so high that they will receive either six, eight, or ten foot hangings; the governor's apartment and the chambers will be best provided here. My great concern is that the servants be such whom much leisure will not spoil."* Drelincourt, as Sir Robert Southwell's letters show, did not prove the most discreet of governors, and the young undergraduate's career was not entirely free from anxieties; but Ormond's interest in his grandson's welfare was vigilant and unceasing throughout, as his correspondence in the next volume of this Report will serve to testify.

II. LETTERS OF SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL TO THE DUKE OF ORMOND, 1677–1685.

Of all Ormond's correspondents in the latter part of his long career the most intimate and confidential was his close friend and faithful supporter, Sir Robert Southwell, who during the last stage of the Duke's sojourn in Ireland was resident in England, and upon whom Ormond mainly depended for private advices of those developments of English politics which so closely affected his position as the King's representative. For such a part Southwell's official situation at this time peculiarly fitted him. He occupied the post of Clerk of the Privy Council down to the close of the year 1679, and was thus in a position to know much of what was going on among the courtiers at Whitehall, and of the intrigues of the politicians at Westminster. His frequent letters at this time, which commence directly after Ormond's arrival in Ireland, in September 1677, form a practically continuous diary of politics

* *p.* 319.

for upwards of two years. At the end of that time Southwell's resignation of his office at Whitehall, followed very shortly by his departure from London on a diplomatic mission to Berlin, removed him from the Court. The Clerk of the Council to Charles the Second was a very different person to his successor under George the Fourth, and the letters of Sir Robert Southwell have neither the characteristic cynicism nor the literary felicity which give point to the diaries of Charles Greville. But they furnish a chronicle almost as minute, and intrinsically not less scandalous. Of the general character of this portion of Southwell's letters the Memorandum on Public Affairs printed at the end of this Introduction, forms a very fair specimen.

Apart from the consideration of Ormond's personal situation, and the bearing of the movements of parties at Whitehall upon the affairs of Ireland, the main interest of the earlier portion of these letters lies in the account they give of foreign affairs, in which Southwell, who had more than once acted as a British envoy to different European Courts, was closely interested. But from October 1678 onwards, Sir Robert's letters are almost exclusively filled with the details of Oates's Plot and the proceedings in connection therewith both at the Privy Council and in Parliament. So much has been written of late years on the subject of the Plot that there is no occasion to summarise here the incidents which the correspondence now printed presents with so much detail. It cannot be said that the letters contain any new facts which sensibly modify the view which history has long since passed on the Plot and all connected with it. They do not afford, for example, any fresh clue to the mystery of the death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, whose fate has quite recently been made the subject of careful investigation by more than one writer. But students of the period will find that Sir Robert Southwell's comments on the developments of Oates's accusations as they were unfolded from day to day do much to illuminate one of the most extraordinary episodes in the history of English politics.

The letters of Sir Robert Southwell from 1677 to 1785 are scattered through Ormond's general correspondence, where they occur in their proper chronological sequence. But inasmuch as their counterpart, the letters of Ormond to Southwell between the years 1672 and 1678, have been printed consecutively in the late Sir John Gilbert's report on the Ormonde Papers (vol. II,

pp. 259-308) from a transcript preserved at Kilkenny,* it has appeared convenient to print Southwell's letters here in connected sequence as a separate section of this volume. They may thus be read consecutively and more readily compared with Ormond's replies to them.

III. OXFORD LETTERS, 1675–1684.

This section consists mainly of copies of letters of recommendation addressed by the Duke of Ormond to the governing body of the University of Oxford. They are, for the most part, in favour of persons who for one reason or another required some kind of dispensation in connection with the completion of their academic course and the conferring of degrees. They are written, of course, in Ormond's capacity as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. The volume at Kilkenny from which they are taken covers only nine out of the nineteen years of the Duke's tenure of the Chancellorship, to which he was appointed in 1669, at the instance of Archbishop Sheldon, who had resigned the office in that year, and which he held until his death in 1688. Although they are purely formal documents and cannot be said to bear upon the general history of the period within which they were written, yet they illustrate the development of the University system and its methods of government, and add some facts of interest to the history of the University of Oxford in the 17th century. A few letters of a similar character but relating to degrees in the University of Dublin, of which institution Ormond was also Chancellor, have found their way by some accident into the Oxford letters. These have been reproduced with the rest, but have been printed in italics in the Report.† One or two entries having no direct relation to either University also appear in the book‡.

IV. HOUSEHOLD CORRESPONDENCE. 1675–1684.

Besides being appointed Lord High Steward of England on the occasion of the coronation both of Charles II and James II, the Duke of Ormond held the office of Lord Steward of the Household from the Restoration until his death. The "Household

* The originals of the Duke's letters are preserved at the British Museum, among the Southwell Manuscripts, where they are catalogued as Addit. MSS. 21,484.

† See *pp.* 601, 611, 625, 634. ‡ See *pp.* 613, 617.

Letters" here printed consist of documents relating to the business of the latter office, though in the case of the "Oxford Letters" they cover only a portion of the very long period of Ormond's Stewardship. They are purely official and formal documents; but they throw considerable light on the arrangements of the Royal Household in the Court of Charles II. As in the case of the "Oxford Letters," some documents have crept into the Household volume which have no relation to the other entries in the book. These have been printed in italics in the Report.* Among them are some references to the Court of the Regalities and Liberties of Ormond's Palatine county of Tipperary.

V. IRISH WOOL LICENCES AND LICENCEES, 1678–1681.

This section contains a list of the licences issued in connection with the wool trade, and the amounts paid in respect of the same, together with the names of the licencees for the years 1678-1681. The book from which these entries are taken affords no clue to its origin, and it does not appear to what office it belonged.† It is a brief and fragmentary register, the precise form of which appears from the extract printed at pp. 665-6 of the Report. It has not appeared expedient to print the whole register in full. Its scope is sufficiently indicated by the summary of names and figures, which gives the names of the licencees and the amount paid for the licences for each quarterly period from September, 1678, to September, 1681. A "memorandum respecting wool exports," dated February 23rd, 1677-8, and printed in the first section of the Report,‡ appears to indicate that the register is a record of an endeavour which was made at this time to check the export of wool abroad, and was part of that jealousy of the Irish wool trade which throughout the seventeenth century was continuously manifested in England. The memorandum sets forth that "the mischief and prejudice done to the clothing trade of England by exporting wool from Ireland to foreign parts under the pretence of shipping it for England is great and manifest, and also the bringing from England into Ireland fuller's earth or clay under the notion of tobacco pipe clay which is brought as ballast, and as such it goes with wool to foreign parts contrary to Acts of Parliament

* See *pp.* 644, 649, 650. † *pp.* 665 666. ‡ *pp.* 116-117.

both in England and Ireland." By an Irish Act of 13 Elizabeth, cap. 2, passed in the Parliament held by Sir Henry Sidney it was felony to ship wool out of Ireland without licence. But it was alleged that notwithstanding this provision, and that the condition of such licence bound the licencee to land the wool in England only and not at any foreign port, "yet still both wool and clay are carried in great quantities for France and Holland, and certificates obtained or procured in the names of the customers that such wool was landed in England." Measures were accordingly taken for the more effectual prevention of this traffic, and it was perhaps in connection with the precautions then devised that this register of wool licences was devised.

This Report and introduction has been prepared by Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, who desires to acknowledge the assistance rendered him in the work of transcription by Messrs. J. F. Morrissey and T. J. Morrissey of the Irish Record Office. Mr. Falkiner is also responsible for the index.

Memorandum on Public Affairs,*

BY

Sir Robert Southwell.

1679, April 19.—The chief intent of this paper is to let your Grace see how the public affairs influence your own, and to make such conclusion from both as may be reasonable. There is now spread an universal demand of reformation, which the sober men limit to things moderate; but there are more who are unreasonable, and many, I fear, have no limits at all. Popery is the handle of this reformation, and the arguments deduced from it are become irresistible. And though some think all will be over in a month with the Trial of the Lords, yet others are of a different opinion. Our real insecurity as to France is dreadful unto all, and most impute our present quiet as to him but to our present divisions, which do his work at our own cost, whereas his anger might perhaps unite us. So that, while this insecurity governs, Popery must be prosecuted, which is thought a perfect limb thereof; and therefore in all probability we have many leagues to sail upon that tack.

Ill politics breed and produce ill humours among men, but when there is superadded an arrear of another nature unto Heaven, there must be a time of audit expected. If there were a due inspection, balance and discharge in this particular much might be hoped, or if a true measure were taken of the others, and the proportionable remedies in time applied, some good fruits might arise; but the fate is nothing is done till the whole College of Physicians prescribe, and which is worse, though all at length be swallowed, it seems done more to humour them than in any confidence of their physic; and the chemists who cry up and undertake extempore cures and deride all others, they are the men of value; and what this hath already done and may produce looks but melancholy. This already is most visible, that whoever is of highest estimation among the people, or in either House of Parliament, if he go or be called to secret consultation, and especially if he touch at preferment, he is immediately looked upon as a man infected and lopped off from the body where he had credit before. So that your inclination to particular ways or

* This memorandum not occurring in its natural place in the manuscripts at Kilkenny was overlooked in preparing the transcripts for the press, and is therefore printed with this Introduction.

expectation of remedy by particular men is grown impracticable. And till there be a resignation to the public sense there is no likelihood of satisfaction. And although this will doubtless prove very irksome, or may be thought also very unsafe, unless it were done with such vigour and spirit and even cheerfulness as to gain credit that none took more pleasure in it than himself, and thereby govern the opinions that are predominant, yet what other way is left I cannot imagine. For if things should break out with resentments, upon the sense and dread of what might follow (especially before many great things are reformed), there could no party be made able to look the others in the face, scarce a handful against a multitude. And this is to my apprehension the case in general.

As for the particulars to be amended, the discourse in infinite; but these are some:—

1. To secure prefixed times of Parliament, that so the Government which is tripartite may not stand on one single foot at the pleasure of a favourite.

2. To find out some expedient how to save the Protestant religion from the ruin it must have in the heir presumptive; and by how much the difficulty of barring right by laws do occur, by so much are things carried to the prejudice of *p r* (Queen); and in the meantime *l q* (Duke of Monmouth) is the favourite, and neglects none of those measures that may make him such.

3. That there may be a greater circle to the Church of England, and how far this may run to the allowing the present right of the Bishops is uncertain. They have lost ground by their contention for the Earl of Danby.

4. That the Militia of the kingdom be made formidable, the trust of them put into confiding hands, the power of them in the Crown limited to the King's life. No manner of guards but what in turns are taken from the Militia, and no other soldiers left but some in the garrisons, and special care into what hands the garrisons are trusted.

5. That great inspection be made into the Fleet and the commanders thereof; the methods of the Navy Board amended; a Lord High Admiral to be named instead of Commissioners; that somebody may be made accountable, things being now carried on as they say only by immediate orders from His Majesty to Mr. Pepys.

6. That all public money, but especially the Customs for the Navy, be appropriated to particular uses of government.

7. That the Council be reduced to such a number and so composed as not to need any Cabinet of such model as hath been before.

The present constitution in the Treasury is thought but temporary. The Earl of Essex has been wonderfully blasted by his late friends for meddling therein; but he will by degrees wear it off, and fails not in some other points to gratify them, and particularly in some of their reflections on the state of Ireland, which hath of late been made a great theme in the House of Lords; not because things are in disorder and the Government in confusion, but because they are in peace and plenty, and the office of governor thought to be a sort of Golden Fleece. Hence it is that the avarice and ambition of some give countenance to the malice of others, and their malice not being without hopes of reward is the more active and implacable. Therefore to see how things work to your Grace's detriment it may be fit to observe many things, as well remote as near at hand.

The common people of the city did not only flock to the waterside as the Lords of the Tower passed and repassed to judgment, but flocked into boats, following them with shouts and outcries, showing them halters and making of gallows; and such a noise was raised at their landing near the House of Lords that the House issued orders to the Lord Mayor and Bailiffs of Westminster to suppress such tumultuary courses; the Lord who made the motion taking notice that in case they should see any reason to free those lords upon their trials the same tumult might fall upon them. One of these shouters was brought by a constable to a magistrate in the city, who dismissed him on easy terms, being told by his friends he should have a care what he did, for that his noise might do as much good to persuade Whitehall as all the speeches in the House of Commons. So that this very dangerous symptom seems rather to have root and encouragement than to come by chance; and though it relates to the general case it is applicable to particulars as occasion shall serve.

I am told that there is a club of the different adventurers and their associates that meet in the City, where many things are brewed and fomented and prepared for the lords which desire

to speak upon the subject of Ireland, and I am assured by *n e* (Mr. Penn) in particular (and in friendship) that there is so much defamation thrown upon all the actions of *f h* (Ormond), and in particular such rage at the prodigious grants he has had from the King and the public in Ireland, that it is here in meditation by the Bill now on foot in the House of Lords to inspect his case in particular and to tear his fortune in pieces. Whether *m n* (Earl of Orrery) who is coming hither will interpose for a mitigation of this *f h* (Ormond) can best judge; or whether *p y* (Lord Ranelagh) does not make his court to *l q* (Duke of Monmouth), *r e* (Lord Shaftesbury), *h n* (Halifax), etc., (who all dined lately with him) upon this account more than any other is easy to conclude.

My Lord Roberts is now also come up, who will give in to their sense, and public fame may send him over as a strict reformer. *R e* (Shaftesbury) his business is to make as many places void as may gratify those that concur to gratify him; and so perhaps *f z* (Essex) may have Ireland held up to him for quitting pretensions here. Then others of an inferior *classis* are kept in heat and expectation (as my Lord Strafford, etc.) on purpose that they may keep the wound always open. And so little is *f h* (Ormond) secured by the favour or other considerations of *i u* (the King) that all these are the men whose favour is courted by him at any rate. And the new *q z* (Secretary) and *p b* (Duchess of Portsmouth) are the hands that would pull them in and do negotiate reconciliation, in hopes thereby to save their estates, which in the end will certainly fail them.

It was lately said that the Lord Rochester, having a mind to be Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, had got some adherents to prepare articles against the Lord Ranelagh; but your Grace knows how many ways this noble lord can turn to defend a blow. But if it be true that in four new articles against the Earl of Danby he is also involved, he may feel the weight of a secret committee and the angry members of the House of Commons who are appointed to prosecute this great Earl, who hath at last delivered himself up to a trial. And this is the matter which many think will make the public case much worse. For as he has already at the Bar of the Lords imputed his withdrawing to those powerful causes which he could not resist, and which his friends publicly own was by the King's command twice repeated, so he may for

his defence involve the King in such things as may make all wish he had been at Japan.

But to return unto your Grace's concern. You have already heard how warm the Lords were for passing a law here for the binding of Ireland, what reflections have passed on Colonel Fitzpatrick and his grant of quit-rents, and how much you suffer upon this account. Besides which it is ripped up how he was sent over to justify the late Bills transmitted; and he was the man who negotiated with *f i* (Duke of York) all the matters of *f h* (Ormond) his going for Ireland, gaining thereto Coleman and the Lord Arundel and what not? And that *f h* (Ormond) having on this score entered reconciliation with his mortal enemies *f o* (Dick Talbot) etc. what is he not to do in recompense to *f i* (Duke of York), who is here become so lost a *p f* (Prince) that nobody in office stands safe who can be supposed to have gratitude towards him. This is the thing that boils, and hence *l q* (Duke of Monmouth) takes a sensible part in his remembrance of what hath passed. It is true that the elder brother* of *m n* (Orrery), who hinted to me the said matters of *g i* (Col. Fitzpatrick), seemed to hope that things would go smoother as to *f h* (Ormond), and that laws for Ireland may yet run in their former channel and not be made here, which also *p* (Earl of Anglesey) seems to believe. And *r e* (Shaftesbury) having been kindly expostulated withal by *c e* (Lord Chancellor) did declare that he had no pique to *f h* (Ormond), and would even be answerable that not only his friends should find it, but that he would have some hand upon his own that they should not run farther than he intended. And the same *r e* (Shaftesbury) hath also had some fair discourse with *m o* (Ossory), who showed him his hand given (when one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury) in favour of *g i* (Fitzpatrick) his quit-rents, which report *r e* (Shaftesbury) desired to keep by him for a few days, and did further own that he was prepared to fall foul on Justin M'Carty, who the braver man he was the more he feared him. But *m o* (Ossory) hopes he has prevailed to stay that storm by alleging that Justin is now going to be Major-General to the King of Denmark, and it might only serve to ruin his fortune. But whether a few good words from this gentleman are able to conjure down all the spirits that are raised, and raising, I have some doubt. So that looking on the public

* Viz., Richard Boyle, 1st Earl of Burlington.

and private state of things I did, tho' with sorrow enough, wish to *m o* (Ossory) and *c c* (Lord Chamberlain) that *f h* (Ormond) were fairly rid of that envied station. *M o* (Ossory) was somewhat of the same mind, but *c c* (Lord Chamberlain) rather wished that *i u* (the King) would be induced to send for him hither to fight both their battles, and to send *m o* (Ossory) to that place, as formerly hath been; though at the same time *c c* (Lord Chamberlain) did own that when this was proposed to *i u* (the King) about three weeks ago there was no great notice taken of it. I told *c c* (Lord Chamberlain) that having tried that experiment so long ago and things growing daily worse, I was very much afraid that *f h* (Ormond) might be jostled out indecently, either by revocation in preference to some other, which would contract a cloud from *i u* (the King) or by the violence of some malicious accusation, where tho' nothing could follow but the trouble, charge and vexation, yet considering how many hands would be more or less necessary to it, it would in this time at least be thought expedient to send a fresh man, and so *f h* (Ormond) be left without reparation. Wherefore to the degree that either of these are probable, so has he reason to steer. And, if it should come to plain desponding of any good event, then it were most advisable to meet the blow, and by writing in time to *i u* (the King) to desire him to do therein what he thought fit, and then in such a case there might be this further step that the person most likely to have it (as perhaps *h n* (Lord Halifax) might have his first intimation from *f h* (Ormond) of a concurrence to make his access to it easy in preference to any other, since it will import much more at all times to have an obliged than an angry successor. But notwithstanding I did object to the expedient of *c c* (Lord Chamberlain), that when it were known (if leave could be got) that *f h* (Ormond) was coming this way to fight his own battle, and might give jealousy to all the parties (unconcerned in him) of his capacity to change the present mind and softness of *i u* (the King) towards them, they might probably unite against him to a man and give him a heavy task; whereas if they said that he only minded his peace then all might look smooth and calm. Yet *c c* (Lord Chamberlain) stands firm to his expedient, and that friends here might move for it as they see the world wag and fit disposition towards it; and that *f h* (Ormond) ought himself to write a letter here to *i u* (the King) to this effect to

help open the way when it shall be thought a fit season to present it. And thus your Grace has a view of our things and of our thoughts, and it is possible that every day may present a new scene to heighten or abate our fears. But the best will always help itself.

I could wish that *g i* (Fitzpatrick) would be persuaded to go and travel with what speed he can. For if it be left to your Grace to clap up suspected persons and your Grace leave him out there will be a cry raised upon it. And if the Irish business be handed among the Commissions after the Lords are weary of it, 'tis not like to fare much better; and as *f h* (Ormond) has imputation enough on this account, so *c e* (Lord Chancellor) much more, it passing current that *g i* (Fitzpatrick) has over him an ascendant in all things. And I am afraid that a petition of Barrett's, lodged as I hear in the House of Lords by way of appeal, will bring some trouble to him. So that I do not only wish that *g i* (Fitzpatrick) were in his travels, but that his grant of quit-rents were vacated by his own resignation thereof unto His Majesty, and to be so signified immediately by your Grace to prevent any more reflections, or a rougher way of rending that business, which will certainly be broken in pieces.

CORRECTION.

The letter from the Duke of Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry, printed at pp. 123–125, and dated March 1, 1677-78, was transcribed in error from a misdated copy in the collection at Kilkenny. The letter will be found under its proper date at pp. 132–133.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE

MARQUESS OF ORMONDE, K.P.,

PRESERVED AT

KILKENNY CASTLE.

LORD CLARE to the DUKE OF ORMOND.

1675-6, January 15. Hague.—I think it a long while since I had the honour of kissing your Grace's hand, but it was some satisfaction to me to have my Lord Ossory here these six weeks past to wait on him. Upon Sunday in the afternoon they sailed from the Brill, and the Prince went almost out of sight of land with them, having that day dined aboard their yacht. I hope they are landed ere this in England, the weather being very fair. Admiral Tromp went with my Lord Ossory to see the King. It is certain that Brisak is relieved by Monsieur Turenne, and some say the Confederates are beaten, at least they retired. We are preparing of some troops to stop the Swedes from overrunning the Elector of Brandenburgh's Country, where he is now entered with an army of 18,000 men and a great train of artillery.

I am, my Lord, with all duty and imaginable affection,
Your Grace's, etc.

Copies des lettres de Milord Clare à D. Michel de Morales traduites del'Espagnol.

1675-6, January 15. Hague.—J'espere que lundy sur le soir, vous serés arrivé à Londres, et que vous n'aurés point perdu du temps, hier j'eus lettres qu'un Comte est venu d'Irlande en cette cour là et qu'il traitte pour ce trouppeau. mais je croy que de sa bonne volonté il ne trouvera point d'autre qui l'achete.

Nostre traitté ne se doit pas emporter par débats ny par opiniatreté et ainsy si vous voyés qu'il se fait quelque deliberation ou scrupule là dessus ne poursuivés plus ny pour vostre

vie nelevés la poussiere, mais trouvant seureté de vos deux marchands que l'on pourra se fier entierement à l'entremetteur. Je serai bien aise que devant eux vous preniés avec luy une conference de tout, et il ne faut point douter que je n'en tire les vaches encore qu'il auroit mille Acts de Parliament contre cela, parceque asseurement le Roy ne s'en faschera point contre moy puisque. Je scay bien que cette prohibition estoit plus du goust d'un party du Parliament que de celuy de S. Majeste, et si en cette conference vous ne voyés clairement que l'on atteindra au but que l'on se propose, quittés le tout a fait, puisque par la faveur de Dieu nous nous passerons bien d'Eux. J'espere que vous m'ecrivéz avec tous les couriers et que vous serés fort exact.

L'on dit que le Comte de Hamilton est venu en cette cour là pour lever des gens en Irlande; ecrivés moy ce que vous en apprendrés, ou de Milord Douglas, avec tout ce qui se passe en cette cour sans perdre d'ordinaire.

J'ay dormy cette nuit avec Milord d'Ossory à bord de son Jacht, et le dimanche au soir ils firent voile, vous devés donner Yacht, et le dimanche au soir ils firent voile, vous devés donner à entendre au troisième marchand que ce n'est pas l'interest du Comte que vous poursuiviés vostre proposition et ainsy que vous ne la communiquiés ny à luy ny à personne si ce n'est à son maistre.

Vous pouvés dire au Grand Chambellan que j'envoye communiquer à S. Excellence l'affaire, et prenés le temps propre pour luy monstrer le papier, mandés moy reponce sans delay puisque vous scavés que l'on ne doit pas differer et que j'ay besoin de songer à mes affaires icy, et ainsy vous tascherés de scavoir du troisieme marchand ce qu'il dit ouy ou non sans perdre un moment, et qu'il n'y ait plus de paroles de cela; le pasturage du trouppeau à destre aussi bon quon le donne à aucun d'Angleterre tant boeufs que vaches. Dieu vous garde.

2nde Letter:

1675, January 22. Hague.—Don Michel: le Prince portit ce soir pour la Gueldre, et moy je demeure esperant vostre lettre toutefois, Jay envoyé mes chevaus au quartier, et tous les soldats sont bien logés là, Je suis dans le mesme estat que vous m'avés laissé et je ne dois me presser pour rien esperant de bonnes nouvelles de ma femme et de mon navire.

Depechés le plutot quil sera possible la reponce de ce dont je vous ay chargé observant ce que je vous ecrivis dans ma derniere de n'elever pas la poussiere, et que vous consultiés avec un marchand drapier dans la rue del'Eglise de St. Paul al'enseigne du lut et du toñ, Monsieur Bédoingfield,* comment habiller les soldats ou le meilleur marche quil donne des draps de couleur orangée et des deschausses bleus, je luy ay escrit cela en particulier ici l'on a acheté pour 22 francs chaque habit outre les souilliers une chemise baudrier et bandonliere, etc.

* Brother of Sir Henry Bedingfield, a close friend of Jeffreys.

Chaque jour me paroit un mois jusqu à ce que j'auray receu vostre lettre et nouvelles de la jeune fille, je ne me puis resondre de sortir d'îcy jusqu alors encore qu'il m'importeroit d'accompagner son Altesse à son voyage.

Dites à mon Cousin Al: qu'il vienne icy au plutot quil pourra avoir soin de sa compagnie et de son Regiment son valet de la vallin de Magennis luy a derobé cent Ducatons et tout son linge, s'il a esté entre ceux à la Brille Je ne scay si on l'attrapera. Capt. Lee* est venu icy et s'en retourna ce matin avec une Commission de commander les quatre compagnies qui sont avec Jario Smit est Lieut.-Coll. de Lilleston et Auselm de Disni, Bellos et Salsbury Mayores, le tout va presentement beaucoup mieux et pour vostre vie ne laissés pas de m'écrire de tous les ordinaires de ce qui se passe en cette Cour.

Suit icy un postcript.—J'ay grand besoin de vostre reponce je sortiray de tout comerce avec ces gens icy si vous reuissés dans vostre dessein.

Tous nos hauts officiers s'attachent a cette heure a moy et disent que si je n'estois icy qu'ils ny trouveroient rien d'avantageux, etc., puisque aussy bien ceux qui sont encore sur pied que ceux qui sont reformés ont peine d'estre satisfaits de leur ordonnances sur la Prov. de Zelande et beaucoup d'autres choses.

3*e Lett.*

1675-6, February 4.—Aujourd'huy j'arrivais icy dela Prov. d'Utrecht où j'ay laissé son Asc. a la chasse dans le plus beau pais que j'ay jamais vû et particulierement mon palais sur le bord de la riviere du Rhin, et je me contente fort de ce que vous me mandés et nous nous divertirons bien en ce pais cy encore que ces messrs. meprisent le service, Le Prince me donna hier des ordres pour le retour de trois compagnies qui sont avec Majr. Fario, devant estre logés dans Amersford qui est un beau lieu ou l'on donne des logements à tous les soldats, J'ay envoyé l'ordre, par le Capt. Lee qui me paroit bon garçon, je parleray avec Levi de ce que vous m'ecrivés.

Demain j'auray ma Patente et prendray le serment de servir fidellement aux Etats, et suivray le Prince en Gueldre; mais je vous ecriray plus au large avec le courier de mardy et que vous n'oubliés pas de me donner de tout ce que se passe en cette Cour et de levées Francoises en Irlande j'envoyeray aujourdhuy la lettre a vostre Lieut., la compagnie c'est en très bon estat, il luy manque seulement douze hommes.

Envoyés moy la reponce de Beddingfield touchant les habits j'en ecris aussy a mon Lieut.-Coll. de chercher qui les vend à meilleur marché et de me le faire savoir puisqu'il ne magree pas j'en pourray trouver icy qui les habilleront, Representés à Milord O'Brien and a tous le bien que moy et nous autres trouverons icy, j'espere neantmoins de tirer des gens de là

* Perhaps Andrew Lee, who was later Lieutenant-Colonel of Clare's Regiment in the Irish Brigade.

encore que je me sois estably en ce service, je serois bien aise que les lettres que j'ay escrites à mon Cousin fussent brulées et prenés le pouvoir et les instructions que je vous ay données dans vostre maison, et dites luy qu'il sera bon de les bruler toutes et que pour luy donner satisfaction vous les prenés de luy pour les bruler en sa presence.

Escrivés moy par les ordinaires de ce qui se passe en cette Cour, et ce que vous pourrés scavoir du gouvernement et des amours puisque le Prince sera bien aise de le scavoir et il n'est pas necessaire que vous fermiés vos lettres ny que vous usiés de ceremonties. L'on dit icy que le Comte d'Arlington va gouverner l'Irlande et plusieurs autres choses.

Les Estats nous donnent des armes et a ceux qui les acheterent on leur rendra l'argent cela avec les habits est de quelque consolation au pauvres capes, avec tout ce que le monde dit du mauvais traittement des soldats icy nous nous y trouverons tres bien et la faute a esté aux ignorants qui sont venu icy sans faire des conditions.

Le 4 de Feb., 1675.

Ce qui suit est un PS.:

Aujourdhuy j'ay parlé à Levi et je t'ecriaray avec ce courier sur cet affaire, vous dirés a mon Cousin qu'il m'envoye l'ordre du Roy par une lettre du Secretaire pour solliciter cet argent, puis vous pouvés luy dire de vous meme qu'il ne seroit pas bien que je m'opposasse aux interests du Prince, sans que le Roy me le comondât en m'envoyant sa lettre au Prince et aux Etats et lettres del Ambassador van Beuning au Pensionaire Monsieur Fagel, et de cette maniere je solliciteray l'affaire ainsy qu'il aura son effet et Levi trouvera caution de l'Etat pour l'argent, en echangant la proprieté de la debte avec celuy qui avancera l'argent, encore que dans trois ans il ne le recevroit pas del Estat.

Et j'ay accordé avec quelqu'un pour habiller le regiment a 22 francs par soldats chemises et tout puisqu'il sera trop tard de l'esperer de delà, venque. Je croy que nous marcherons de bonne heure en Campagne ou au moins jusqu'en Brabant.

Ayés soin que le Lieut.-Coll. vous envoye quelque garcons a vos compagnies, Amsterdam sera le meilleur endroit pour les debarquer, ce n'est pas plus de cinq heures de son quartier Amersford, J'ay perdu l'adresse que vous m'avés donnée à celuy que vous scavés et ainsy envoyées moy un autre puisque j'ay brulées vos lettres sans me souvenir de l'addresse.

4e Lett.

1675-6, February 12.—Don Michel: j'ay receuës toutes vos lettres et cette derniere du 9 de ce mois, et moy je n'ay pas manqué de vous escrire presque à tous les jours des postes depuis que vous estes party dicy.

Monsieur Levi a donné les ordres necessaires pour traitter avec mon Cousin, may aussy je vous ay ecrit affin que l'on envoyât ordres pour le solliciter, et je m'oblige qu'il tiendra

son effet, puisque Levi estant content il avancera six mille livres et trouvera le reste a Amsterdam pour le payer incontinent à mon Cousin moy obtenant des Etats qu'ils en fassent leur propre debte avec les Juifs ce que je feray indubitablement, si le Roy me le commande par son secretaire de le solliciter, m'envoyant en mesme temps des lettres du Roy Aux Etats et au Prince leur faisant connoistre le dessein de payer cet argent à mon cousin et en faisant quelque compliment au Prince, et mon Cousin aussy m'ecrivant instamment que je le sollicite puisque sans tout cela je ne dois point me mesler des affaires qui ne servient pas du goust de son Altesse.

Il n'y a rien de nouveau depuis ma dernière si ce n'est que tout va bien icy, et que presentement il n'y a point dans le monde des soldats qui sont mieux traittés que les nostres. Je vay demain suivre son Altesse en Gueldre et encore que vous ne recevrés pas de mes lettres par tous les ordinaires vous ne devés pas pour cela laisser de m'escroire toutes les fois. Je trouveray icy des habits pour le Regiment puisqu'il est trop tard de les attendre de Londres.

Dites a la fille que je luy baisse les mains divertissés vous bien avec elle puisque vous en souffrirés assés en retournant à l'armée, encore que chez l'Ambassadeur on commence me semble a se repentir qu'ils vousont laissé partir d'icy nous avons beaucoup parlé de vous et L'Ambassadeur mesme me parla beaucoup et qu'il vous ecriroit, etc. Je n'ay plus du temps à vous dire d'avantage.

J'ay receues lettres de ma femme et mon navire est à Roterdam

5eme. Lett.

1675-6, February 6-15.—Don Michel : j'ay receué la vostre du 12 de ce mois vous vous estes bien conduit en toutes choses. Je n'attendois rien moins de vostre prudence, la verité est que ce cousin a beaucoup d'un fou et maintenant qu'il a brulé les papiers, vous bruleres aussy bien ceux que je vous ay donnés ils. S'en repentiront comme je croy plus que nous autres, j'ay deja parlé au Prince touchant les levées qu'ils font pour la France encore qu'il soit en Gueldre, et que je me suis arresté icy pour depescher les habits mais aujourdhuy. Je vay voir les gens en leurs quartiers et a suivre son Altesse, vostre Lieut. a receu del argent ces jours passés et la compagnie est en bon estat, Je ne scay comment me defaire de l'Enseigne, le Secretaire me l'ayant recommendé et L'Ambassadeur icy, toutesfois je seray bien aise de trouver quelque moyen pour cela. Ils nous donnent sans doubte les armes a la depense del Etat et l'on rendra l'argent a vous autres qui les avés deja achetés, La somme de 8400 francs. Nous est donne pour habiller le Regiment mais cela. N'est pas si prest pour satisfaire à quelque marchand à Londres qu'il nous voudra donner des habits puisque l'on fait icy difficulté d'accepter la lettre d'Echange et l'envoyant aussy. Je ne pretend pas de vous lasser d'avantage de ces marchands encore que nous ne trouverons point de si bon drap icy, mais ils seront

tres propres en casaques de couleur orangée tirant sur l'or, et fourrees de bleu beaucoup de boutons d'argent des hautes deschausses et des bas d'angleterre tous bleus et des chappeaux avec des galons du bleu et d'orange et des grands bandriers fort larges. Lavallin est en rage pour s'en retourner à Londres et plusiéurs autres Capitaines souhaitent de mesme. Le Regiment de Collier est sur la repartission de Zelande avec celuy de Disni mais tout se paye bien et toutes nos compagnies sont fortes peu nous manque à chacun excepte Lavallin qui n'a pas cinquante hommes mais mesme entre ceux là plusieurs Anglois qui sont icy sur le pied libre. Le Comte de Hovory se va marier avec la Comtesse de Dona. L'on nous donne pour acheter des drappeaux, et l'on nous donne 90 francs pour acheter des charrettes et trois francs par jour au Capitaine pour nourir ses chevaux ne manqués pas de m'ecrire toutes les semaines.

Levi a dejà donné son pouvoir à un autre pour traitter del affaire comme j'espere que vous aurés deja vû et l'aurés negocié conformement a ce que le dit Levi et moy avons marqué. J'ay recuës lettres de ma femme et de mon vaisseau arrivé en Zelande. J'espere que le Grand Chambellan se trouve bien et avec beaucoup de santé.

Endorsed in another hand 'sans nom'

Il y a encore une lettre mais qui ne parle que de l'affaire de Levi et de son cousin pour la sollicitation del'argent que Messrs. les Etats devoient au Roy et elle est sans date et sans nom.*

Countess of Arran† to Earl of Arran.

1675-6, January 22.—My dearest, My mother, Jugg, and my selfe are here waitting in ye dineing room for ye arrivall of Comte Hamilton, soe I cou'd not goe up for gilt paper, soe I am faine to make use of John's. He burns to writte to your Lordship. Ye children are well, only Jeamy hath a litle cold and is something out of order. I desire you to send 6 bottles of white Muskidine or old Malega to baithe ye litle childe's leggs to strengthen them. Ye Monsieurs are now come and say you intend to come backe soone. I hope you brother's businesse will quickely be at an end, and if my deare Lord will but remember a litle of his own concerns then I hope we shall meett merryly. I am, my dearest, Yours, D.A.

Postscript.—My mother presents her service to you.

Sir William Temple to Ormond.

1676, January 24, S.N. Hague.—I received this week the honour of two letters from your Grace by Captain Lee and another gentleman, but both upon the same subject,

* Endorsed :—*Copies of the Lord of Clare's written to D. Michel de Morales in the year 1675, translated out of Spanish into French.* The orthography of the original has been followed in these transcripts.

† Dorothy, daughter of John Ferrers of Tamworth, second wife of Richard, Earl of Arran. See Vol. III. of this Series, p. 452.

which was that of their late misfortune here, which I thought a very great one, since I began to believe it undeserved. It seems to appear so now by the confession of Captain Platt and the flight of Captain La Valyn, their two accusers, of whom I am forced to believe more ill upon this occasion than I could have imagined mankind capable of, which was by forging accusations upon counterfeited letters to offer at taking away, not only the employments and honours, but the lives of several gentlemen, only to advance one of them to be major and revenge the other upon some little quarrel between them. The Prince himself confesses he believes this forgery, which is come out within these ten days, and so not unseasonably for these gentlemen's coming over; yet his Highness says he is sure there was intelligence between some officers of that regiment and the garrison of Maastricht, and that a troop of horse from thence attended them several days in their march, so that, though Mr. Skelton spoke to him from the King, yet I found he was unwilling to give them a discharge in the usual and honourable terms they desired, but said if they would have a trial by a Council of War they should. What the gentlemen have by Mr. Skelton's advice resolved on I cannot tell, having not seen them since. He left this place upon his journey towards Vienna, but that day Captain Lee dined with me, and seemed unresolved what to desire. When I hear further of him I shall do him any service I can, both from the opinion of his innocence and from the very great deference I shall ever have for any of your Grace's recommendations; otherwise I avoid concerning myself in anything that passes among these troops as having been levied without His Majesty's permission and in a measure against his commands, and thereby lying out of the protection of his Ambassador here. I am very sorry to find what your Grace is pleased to tell me of your ignorance in some of those things which pass here and seem to concern you so much, yet I doubt not but you know as much of them as you desire. I am sure your Grace has as much part as you please in all my despatches to the Secretaries from hence, finding they are still communicated to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and the resolutions upon them taken there, which makes me not trouble your Grace with accounts of matters already known. I will only say that upon the whole matter the Campaign seems to go on as fast as the Treaty, on all hands, and if it begins before the other ends, I believe the Prince of Orange will certainly bring it to a battle, and that must give measures afterwards. I beg your Grace's pardon for this interruption, and you believe that I am ever with equal passion and truth, your Grace's, etc.

THOMAS WHARTON to ORMOND.

1675-6, February 17. Edlington in Yorkshire.—The last post I had notice of my Lord John's happy marriage, and

addition of honour by the King's bounty, in both which I thus soon congratulate your Grace, and am, I think, as much delighted in both as those that may say most to your Grace upon that subject. I hope that you will not now repent that my Godson has not married sooner, since he has stayed to so good purpose, and that your Grace will now find him what I always hoped and expected, a serious young person when it would become him to be so, which from this time forward I presume he will, and am confident your Grace will have great comfort in him. I am sure I wish it, and that your Grace may have all the happiness imaginable long continued to you and yours. Your Grace has sometimes been inquiring of me whether I was like to be a grandfather, therefore I now acquaint your Grace that we have a young Thomas, who I hope may live to have the same affections for the serving of yours, that I am sure the old Tom has to that honour both to your Grace and yours.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1675-6, March 13. Duncannon.—I gave you an account in my last that notwithstanding my Lady Donegall* was then in an angry fit, I sent your letter to her in hopes that it might appease her. What concerns my sister since her coming to Kilkenny I know my mother gives you constantly an account of. My nephew and mother-in-law got safe here on Saturday last, and this air has already wrought a great amendment in James which makes me keep him here, though the wind is contrary, and like to continue so until after the full. My mother had sent her coach to Ross to carry him back again, but the surgeon informing me that such a journey by land would do him a great deal of prejudice, I sent back the coach. Besides, if my mother-in-law goes back to Kilkenny, we shall never get her here again.

The discourse I have had with the officers has wrought some good, for their companies already appear much fuller than they did.

I believe if you would make Gowran part of what you will settle upon my brother, the mother would be sooner reconciled, and it would very much please my sister. My uncle Matthew says it's worth about 3*l.* per annum.

Same to Same.

1676, March 25. Kilkenny.—My mother commanded me to write this and give you my sense of my brother John's condition as to his health, which truly I should not have given you else, since I can give no better a one than that I take him to be in danger of a deep consumption, if he is not in one already. My opinion is that a speedy

* The mother of the lady whom Lord John Butler had just married. See Vol. III. of this Series, pp. 342, 364-5.

journey into France is the only way left for his recovery. The difficulty my mother is under now is how to find a fit person to go along with him, for his disease has made him so peevish to his servants that they dare not speak to him. She desires you would think of somebody and send your answer with all convenient speed. I find Tom Fairfax will not be proper.

We are afraid that next post we shall hear that Abel Ram's English correspondent is broke; if so I shall break; but I am of a less desponding humour than my uncle Mathew, and therefore hope that I shall neither receive or have occasion to write any more letters upon such melancholy subjects.

Henry Nowell* to Ormond.

1676, March 29th. Castletown, Isle of Man.—Having formerly made bold (by letter) to beg the favour of my Lord of Derby to give me leave to come over for England now, against his Lordship's happy arrival there from his prosperous travels, to pay him that part of my duty I am happily obliged unto, and having as yet received no return of his Lordship's good pleasure therein, which I believe the want of a convenient opportunity hath occasioned, and now in regard the season cometh on: I am therefore emboldened to beg that honour from your Grace to grant me your favour to come over for England for the space of two months only, which, besides the discharge of the duty incumbent, will be of great furtherance (I hope) to recover me of my health, that I have much wanted, both this winter and spring, and during my absence I have pitched upon Receiver Stevenson to be my deputy, whom I nothing doubt but he will with much ability discharge the place till I return, so that your Grace may be favourably pleased to grant your approbation of the same, the which I humbly crave by the first return. It having pleased God to remove the former falconer, Thomas Norris (whereof I formerly gave your Grace intimation), and there being none as yet deputed in the place, and also the season of the year now requiring the usual care and providence to be taken of the falcons about the island, and lest that any inconveniency might arise either to the hawks themselves, or to the deterring of them from the places where they accustom to resort, by shooting about those places which now requireth a restraint, I have therefore for the preservation of my honourable Lord's game, made bold to employ one Richard Parker in the service, until your Grace's or his Lordship's pleasure should be declared therein, allowing him for his pains and care therein such reasonable fee as his good service from time to time shall demerit. And I cannot also omit but give your Grace an account that there is of late an eagle coming into this isle, which is a fowl that very seldom (and scarce in an age) cometh here, it being a place where never any such birds

* Governor of the Isle of Man, 1673-1677.

useth to breed, and that there is all possible care taken for to preserve her here, it being observed to be very lucky when any such is seen in the island.

JAMES KEARNEY to EARL OF ARRAN.

1676, April 19.—My Lord, I received your Lordship's of the 14th, with the enclosed petition of the prisoners.

As for Edward Butler, he was convicted of treason, but was reprieved, and procured his pardon; the fees due to the officers of him were reduced to £1 16s. I have last week given him a year's time for the payment of it, he giving security.

Gerald McShane was four times indicted for stealing of cows and sheep, was found guilty of three of the causes, and saved by the benefit of clergy; and at the request of several of the country, who represented him to be a notorious thief, the rule was that he should enter security for his good behaviour, or transport himself; and when others under the same rule were content to transport themselves, he refused to go, and so continues in gaol; the fees due of him to the ordinary and the rest of the officers are £3 16s.

Teige Harney was indicted for burglary and felony, acquitted of the burglary, but found guilty of the felony, and saved by clergy; his fees to the ordinary and officers 20s. 6d.

John Ryan, indicted of felony and acquitted, but, being represented to be a notorious thief, the same rule was left upon him as upon Gerald McShane, and he refused to transport; his fees 14s. 9d. William Oge Burke, acquitted of felony, reputed to be a great thief; his fees 14s. 9d. Philip Lenan, found guilty of petty larceny; his fees 14s. 9d.

James Purcell, indicted several times of several offences, as burglary, felony, etc., but acquitted; yet being represented by the country as a bad member, he is to enter security for the good behaviour, and to appear next assizes; his fees £3 5s. John Carroll, the like rule; his fees 14s. 9d. William Spellane, acquitted of felony; his fees 14s. 9d. Philip Ryan, acquitted of several felonies; his fees £1 9s. 6d. Teige Kenny, knew none such in gaol, but will inquire. Nicholas Stevens, acquitted of felony; he is presented by the Grand Jury to be of bad fame, and therefore is to enter security to appear next assizes, and in the interim to be of good behaviour; his fees 14s. 9d. Dermot Banane is set at liberty. Thomas Low; none such in gaol. Terence Doherty, being of ill fame, is to be sent to the house of correction to work till next assizes. Walter Sinnur, he and Gerald Sinnur (I think Walter's father), severally indicted for felony; Gerrott found guilty, but saved by benefit of clergy, and Walter acquitted. At the special instance and engagement of Walter, Gerrott was set at liberty, to bring in the officers fees in all £2 5s., for which he stands committed.

I understand that eight of the said prisoners agreed with a lieutenant of the regiment of the Duke of Monmouth to transport with him to France, but am not yet certain which of them goes.

The course I always take at the end of every assizes is to learn which of the prisoners are absolutely poor, and unable to pay their fees, and such I discharge; and for such as pretend to be unable when I find they have goods in the country, and friends to be bound for them, I offer them their liberty, they giving me security to pay their fees within a year, or half a year, more or less, as I see their condition; for at the end of every assizes I pay the Attorney General, Marshal, and Criers fees for them, though I may never receive it from most of the prisoners. And I never leave in gaol any for fees but such as I find sufficient evidence that they are able to pay it, and if I should set all at liberty that pretend to be poor, as I did (I assure your Lordship) more than any four, I believe, of the like employment in Ireland, I contract the cry of the country upon me that such lenity doth increase thievery; their fees bring the greatest punishment of most of them. The calendar book of the last assize shall be copied out, and sent by the next conveniency to your Lordship or Mr. Smith, and whatever your Lordship is pleased to direct about the prisoners shall be dutifully observed.

EDWARD NELTHORPE to GEORGE MATHEW.

1676, May 2. London.—I shall ever preserve a grateful sense of those noble favours you are pleased to heap upon me. All your civilities command my observance and resentment. But you have lately outdone my hopes, surprising me with that public and generous act, the patronising a concern which some envied and others undermined. Could I forget or despise so much goodness, I were the unworthiest person alive. But sir, the necessity of my affairs obliges me to desire the continuance of your friendship. The spring coming on, my servants are busy in hastening goods to foreign markets; on that the fortune and success of the manufactory depends; if my effects be seized in Ireland nothing but ruin will follow upon it. This I am threatened withal, every post alarming me with the news of Sir John Temple's endeavour to secure his moneys that way. Should he attempt and succeed in his design others will be encouraged to use the same course, and I dread the fatal consequences. But because Sir John is your particular friend, out of pure respect to you, that nothing by my means or on my account should happen to cause any misunderstanding, I have this post written to Mr. John Morphy, of Waterford, merchant, to become security for me to Sir John Temple, and advised him the same. That so being secured his money by a third person of known ability and reputation he might no longer intend anything against the manufactory, nor put you upon the uneasy task of denying a friend, and defending my estate against his demands. This is an expedient so fair and rational as leaves me not in doubt of his acceptance, and shall I beg two words from you to second my offer and incline him to compliance. Mr.

Morphy is debtor to me considerably more than the sum I owe Sir John Temple, so I am confident he will not refuse me.

Most of our creditors have signed, and if such a misfortune should happen to me in Ireland as the seizure of my effects, besides the ruin it menaces that affair withal, it would also have a malign influence against it. You only have power enough to protect my estate at Clonmell from such a disaster.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1676, May 6. Dublin.—To add to your other misfortunes in this match of my brother Gowran's, you will find by the state of the case I herewith send you how fatal an error has been committed in suffering the recovery upon which all my Lady Donegall's and most of my sister's interest depends; we have found a patent passed upon defective titles since the entail which secures Inishowen, out of which the £1,000 is to be paid for my sister's portion, and the estate in England will come to her after her mother's death, if the like error has not been committed in passing the recovery in England. I desire you would give a copy of this state of the case to Sir Will. Hicks to have the opinion of the lawyers there how the defect may be rectified, and that you would advise about it and send me an account of what is thought of the matter privately, for I believe I could make a very good composition with this Earl of Donegall in behalf of my sister if we would let his mother and he only try it out by themselves. I wish I had some understanding and relying person to advise me upon the place how to proceed in this great and difficult concern, for though her mother has now of late behaved herself like a madwoman, as may appear by a late letter of hers to her daughter, to advise her not joining with her may of the one side be thought undutiful, and on the other side joining with her, if the recovery proves not good she ruins herself. I confess I ever thought my late Lord Donegall's will extravagant, and his Lady's jointure unreasonable. Pray let me have your advice in this affair, for though at this distance, and I confess circumstances occurring here may alter the case much, I had rather have it than trust to advice upon the place.

I don't doubt but your £5,000 per annum out of the quit rents will be punctually paid you for the future. Sir Charles Meredith* says he will serve you in that as heartily as Sir James Cuffe† can. What you have done about the £2,500 that was in dispute I know not, but will, when informed, solicit the matter; if Mr. Sheridan, who is one of the farmers, be now in England, he will serve you in this business if you have a mind to part with it, or if he be come away if I have instructions from you I will deal with him, or by his means with him and partners. If your answer does not find me here, I shall soon after come to town.

* Sir Charles Meredith, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer 1674-1687, and again from 1689-1695.

† Sir James Cuffe, a Commissioner of Revenue 1675-78. See p. 25 *infra*.

ORMOND to EARL OF ESSEX.

1676, May 13. London.—When I have congratulated your safe arrival (of which I had notice by yesterday's post) I am to ask your pardon for presenting you with a copy of my answer to my Lord of Ranelagh's speech and paper, the one pronounced in October, and the other put into the Council in March last. My paper was read and heard with more attention than it deserved yesterday, and I am told (for I absented myself whilst it was debated on) that His Majesty will declare that he is fully satisfied that there has been no mismanagement of his Irish Revenue in the time of my government, and that an entry to that effect shall remain in the Council book. The like approbation will be of the carriage of the answers. Hence it must follow that my Lord of Ranelagh was mistaken, or that the King has himself applied the revenue in the proportion the paper mentions to other uses than those of the Establishment, and I think it will prove so; but it cannot be, I suppose, thence concluded that the revenue was mismanaged because some payments necessary to the Government, as those in the Establishment, may have been made though they were not foreseen when it was made, and consequently could not be comprehended in it. I shall pray your Excellency that no copy may be taken of the paper I send you, because I know not how the dispersing of it may be understood.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to MAYOR, SHERIFFS, etc., of Kilkenny.

1676, July 10.—After our hearty commendations, we have caused two several proclamations to be lately imprinted, dated the 30th of June, 1676, one concerning the enrolment of the patents, the other concerning the payment of money commonly called lapse money, of which said several proclamations we send you herewith a certain number, requiring you to cause the same to be forthwith proclaimed and publicly fixed up in all the markets and other public places throughout that county, that so all persons concerned may take notice thereof. And we require you by the next post after your receipt hereof to signify to the Clerk of the Council the day of your receipt of these our letters. And so we bid you farewell. From the Council Chamber in Dublin the 10th day of July, 1676. Your loving friends,

Essex.	Hen. Midensis.
Art. Granard.	Jo. Bysse.
Char. Meredith.	Wm. Flower.
Wm. Gore.	Thos. Radcliffe.
Ol. St. George.	

RALPH BATHURST* to ORMOND.

1676, July 15. Oxford.—Our Act being now passed, it is time I should give your Grace an account of the letter you

* Ralph Bathurst (1620-1704) President of Trinity College, Oxford, 1664-1704, Vice-Chancellor of the University. He resigned the Vice-Chancellorship, 9th October, 1676. See Oxford Letters, *infra*.

were pleased to send in my favour for appointing a new successor. I communicated the contents to Dr. Clarke, who will be ready to serve your Grace and the University to the best of his power. We shall agree upon the time of my resignation as may best comport with both our affairs, before the next vacation be expired. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for all my failings in so difficult an employment, and return my most hearty thanks for your protection of the University, and particular favour to myself.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1676, September 4.—I am now reconciled to my Lady Essex, but at first my keeping the yacht so long put me under her displeasure. I find the whole matter concerning Lord Ranelagh's miscarriages is left to be tried by his Excellency here, which I am afraid will signify little as long as the other stays in England, and has such countenance given him there. I have been put to so much trouble about my brother's debts and the £1,000 portion; and, having had the spleen to a great degree, I design to go this afternoon to hunt with my Lord Chancellor at Blessington, and for two or three days to hunt and settle my own business in the County of Carlow. I should be glad Major Feilding and Mr. Nye were sent hither speedily and my brother's will with them, for I have now no power to receive any money, either of the £1,000, or my sister's own fortune, and I hear there will be very soon a good sum; this I desire my sister may know. I sent for my uncle Mathew to come to town as soon as I arrived here to deliver unto him the writings my mother put into my hands, and to have him solicit your business of the £5,000 per annum, and that of the prize wines, to both which I believe he will give you this post a satisfactory account, for the Farmers seem very ready to serve you in both.

Ormond to George Mathew.

1676, September 5. London.—I have received yours of the 29th of the last, but it was upon the way to London, so that I have not had time to consider all the parts of it, or the papers that came with it. I can only at present say that if provision for allowance to be given to the new Farmers for the quit rents they shall pay over to me, or that I shall receive, be not made in their patent, both the King's Council and Sir James Shaen have been wanting in what they undertook to me. But however that is, I should think that when the right to those quit rents is owned to be in me, and that I and no other can justly collect them as long as they are mine, there should be no great difficulty in coming to a clear understanding and agreement with the Farmers. I shall before the next post, look over the notes you sent with my wife, and give you my sense of them, and of those now transmitted.

Ormond to Sir Cyril Wyche.

September 20. Dublin.—The post being ready to set sail, I have only time to say that I have this morning received yours of the 14th, with the two inclosed papers, to which I could give credit, though the consequence should be the first of your guesses. I confess I have been, and still am, in some difficulty to comprehend how it happens that men who at least seem to be so opposite in other things come to agree in their sentiments about Sir James Shaen's proposals, and against a Parliament here. I have been warned how dangerous it is to promote the one or undervalue the other; but as it is, I think, impossible to give any rational account why I should be fond of a Parliament here for any other reason than the securing of this kingdom, where all my fortune is, so I am not so great a master in the art of compliance as to give in to projects I neither understand or have belief in.

Proposal for a College for the Isle of Man, Bishops of St. Asaph* and Sodor and Man† to Ormond.

1676, September 23. Chester.—May it please your Grace: Whereas we, Isaac, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Henry, Bishop of Sodor and Man, have jointly contributed our pains and purse for the procuring and purchasing of the annual sum or salary of threescore pounds, yearly and every year to be paid by two equal portions unto an able reader of academical learning in the Isle of Man, where a college or gymnasium is intended by the present Bishop of Man (and he is already in some forwardness to that purpose), which said salary is to be paid by his Grace, James, Duke of Ormond and his heirs, for the use aforesaid, until the sum of six hundred pounds (which the said James his Grace hath already received from the hands of the Right Reverend Father in God, Isaac, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph aforesaid, for that sole end and purpose) be repaid unto the trustees of the same.

And whereas Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal, in the County Palatine of Chester, Esquire, and William Banks, of Winstanly, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, Esquire, were elected and appointed trustees for the receiving and paying of the same unto such a reader as it from time to time should become due.

And whereas the said Mr. William Banks is departed this life not having fully executed, and Mr. Thomas Cholmondeley has not yet assumed the said trust upon him.

And whereas we, the Bishops aforesaid, have with joint consent elected, approved, and appointed William Gostwyke,

* Isaac Barrow, uncle of his more celebrated namesake. He had been Bishop of Sodor and Man from 1663 to 1671.

† Henry Bridgeman, Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1671-1682.

This proposal for a College in the Isle of Man seems to have been a revival of a project for a University entertained a quarter of a century earlier by the seventh Earl of Derby. See Moore's *History of the Isle of Man*, vol. i. p. 366.

Master of Arts and Fellow of Trinity College, in Cambridge, to be our first reader in the academical school aforesaid (with the consent and approbation of the Right Honourable William, Earl of Derby), who hath been at a great expense of pains and time and money in pursuance of the said undertaking, and still continues to be so.

We, the Bishops and founders of the academical school aforesaid, do humbly entreat the said Duke that his Grace will be pleased to pay or cause to be paid unto our said reader, William Gostwyke, the sum of twenty pounds (there being ten pounds already spent in drawing the instruments for settlement thereof), being the first half-year's salary due from the 25th of March last past, he producing the Bishop of Man's licence for his instructing and teaching of youth in the academical school aforesaid, and certificate of his performance of the same.

And that his Grace will vouchsafe to accept the single acquittance of the said William Gostwyke for the said £20, and the Bishop of Man's and the said William Gostwyke's joint acquittance for all such future payments as shall accrue until the trustees have the estate settled upon them for the end and use aforesaid. Your Grace's most humble and obedient servants,

Isaac Asaph.
Henric. Sodor.

Ormond to George Mathew.

1676, September 24. London.—Ever since I received yours of the 29th of the last I have been in expectation of hearing again from you about the settlement of the future payment of the quit rents, and the setting of the prize wines. Concerning the latter you can expect no instructions from me, having no other measures to take but by information from thence, wherein I find a very considerable difference in the computation that you sent me bringing the clear receipts above charges in the year 1672 to £2238, and the present Farmers affirming to me in their letter of the 2nd of this month that they could not find that in any one year of three it yielded more than £1725, not accounting the charges. It is true they do not say what years those were that they chose to compute, and that if it was the years of the war both computations may be right, and yet they ought to give more than they offered. All I can is, if they will be brought to deal for one year, I think it will be better to let them have it at their own rate than at this time to put it into a way of collection, considering how near the vintage is and how hard it will be to find and instruct collectors in the several ports; but if the computation you sent me be true, as I suppose it must be within a little, because Bucknall came to a conclusion with me upon the demand of defalcations as upon the matter verifies it, then I think it will be better to lose something this year than to give them £500 a year advantage during their farm of the revenue. Something any farmer will get,

but that sum I take to be too much, and besides, there is all the probability in the world that this winter will produce a general peace, which will infallibly improve that duty. I have not yet received the draft of a letter you told me should be sent by the farmers for the settlement of the payment of the quit rents for the time to come, in expectation of which I have forborn to procure that whereof I sent you a copy, nor have I had any letter from you since that of the 29th of the last.

JOHN DANVERS to EARL OF OSSORY.

1676, October 18.—Advice from all parts confirming your Lordship's designing to come into these seas, I should be forgetful both of my duty to your Lordship and myself, if I should not request your Lordship to remember that you have here a faithful and humble servant to whom no greater discomfort in this world could arrive than not to have a berth reserved for him near your Lordship's person, if your Lordship, according to former applications, have not otherwise disposed, to whose pleasure I shall always submit. Here is news come to-day from Leghorn that the *Scanderoon* merchant is returned thither from Algiers, whither, notwithstanding her having the new pass, she was forced in by those Corsairs, and had goods to the value of 250,000 dollars taken out of her, and all the Italians on board made slaves. Captain Trevannion and Captain Carter both present their humble service to your Lordship, heartily wishing themselves at home that they may have the honour to wait upon your Lordship out again.

From on board His Majesty's ship *Yermo*, in Genoa Mold.

THOMAS OTWAY*, Bishop of Killala and Achonry, to EARL OF ESSEX.

1676-7, January 22.—Though we are far from your Excellency's eye, yet we are near your care, as we with all thankfulness acknowledge in your Exellency's appointing us a Marshal to reprove the insolencies of the Tories. I am forced to be a petitioner to your Excellency for the few Protestants of these parts, that they may be saved from Scotch Presbyters who ramble up and down to debauch the people in their religion and loyalty, which are as much more dangerous than Tories as our souls are more precious than our goods. It seems the Scots in Ulster have their classes (or as Hugh Peter more aptly deciphered them—their cl-assizes), who, like the Jesuits have their missions to gain people to their presbytery, as they to the papacy. Two of these Geneva calves (Clevelands bulls is too big a title for these sucking presbyters) were lately sent straggling into these parts, one named Hendry, of Grogstown, in the County of Donegal, the other Hallyday,

* Thomas Otway, (1616-1693) consecrated Bishop of Killala and Achonry 1670, translated to the See of Ossory 1680.

of Raphoe. Hendry held forth within two miles of me to the great peril of the apron-strings, which were much endangered by the deep sighs of the waistcoateers. At this distance from the scene of affairs I know not what toleration His Majesty allows them, but I was confident no part of it permits them to wander up and down to pervert his subjects, whereupon I apprehended Hendry and found about him many scandalous papers against prelacy, the common prayer, and the ceremonies, which I thought unworthy of your Excellency's view, being but their old Crambe. I found one malicious paper against His Majesty which I have, with a letter likewise found with him, sent to your Excellency, by which your Excellency will see some of their employers, agents, and harbourers. With their pocket instruments they ride up and down the country like martial evangelists, with sword and pistols, as if they came, not to prate down, but storm our religion. They are impudent beyond sufferance; Hendry after he had left me to be his silly herd—that he would not only come to the assizes, but preach there. Halliday told the minister who questioned him for his conventicle in his parish, that he might preach anywhere, and that he would go to Dublin and preach in your Excellency's ear. I know I shall be railed at lustily for what I have done; but let them talk on, I will take care that they shall never justly charge me for betraying episcopacy to presbytery, or the English interest to the Scots, which is aimed at by this faction. I most humbly beg your Excellency's commands for prosecuting of Hendry, if your Excellency thinks fit, and to know whether I may not indict him for sedition for his rambling preaching contrary to law, and for his seditious papers.

Copy.

GEORGE MATHEW to ORMOND.

1676-7, January 31. Thomastown.—Since my last letter to your Grace of yesterday's date, we had the surprising news of my dear Lord Cahir's* sudden death at his own house by means of a surfeit of claret, which he took within two miles of his residence, and is to be interred to-morrow at Clonmel. He was never to be reclaimed from that vice of drinking, otherwise a very pretty man. His lady is gone some five months with child, and if it proves not to be a son, I am doubtful what will become of that estate, which moved originally from my Lord's house, and is held of the manor of Knockgraffon. And in as much as it can certainly be made out to be invested in the King by those late acts of settlement and explanation, I fear someone may beg it from the King, and place deficiency upon it, in case my Lord be not earlier than others in getting the King's grant upon the like account, or for himself in the right of his proviso in case my niece has not a son.

* Piers Butler, 6th Baron Cahir. Lord Cahir was a nephew-in-law to the writer of this letter, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Toby Mathew. The title decended to Theobald, son of Edmund Butler, and grandson of Theobald, 3rd Baron.

The next relations to my Lord of Cahir of the male line are not (I presume) capable to inherit, being not declared innocent, and for that reason have lost their own patrimony called Knockenanemy [or Knockananomagh], near Clonmel, which I presume my Lord knows.

I wrote to my Lord, desiring he would withdraw his prohibition from my commenced site for some houses belonging to him in Clonmel, that of the middle row chiefly, which your Grace would have pulled down. When recovered, he may dispose of it then as he pleases, and if to the Corporation the obligation will be the greater. All things are now so far agreed upon with that of Kilkenny, that on Wednesday they have appointed to sign and seal the deeds.

MICHAEL BOYLE,* Lord Chancellor of IRELAND and Archbishop of Dublin, to ORMOND.

1676-7, February 10.—May it please your Grace: The enclosed, which are copies of papers sent up by the Bishop of Killala (and taken out of a Presbyterian preacher's pocket), with a letter of his own, will inform your Grace of the continued practices of that sort of people against the King and Government, notwithstanding anything that is pretended by them to the contrary, and notwithstanding the many favours extended to them by His Majesty. It is not for me to take occasion from hence to offer my weak thoughts upon this subject, since I am more than confident that His Majesty takes his measures in these cases from the best counsel in the world; but I must needs acknowledge to your Grace that it sticks mightily with me how they can be credited in anything they promise for His Majesty's safety and advantage, since, by the articles of their beloved Covenant (which is the great charter of their religion, and unto which they seem as great bigots at present as ever I know them formerly) they are engaged by a religious vow to advance their Covenant by all the industry they can, and that the most famous leaders amongst them have positively declared and published in print, that the Covenant, being a public and a national oath, all persons that shall succeed in public places and political capacities in the Kingdom are obliged to pursue the thing covenanted for, and that obligation is for ever to remain and abide, and by no human act to be absolved or made void. And how destructive the Covenant is to the very being of the King, and of the present Government, I need not paraphrase. What may be farther discovered out of this matter I am not yet able to foresee, but I am well assured that the Lord Lieutenant will pursue it as far as it will go. The two missionary presbyters are sent for already into Connaught, where I hope the Bishop of Killala has secured them, and upon the first intimation of their being in custody I know his Excellency intends to send

* Michael Boyle, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, 1661-1663; Archbishop of Dublin, 1663-1678; and Primate, 1678-1702. Boyle was also Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1665-1686.

for those classical presbyters in the North mentioned in Boyd's letter; your Grace shall receive a further account thereof if it comes to anything. I should have acquainted your Grace with this matter by the last packet but that I did not think it good manners to prevent our Lord Lieutenant's account thereof unto His Majesty in the first place. I pray God preserve the King, and bless your Grace and all yours.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1676-7, February 27.—Your Grace's of the 10th, with the enclosed letter from the Bishop of Killala to his Excellency, and the Presbyterian doctrine taken out of the preacher's pocket*, I received on the 17th inst., at a time when the business of the House of Lords concerning those Lords now in the Tower was at the hottest, so that I could not well till now acknowledge the receiving of them or my obligation to your Grace for communicating them to me. I am since informed that those seditious fellows have upon the matter made their escape, the penalty of the bonds taken for their appearance being inconsiderable, as perhaps the parties to them may be. I wish the good Bishop had been less witty and more wary. It is plainly observable that since the commitment of the lords and the prosecution of the pamphlets which asserted that this Parliament was dissolved, the Nonconformists of all sorts have been disappointed in their expectations, and that a proportionable dejection of spirit has seized them, and we have a very hopeful prospect of a good session of Parliament, not, I think, to be endangered unless we think ourselves too sure and so grow negligent, or too strong, and so presume too far upon that. I hope this calmness there, if we carry it to the end, will have good effects there, as I presume the contrary expectation made those itinerary presbyters so busy at that time. The ordinary transactions of this time and place your Grace receives from other hands, where if anything shall happen worth your knowledge of another nature it shall be imparted to you.

E. NELTHORPE to G. MATHEW.

1676-7, March 17.—I have your acceptable lines telling me of your readiness to patronise the manufactory at Clonmel. I have desired Mr. White to wait upon you and discourse that affair, and desire the favour of a few lines to the Duke of Ormond to alter the lease and transfer it to Mr. Nic. White, to whom I have sold it, and so, if you would please to afford him your assistance, I doubt not but the manufactory may own its preservation from your assistance and protection. As for the town of Clonmel's pretences, I find they are but upon weak foundations as to their own title, saving their hopes in the

* See page 17, *supra*.

favour and grace they may find from the Duke. But were their title much better, the least hint from you would suspend all my solicitations, and when they write again I shall give an answer according to your method, being no more than what becomes one under so many obligations.

JUSTIN M'CARTIE to ORMOND.

1676-7, March 17. Paris—I have once since my coming hither given your Grace the trouble of a letter, but I know not whether it came to your hands. And now, my Lord, I must importune you again, for I am so alarmed at the bill I hear that has passed the House of Commons for the recalling of us out of the French service that I know not what to do unless your Grace can by your interest get me particularly excepted, which is the only hope I have that can prevent my ruin, having been at vast expense to equip myself for the field, besides a certain disappointment of making my fortune, which I am in a good way of doing if I were permitted to continue here. I beseech your Grace, if nothing can be done in this business, at the least that I may have your advice how I shall carry myself, for without it I shall not stir.

ORMOND to EARL OF ESSEX.

1677, April 20. London.—My Lord: There has been so much contrivance during the time of your government to do me ill offices with your Excellency that I cannot doubt but that on your leaving it and my succeeding at least the same art will be continued. But I shall so much rely on your Excellency's justice, when all circumstances shall be known to you, that I shall not doubt but that you will believe that as I have been so I always resolve to be, your Excellency's most faithful and most humble servant.

ORMOND to GEORGE MATHEW.

1677, April 20. London.—The King's purpose of sending me to serve him in the government of Ireland is now no longer a secret, His Majesty having intimated so much by a letter which goes by to-morrow's post to my Lord Lieutenant. I cannot certainly say when I shall be ready to move that way, nor whether my Lord of Essex will stay for my arrival or come over sooner and leave the sword in the hands of justices, but I think it very necessary for you to hasten to Dublin, where you will see which course he will take. If he resolves on the latter, there are many things, as well ordinary household stuffs as provisions, which may be of use to me, and which he will rather part withal than transport about, for which his servants may be treated with. If he shall stay for my coming he will then think fit to remove, that the castle may be prepared for me, and in that case also your being upon the place will be

necessary for the same purpose. But you are not to make any proposition till you hear again from me, though you are to receive any that will be made to you by any officer of his Excellency's. Dublin is likewise the likeliest place where you may raise money to transmit to bring me off from hence. The £2,500 due on the last farmers I cannot hope to get yet. The bills for £500 are received.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1677, April 24. Dublin.—It was with mighty cheerfulness that we received here the report of your Grace's return into this Government; whether it be so or no we have yet no assurance. However, we exceedingly pleasure ourselves in the belief of it. The discourse of it was so public that our Lord Lieutenant was pleased to take notice of it to me, and he very generously declared himself thus unto me: that he knew not whether any such thing were in designation, but if it were, that he was so far from repining at it, that he was much satisfied in your Grace succeeding him; and that he was resolved while he continued here upon the place that he would hold a stricter correspondence with your Grace than hitherto he hath done, and that he would give your Grace as perfect an account of the affairs of this kingdom, and particularly of the condition of the revenue, as he was capable; and this he gave me leave to assure your Grace. Thus your Grace may see how all parties here are pleased with your return. I wish they may be all so in England, but it is a vanity to hope it; such honours are seldom conferred without the emulation of several pretenders. I pray God increase your friends and lessen the number of those that are not so.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1677, April 28. Dublin.—Since mine to your Grace by the last packet I have received the honour of your Grace's by Colonel Vernon. What concerns the lawsuit between your Grace and him I am yet ignorant of, but I presume the debate thereof being carried on so agreeably, the conclusion is not likely to be so fatal as between him and Sir William Petty, who have already opened the lists and begun the combat before the castle gate in the face of the sun and people, but where it will determine no mortal can foresee.*

By your Grace's letter, and by some discourse with Colonel Vernon, I suppose I may now without any disguise wish your Grace all happiness in a long enjoyment of His Majesty's favours, and particularly of this kingdom, where (I hope) your Grace will find as many hearts as voices to receive you;

* This was not the only duel between Col. Vernon and Sir William Petty: another was arranged in London in 1679. See Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's *Life of Sir William Petty*, pp. 176-178.

wherein no man can have a louder share and a deeper sense of that satisfaction which we shall all enjoy under your Grace's conduct than he that ever was and ever will be etc.

SAME to SAME.

1677, April 28.—Your Grace has such a perfect and experienced knowledge of the condition and government of this kingdom, that it were a great impertinency and presumption to say anything to your Grace upon that subject; but the difficulties that are most likely to press you being such as shall be put upon you out of England (as your Grace well knows) rather than any you shall (in probability) meet upon the place, give me leave to hint unto your Grace two or three of them, which I have observed since your Grace's recess from hence, and which, in my opinion, have made the Government somewhat easy; your Grace may make what use of them you please.

1.—That no letters from the King for any grant, etc., are to be allowed and proceeded on by the Chief Governor, unless they have first had the approbation of the Lord Treasurer of England. There is (as I suppose) some private instruction to this purpose; what restraint this puts upon the Chief Governor your Grace can best judge.

2.—The Lord Treasurer hath in some matters of money underwritten the King's warrant with his own name only, and without the privy signet; which is not thought a legal authority sufficient to justify the Chief Governor either for payment or discharge of the King's money, if ever he should be called to an account for it. Besides, if such a letter should come unto your Grace, either you must pursue it or refuse it. If the former you do that which perhaps you cannot answer; if the latter you will give occasion of some difference or jealousies which may be very inconvenient. This I know hath been pressed upon our present Chief Governor in two or three instances, but he hath always (as I believe) waived them as insecure and unjustifiable.

3.—I have heard by a very good hand that the Lord Conway (who it is said was once upon the expectation to come over our deputy) declared it as his opinion that the Lord Treasurer of England hath as good authority, even by virtue of his office, to dispose of the King's revenue in Ireland, as of the revenue of England. If this should become a received opinion this Government would indeed be uneasy, and the consequences may be fatal.

4.—Another thing which hath of late subjected this Government to great inconveniencies is the contracting in England for concerns of Ireland, and the allowing of defalcations upon those contracts without the knowledge or privity of the Chief Governor here, who, being upon the place, must certainly understand them best, and would doubtless be the best husband for the King's advance, since the lessening of that must necessarily conduce to the uneasiness of the Government.

I doubt it is much easier to reflect upon those things than to remove them; but perhaps while your Grace is there upon the place, where you may discourse freely, matters may be better adjusted and made smoother than by the debate of letters at a distance.

As to the business of the revenue, which, indeed, is the great business of this kingdom, your Grace will receive an account therof from another hand.

ORMOND to LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE.

1677, April 28. Newmarket.—I have your Grace's of the 17th inst. with all possible satisfaction, finding the continuance of your friendship and favour to me so fully expressed. As to my Lady Donegall's pretention and solicitation here, I ever thought it useless, for that if her case was equitable and just and within the rules of Chancery she would not fail of relief there without a letter from the King, and if it was not, it was not fit for him to grant it, nor could your Grace under less penalty than that of perjury obey it, if I am not mistaken in the oath of a Chancellor. But that good lady abounds in her own sense, and is very apt to lay unkindness to her daughter to my charge, which prevailed upon me to send your Grace that letter. If my following the King hither and the hurry that ordinarily attends such removes had not hindered me, I had myself informed your Grace that by the post of this day sennight His Majesty sent a very gracious letter to my Lord Lieutenant intimating his purpose of recalling his Excellency to attend his service here, and of sending me to serve him once more in that Government. The time of his Excellency's remove is left to himself, that he may fit himself for his journey, and for his reception here, so that till a return from thence I cannot say when I shall begin my journey thither. But I am in the meantime preparing myself for it, though to this hour I know there are frequent consultations how to prevent it. His Majesty was pleased in a discourse he allowed me with him to recommend to me a reconciliation with my Lord of Ranelagh, and the encouraging him to employ the very good ability he is master of in his service. His Majesty found no difficulty to dispose me to obey him, finding myself, as I believed, very fully vindicated from any reflection his Lordship had endeavoured to cast upon me, and that recorded in the Council books here; and that there might be no occasion of clashing betwixt us, I besought His Majesty to direct that my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Ranelagh, and I, might meet, that upon consideration had of all the disputes betwixt the contractors and my Lord Lieutenant and of the despatches sent from his Excellency and the Council touching the accounts, the King would direct how they should be proceeded in, in case they should not be closed before my arrival there. To this His Majesty assented, and here again told me that when he should be returned to London he would

give an order for that meeting. But there are things of so much higher concernment to be thought of in order to the meeting of the Parliament on the 21st of May, that it is possible that affair may be delayed till I may have received from your Grace what you may judge fit for the King's service in that matter of accounts, or in anything else you shall think proper for me to propose before my going. His Majesty returns to Whitehall on Monday, the last of this month, just three weeks before the Parliament is to sit. From thence your Grace shall hear frequently from [me].

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1677, May 1. Dublin.—Our Lord Lieutenant, having of his own accord discoursed with me some months since about the unreasonableness of my small allowance by the Establishment as Chancellor of Ireland*, which at the time he much declaimed against, he hath (as he tells me) written this week to Mr. Secretary Coventry about it. I shall not trouble your Grace with an account of the particulars of the matter, and how unkindly (perhaps unfaithfully) I have been dealt with therein; but I have desired my cousin Fitzpatrick to acquaint your Grace therewith at your better leisure. But upon this occasion I thought this a convenient season to employ the bearer, Mr. Muschamp,† about it, and rather at this time than hereafter, for several reasons, if your Grace approves it, but principally that he may give your Grace the best information that he can in such particulars as your Grace shall think fit to demand of him in reference to the present state of affairs in this kingdom. I shall not take up any more of your Grace's time, but shall pray for your happy arrival unto us.

Same to Same.

1677, May 5. Dublin.—Before I received the honour of your Grace's of the 28th of April, which came to my hands yesterday, I did by several letters offer to your Grace's consideration some few things, which, being adjusted there before your coming over would (as I supposed) contribute something to your Grace's quiet in the government of this kingdom; particularly in a letter enclosed in one to my cousin Fitzpatrick, without a subscription and in a disguised hand, which I doubt not you have received. I likewise employed Mr. Muschamp to attend your Grace to give your Grace the best satisfaction that he can, to which your Grace shall be pleased to enquire of him; I have very little to add at present. That which concerns my Lord Ranelagh's accounts will be observed to your Grace by Sir James Cuffe, a person very diligent and fit

* The Lord Chancellor appears to have received £1000 as the yearly fee of his office, and £809 17s. 6d. as a special annual grant by a patent dated May 15, 1666. See Smyth's *Law Officers of Ireland*, p. 85; and Vol. III. of this Series, p. 376.

† William Muschamp, one of the Commissioners of the Irish Revenue.

for business, who I know is as well able as he is willing to perform your Grace many services. As to my Lord Ranelagh's payments upon his contracts, that which will most concern your Grace is the pay of the Army for December, 1675, which Sir James Hayes assures me will be completed with £7,000; and which he hath some hopes of compassing within few weeks. The former arrears to the Army, according to his contract to be satisfied, we have not yet any good prospect of, though I understand they are compounding for them by some inferior instruments. The two years enlargement of time for collecting his Grace's arrears is that which may seem most plausible, but withal may prove most troublesome to the generality of people, and very injurious to the present Farmers, if it be not restrained by some convenient limitations. But this is so fully represented to His Majesty by our Lord Lieutenant's report in that matter (which I know will be shown unto your Grace) that I need say nothing upon that subject. Perhaps it may not be amiss for your Grace to know His Majesty's pleasure as to the Presbyterians in the North, and likewise as to the conventicles in this City; that they in the North are a numerous rabble is very well known to your Grace, and that they will never want discontented factionists to enflame them upon all overtures of trouble cannot be much doubted while they are so near in neighbourhood to Scotland, and that the most violent and most discontented of that kingdom have the freedom of coming over hither when they please and without being taken notice of; and that they have a settled Presbytery in the Lagan* is very certain, but whether a more rough proceeding with them than is already exercised, or the hopes of overcoming them by a compliance and an easy hand is a subject too tedious to be debated by a letter. Though upon the whole matter my humble opinion is (with submission) that there hath been a great mistake in the managers of that weighty affair, which your Grace shall be informed of at your better leisure.

As to the conventicles in this city they are divers, and those very public; and the more scandalous because some persons of quality and some who gain their fortune at the bar of the Four Courts do frequent them too often, and without the least disguise or apprehension. Your Grace knows my sense in this matter, and therefore you will not (as I presume) look upon those unlawful meetings in the very eye of the State as the effect of any negligence in me; but if His Majesty's pleasure were once fully understood in this matter, this mischief would be easily remedied.

I find that it was promised to our now Lord Lieutenant that no patents relating to the affairs of Ireland, or to any particular office or employment here, should be passed under the Great Seal in England; but it hath not been very punctually observed, though they have not been so frequent as formerly.

* One of the five 'meetings' or presbyteries in Ireland at this time. See Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, ii., 205, *note*.

EARL OF SALISBURY to ORMOND.

1677, May 29.—The adjournment of the Parliament making me think it proper to apply myself to the King for my liberty,* I assure myself of the honour of your Grace's friendship, so much as to beg your advice and assistance in order to the obtaining it, and have therefore sent a servant of mine with full instructions to your Grace with my desires, if you will please to allow him the liberty of speaking with you, it being too tedious to trouble you with in a letter, and he being one I can freely trust in any concern.

ARTHUR PODMORE† to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1677, June 6. Dublin.—Dear Brother: The last night's packet being not yet gone off gives me opportunity sooner than I expected to own the receipt of both yours dated the 29th of the last month, and to acquaint you I have made as much enquiry for the time as could be, to find out the accommodation you desire. Choice of lodgings are to be had, but few that will also provide diet. The most convenient place I have yet met with is in St. Bride's Street, at one Mr. Gibbs's, a gentleman, and a very neat house, with a garden that stands well for air, besides the convenience of his having no children. There you may be provided at forty shillings a week; if you approve not of that, Mr. Wormington has a fair brick house with good rooms in St. Nicholas Street; the back part has a way to the city wall, and the view and air of several gardens adjoining, he says you may have room there and provision for your Lady and servants at your landing, and provide otherwise afterwards if that should not be to your liking. Your resolution as to one of those places be pleased to signify by the next return, because I have promised to conclude or break off with them as you shall direct. Mr. Bowyer does not, nor has of late, set any lodgings. I have seen your note, and shall comply with it. Pray forget not your promised kindness for me to my Lord Duke when you see occasion. You will from my Lord Lanesborough hear of his Grace's money affair for his transport, and be pleased to hint my former request to Mr. Clarke concerning the books Mr. Morgan is to deliver on my account.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT LANESBOROUGH‡.

1677, June 9.—I think the last I had from your Lordship was of the 26th of May what [means] have been made use of to frustrate the King's intention of sending me to that Government I cannot tell, but have reason to believe that they have been as many and as skilful as could be found out. Yet at

* James, 3rd Earl of Salisbury, had been committed to the Tower in February, 1676-77, for supporting the proposition of the Duke of Buckingham "that the last prorogation of Parliament was null and void in law."

† Arthur Podmore was a Messenger of the Privy Council.

‡ Sir George Lane, Viscount Lanesborough, was Principal Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant, 1665-1678.

length my Commission* is under the seal and in my possession, so that nothing now stays me but the fitting my instructions to the present conjuncture, the completing of my equipage and the [fit]ting of things for my reception, all which will, I hope, be finished so that I may remove hence about the beginning of next month, which I desire your Lordship to let my Lord Lieutenant [know] because he seems to be desirous to know the time of my departure hence.

There was no ground at least on my part for the intimations [from] hence that the war was so far declared betwixt my Lord Treasurer and me that one of us must fall. It is true he took something I had done more unkindly than I think he had reason for, and thought it designed more to his prejudice than was any way intended by me or anybody else that I know; but I take all to be now well betwixt us, and do hope we will, as befits us, co-operate in our several stations to the good of the King's service; and this I may the more easily expect, for my Lord of Ranelagh and I are upon so good terms that he [often] discourses freely with me, and gives me useful assistance [in] things that relate to the office.

I have this morning spoken with your son of that part of your pretension which you have devolved to him, and put him into the best way I could think of to make it effectual to him. [That] which concerns yourself as Secretary of State is in Mr. Secretary Coventry's hands, and on this day sevennight he told me the King, upon his exposing it to him, gave him a good answer. What account he has given you I know not. You will easily judge that it is not now my part to move, or as far as I can prevent, to suffer, an increase to the King's charge, when I know how much the public concerns do want a considerable sum to put them into a tolerable condition. But if the question come to be betwixt the justice and reasonableness of [your] pretences, I can and will then speak as I ought.

Ormond to Sir John Temple†.

1677, June 9.—It is certain no man might better have been dispensed with in the ceremonial part upon occasion of my return to that Government than yourself, having given me so many and so effectual demonstrations of your friendship and care of my concerns, which I find continued in yours of the 22nd of the last, and which you shall find I am very sensible of, as often as occasion shall be offered.

My Lord of Ranelagh having visited me twice and discoursing with me of the affairs of Ireland, and more particularly of what related to his office, I took occasion to tell him I was desirous that before my going hence it might be determined how much longer I was to receive the £5,000 a year

* Ormond's patent as Lord Lieutenant was dated May 24, 1677.

† Sir John Temple, Solicitor General for Ireland, 1660-1689, and, temporarily, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, 1661, is the person addressed. His father, Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, 1640-1677, was still alive at this date.

assigned me on the Irish revenue. He told me that he was informed out of Ireland that my Lord Lieutenant was upon the examination of that account, and would determine it before his remove. If that be so the matter is as I would have it, but if it be not so, it will be, I fear, impossible to know that it is not so, and then after to have time to settle it here before I begin my journey, which I design shall be about the 4th of July. If it cannot be done here, I must at least before I go get it put into the most equitable way before I go, but sure I am I will not in this or any other case be my own judge.

There are here unconsidered as yet divers despatches from my Lord Lieutenant, relating to the accounts of the late Undertakers. I shall desire before I go that the points in difference may be determined, that the Commissioners of Accounts may know distinctly what to allow and what not, and that I may not be put to representations which may be suspected to proceed from some other motive than the King's service, and the indispensable duty of my place. Upon our last discourse I gave my Lord Ranelagh a touch upon the subject. He told me that now the Vice-Treasurer's accounts for the future were to be taken in the ancient manner by those officers and judges formerly Commissioners of Accounts, but how the contractors were to account, or before whom he did not fully instruct me. I would be glad you would do me the favour to inform me.

Copy.

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1677, June 12. Windsor.—Having had notice of your son's purpose to pass over to you, I thought I could not better than by him acknowledge your Excellency's* kindness and favour upon occasion of His Majesty's making choice of me once more in his service for the Government of Ireland. Considering my age, I am like there to act the last public part of my life, and shall endeavour therefore to make it the best, that so I may in some measure redeem all the errors of ignorance and inadvertency I may have been guilty of. For others I shall want humility to own, and this advantage I have, that my carriage heretofore in that Government hath been exposed to so strict, not to say malicious examination, that I am reasonably well instructed and warned for my future deportment, a benefit which I doubt was not intended me, or foreseen by some of the inquisitors. There is no circumstance attending the honour His Majesty lays upon me that satisfies me more than that I find my Lord of Essex is not displeased at my succeeding him, and does not misunderstand the part I had in obtaining the succession; but, on the contrary, all things have passed betwixt us upon the occasion as they ought to do betwixt men of our condition and professed friendship. With this as with what I believe will not displease you I shall conclude my letter.

Copy.

* Temple was at this time Ambassador at the Hague.

ORMOND to DR. JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1677, June 16. London.—Having not had the satisfaction to see Oxford since I had the honour to be Chancellor of the University, I would most willingly pass that way in my journey for Ireland, but that it falls out that my being there must be about the time of the Act, or at the farthest a day or two after it ends, and how far my appearance there at such a time may disturb the exercises and other solemnities I cannot judge without your Lordship's assistance and advice, which I beseech you freely to afford me, for as I would by no means inconvenience them, so I would as little be wanting in anything that might show my respect to them and the value I put upon their electing me to be Chancellor.

Two things there are that straighten me in point of time. One is that I must cast my journey so as to be at Chester the 17th of July, else I shall be put to pass the Welsh mountains with a train of coaches. The other is that till my arrival in Ireland the King will pay two Lieutenants, and I would be glad that should be for as short a time as may be. Your Lordship, when you have advised with whom you think fit, will be pleased to let me have your sense with the freedom of a friend.*

Copy.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1677, June 19. Lanesborough.—I shall presume before you leave London to put your Grace in mind of a business which I did formerly acquaint you, and of which your Grace did then very well seem to approve. It was to have some authority from the King for settling a Commission of Defective Titles, or something like it, whereby persons who discovered any flaw in their estates might, before Commissioners authorised to receive them, produce the defects of them and compound upon a rate not exceeding so many years value for new letters patents. This, my Lord, would, I am confident, in the first place incite all who suspected any flaw in their title to come in and declare them, would produce a considerable benefit to the King, and more contribute to the settlement of the minds of people in that kingdom than any other single Act can do, and by this the King will have a benefit which informers and discoverers do as yet chiefly entitle themselves unto. If your Grace shall approve of this hint, you will, I am sure, put it into such a method as may make it practicable; and since I believe it tends to a public good I wish, I confess, that rather your Grace than any other person whatever should be the promoter of it.

I here expect your Grace's commands to wait upon you at my Lord Devonshire's, which I shall no sooner receive but I shall obey, and all others you shall honour me with.

* Ormond's visit to Oxford was paid on August 4, 1677, and lasted two days. See the description of the proceedings in Carte's *Life*, ii. pp. 466–7.

CAPTAIN JOHN BAXTER to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1677, June 21. Dublin.—Yours of the 16th inst. I have this day received, and have made some inquiry of those shops you mention at the drawbridge of the Castle, which are made use of at present, the one by a barber, the other by a person unknown to me, and I am informed that those shops were formerly disposed of by the Constable of the Castle, of which you shall have a further account.

ARTHUR PODMORE to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1677, June 23. Dublin.—Dear Brother: I have yours of the 16th, and have acquainted Mr. Wormington with your intention to make his house your quarter for some time, which he says shall be ready to receive you. Mr. Sommers was paid the half-year's salary for Bermingham's Tower before I could get it at the Treasury, though I was forced to give an allowance for it, and he showed me the copy of a letter to you wherein he owned the receipt of that sum. For the two pistols on Sir Richard's Rooth's account, as soon as I have so much money to spare he shall be paid them also, though I have no money of Sir Richard's in my hands, or near that sum of yours, having paid the note you sent on Mr. Clarke's account. Captain Baxter showed me yours about the two little shops by the drawbridge of the Castle, and he being to make a step to Kilkenny, desired me to enquire about them and give you an account. Mr. Robinson tells me the Constable of the Castle pretends a right to those places, and that for the present the best of them, consisting of two small rooms, is held by the widow of a sergeant,—that was killed at sea—where she sells bottled drink. The other is in the hands of a soldier of the regiment, who keeps in it a barber's shop; but whether they came in by the Constable or Sir William Flower, Mr. Robinson could not resolve me, but believes both may be disposed as my Lord Duke shall think fit, which is all the trouble at present.

PRINCE OF ORANGE to ORMOND*.

1677 Juin ce 25ie. Au Camp de Lokeren.—Monsieur: Je crois être obligé de vous temoigner ma reconnaissance de tous les honneurs que vous avez faits à Mr. Bentinck, et des bons conseils que vous lui avez donnés. Je ne vous rendrai pas mes remerciments de l'amitie que vous lui avez temoignée avoir pour moi, puisque. Je sais que vous savez qu'il y a deja longtemps que j'en suis entièrement persuadé, et que je me flatte aussi que vous me faites la justice de croire la passion que j'ai pour tous vos interêts, et pour tous ceux de votre maison laquelle je vous prie d'être assuré qu'elle continuera toujours. Et que je tacherai de vous temoigner en toutes occasions avec combien de zèle et de verité je serai toute ma vie, Monsieur, votre très humble, et très affectionné serviteur,

Prince D'Orange.

* The orthography of the original is followed in this transcript.

Ormond to Earl of Burlington.

1677, June 26.—I have it still in my thoughts to effect their settlement and quiet to the minds and interests of His Majesty's subjects in Ireland, which may at once make them happy and able to answer His Majesty's expectations in contributing to his service and their own safety, to which no one thing can more conduce than the putting an end to all future conditions of inquiring into men's titles, and I hope to have it so contrived that it will be to the King's satisfaction, and for the advantage even of those who have obtained grants from him; but I doubt there must be more time for laying the foundation, and more assistance than can be had and afforded here, though my Lord Chancellor hath charged himself with preparing the heads of some bills to be transmitted in order to an Irish Parliament. Another thing for the ease of the subject there must be thought of, and that is to put an end to their eternal molestation under pretence of arrears due to the King, and by him passed over to the Lord Ranelagh and his partners in the undertaking. For, as the words of their patent may be construed, they are under no limitation of time, but they may to the end of the world torment the people upon pretence of arrears, and so long they may also pretend they cannot pay the sums and persons they undertook to satisfy and pay. There are some things yet under consideration that will require despatch before I can set a day for my remove, and those depending upon the leisure of others I cannot say when they will despatch them, but as soon as they are in any prospect of a conclusion your Lordship shall receive a summons.

Copy.

Sir Richard Bulstrode* to Ormond.

1677, June 29. Bruxelles.—I presume most humbly to congratulate your Grace's reintegration into that high sphere wherein your Grace was so eminently serviceable to His Majesty and his kingdom of Ireland for many years together, wishing your Grace's long continuance in that Government for the advantage of His Majesty's service and for the public good. And I do in all humility (as one of your Grace's most obedient servants) lay myself at your feet with the best offer I can make of my service, which is to give your Grace a constant account of what shall pass here during the war and my being in this station, if it may be agreeable to your Grace.

Postscript.—It is my duty to acquaint your Grace that I have been a little successful in your commands to me concerning Colonel Farewell's pretensions here, and, though in this dearth of money, I have procured by my solicitation some small thing for him, which proves very welcome to him.

* Sir Richard Bulstrode was Agent at Brussels 1673-1676, and Envoy 1676-1688.

WILLIAM BENTINCK to————*

1677, July 3. Lokeren.—Monsieur: J'ai reçu celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, et l'enclose a été rendue a son Altesse. Il est vrai, monsieur, que j'ai été encore plus satisfait de ma dernière audience que des precedentes et j'avoue que Sa Majesté a répondu avec tant d'expressions de bonté pour Monsieur le Prince et d'empressement à pousser les affaires publiques au point que j'ai pris la liberté de vous dire que je ne puis aucunément douter que l'effet ne s'en suive, et que nous ne voyons bientôt venir ici quelqu'un de la part du Roi pour instruire Monsieur le Prince de ces sentiments sur ce sujet; tout le monde est persuadé ici aussi bien que moi, monsieur, que si tous les Ministres du Roi étaient de votre sentiment l'on verrait les effets suivre de près les promesses, ce qui est la chose la plus nécessaire pour maintenir la bonne intelligence dans la maison Royale, puisque M. le Prince ne conte guère sur les paroles; je puis vous assurer, Monsieur, que toutes les civilités et honneurs dont vous et toute votre maison m'ont comblé m'a rendu votre redevable au dela de ce que puis vous exprimer étant toujours avec beaucoup de sincerité et de respect, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

ORMOND to EARL OF ESSEX.

1677, August 4. Wickham.—I am gotten thus far in my journey to the waterside, but shall arrive there some few days later than I might if I were not to attend the passage over the strand in Wales which is governed by the tides; those days I shall employ at Oxford and Chatsworth. Your Excellency may be pleased to order the yacht, frigate, and, if you please, the dogger to pass to Holyhead, to receive me and the company that goes with me. I would fain have had my Lord Ranelagh to have been of the number, but he has excused himself, and obtained the King's leave to stay for the confirmation of his health by the physic of this season; and yesterday his Lordship told me it would be needful for His Majesty's service that Sir John Champante might have leave to pass for a short time into England; the reason he gave was that he might adjust something with those who are to advance a quarter's pay to the Army by Michaelmas next, but since that service is undertaken and performed by men here, I do not comprehend how the King can be advantaged by the conference between Sir John and them. His Lordship knows that till I am possessed of the Government I can give no authentic leave; and if the application shall be made to your Excellency I do not doubt but you will see that some other for whom my Lord of Ranelagh will be as much answerable as he is for Sir John

* William Bentinck, afterwards 1st Earl of Portland. The orthography of the original is followed in this transcript.

Champante may be let in his room. I have not left your Excellency's particular concern in that state I wished, nor have I seen Sir Henry Capel to inform him when I suppose it sticks. When I have the honour to see you I shall freely impart my thoughts to you in that and in all things.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677, August 28. Castle Martyr.—I am not ignorant that I ought to have waited on your Grace at your arrival to the Government of this kingdom. But really, my Lord, I have not been able for above this twelvemonth to put my right foot to the ground. And though I was necessitated in June last to go to a house of mine twenty-seven miles from this place. yet that short journey did not a little discompose me, and made me thereby feel I was unfit to travel until God is pleased to free me from this distemper. I have therefore, as soon as I heard of your Excellency's landing, sent my two sons on purpose to present you with their own and with my most humble service; to beg your Grace's excuse for an omission which is too much my trouble to be believed my election or my fault; and to assure your Grace that whenever you honour me with your commands they shall be obeyed with that perfect duty I owe His Majesty's service, and with all the observances and respects which are due to your Grace.

From ——— to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677, Aout le 30. D'Euston.—Si nous ne fûmes pas partis pour Euston aussi tôt que vous, ou au moins avant votre arrivée au camp de Monsieur le Prince, je vous aurais écrit regulièrement. Mais comme vous savez les nouvelles de londres aussi que nous, je n'ai pas voulu vous rompre la reste des mes lettres; on est ici dans l'impatience d'en avoir des votres, et de savoir si vous êtes grand d'espagne ou bien chevalier de la toison d'or, ce qui s'acordera mieux avec l'inclination que vous avez pour le méchants chapeaux. Je vous prie dire à son Altesse que Monsieur Jermien s'est défait de sa mente dont il bien fache et moi aussi, car c'est la plus belle et la meilleure d'Angleterre, si elle était en ce pays ici quoi qu'en d'autre mains il ne serait pas difficile de la voir, mais elle est au nord, et notre pouvoir ne va pas plus loin que suffolk où tous les animaux sont à son service et moi je suis tout à vous dieu mon cher frère

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677, September 1. Whitehall.—This is to welcome your Grace to Dublin, where our last letters inform us you are safely arrived. I have received a letter from the Council concerning the petition of the late Farmers, and their reason for their as yet refusing their discharge. I reserve it till to-morrow to show His Majesty, and then shall return the resolution to your Grace.

We are all still here, and abroad there is not much fighting, but great quarelling. Your son Ossory hath made no good voyage of it; lost his cloak, which his valet de chambre ignorantly carried into Charleroi after the siege was levied. But their revilings of our King, the Prince of Orange, and everybody but themselves, that deserved it most, are intolerable. Their ministers here are not much civiler than M. le Bergeman, having told the King himself that since the Prince's favourite, Monsieur Bentham's, being here, the Prince of Orange had always been cool as to their interests, and did little less than lay the raising of the siege of Charleroi at the King's door. He hath given in a memorial demanding satisfaction for his Majesty's subjects serving in France; for the Duke of Monmouth's having been in the French Army this summer; and for the wrong done Salinas and Fonséques. This memorial was delivered on Sunday, and on Thursday night last, meeting me in the drawing room, he asked me when he should have an answer to his memorial. I replied the King had not as yet declared his resolutions; when he had I should impart them to him. He said his memorial was of importance and required haste; I told him I wondered he should yearn so much for expedition. The King's Ambassador at Madrid had exhibited memorials eight or nine months since, and some of them that concerned the King's honour and safety, as that against Salinas and Fonsèques, and had as yet received no answer, to which he replied: I need not wonder at that. for till His Majesty had given satisfaction for the wrong done Salinas and Fonsèques he should receive no answer; to which I answered (being so beforehand authorised by His Majesty), that till His Majesty's Ambassador did receive an answer to the Memorial he would receive no more to any of this; and thus we parted, and thus our commerce stands. The threats they give out of pillaging our merchants and breaking with us have mightily alarmed our merchants. For my part I can hardly believe they will reduce themselves into so unavoidable a ruin. All that makes me in any cost apprehend it, is that, as they have lost so much by folly, they are resolved to lose the rest by madness. Thus I have given your Grace a long state of our affairs here; I hope you will send me back a letter from Ireland, and that your affairs there are more prosperous. I heartily wish your Grace all manner of prosperity as being with all possible sincerity and concern, etc.

Postscript.—My most humble service to my Lady Duchess.

Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry.

1677, September 4. Dublin Castle.—Though I cannot yet pretend to be much better instructed in the state of this kingdom than I was before I arrived, yet I am already confirmed in the notions I had of that party, which, since the King's restoration, I thought most dangerous to his Government, taken simply by themselves without the consideration of foreign incitement or assistance; and those are they who still

call themselves Protestants, though they differ from the doctrine, and are not obedient to the discipline of the Church.

That these have, ever since His Majesty's happy return, been numerous, can neither be denied or wondered at, because the Government had been for some time in their hands when it was restored to His Majesty; but it is certain that they are much increased, spread and emboldened beyond what they were about eight or nine years since, in so much that as I am informed by some of the northern bishops, and others, they have of late publicly met by thousands to administer and receive the Communion after their manner; that divers (and some of good quality in appearance) come frequently out of Scotland to join in that exercise with them, and that they have constituted among themselves some form of Ecclesiastical Government, though they own it not, but do yet (if at all) exercise it with much caution, and as secretly as they can.

These Bishops do further affirm that there is no good to be done by persuasion or example, they are so prepossessed and inflexible, and they attribute their increase in those parts in some measure to the number of them that come out of Scotland to inhabit here, as under a Government more tolerable for them to live under; and their stubbornness they attribute much to the ministers who come over on the same account. That this is the case I do not doubt, but what to do or propose I do not find easy to determine.

To endeavour to reform so obstinate a multitude by putting the laws in execution against them on a sudden after so long a time of indulgence, and to let those laws sleep in reference to the Roman Catholics (against whom they seem to have been principally provided) would produce great and unreasonable clamour, and slack and ineffectual prosecution; and to execute them against both (if it should have no other worse effect) would soon fill all, and more than all, the prisons in Ireland, and would drive so many from their homes and from their labour that much of the kingdom would be laid waste, and His Majesty's revenue would unavoidably sink in all the branches of it. If, on the other hand, they shall be suffered thus to affront the Government, and contemn the laws with impunity, they will come to believe that the Government is rather afraid of them than favourable to them, and this belief would still make them grow more and more numerous and insolent, till they become formidable.

Yet in this difficulty I shall presume to lay before His Majesty this my humble advice:—

That for the present nothing be changed in relation to them, but that the liberty they have gained by some years indulgence may be still connived at, so they enlarge it not by any attempt to renew the Covenant, or to set up and exercise a jurisdiction against law, either of which is in my opinion to be endeavoured to be suppressed with all severity on the first probable instance of their going about it.

That all possible diligence be used, and all His Majesty's revenue in this kingdom employed, to make his Army readily

useful, wherein is comprehended the punctual payment of it (for which His Majesty has already made good provision), and the providing of such stores as may keep it in a readiness to do service.

That His Majesty be pleased to direct that if anything shall remain of his revenue after those provisions shall be made, over and above the payment of the Establishment, that it shall be reserved and employed as far as it will go to the reinforcement of the Army, though it be but by degrees, as raising single troops or companies, or by enlarging the number of soldiers under the present officers.

That His Majesty will be pleased to consider when it may suit best with his affairs and purposes elsewhere to call a Parliament in this kingdom; not that I can, till the judges and lawyers shall be returned from the circuits, punctually say against when the necessary preparations can be made. But the sooner it can be called, the sooner His Majesty may expect the assistance I hope it will give him.

It were easy to enlarge upon the subject of this letter, but the dangers I apprehend, and the only ways I can think of to prevent them, being so obvious, I think it more agreeable to my duty to give His Majesty this early account of my observations and thoughts than to stay to frame a longer and more laboured discourse.

I find some difference in opinion here, and am told there is so there, concerning the bargain made before my coming away for the advance of three months' pay for the Army, which I conceive proceeds from the different computations that are made of the time when the King's revenue will of itself, without any advance, bring the payments of the Establishment upon an even foot with the revenue, some computing it will be so in or about April next, others not till January come twelve month. I will not take upon me to determine which computation is right, but I think I will not be denied that if the King's revenue will of itself do it by April, it will be done sooner by the help of three months' advance, and I am sure the sooner it is done the better it will be for the King, for the country, and even for the Army, who only are to pay for the advance, for they will have this advantage by it, that, paying at most no more than already they constantly pay for imprests, as often as they will have any part of their arrears or growing pay advanced they shall never fall into arrear again, unless the revenue fall from what it is, or that the Farmers fail of making their payments, which hitherto they have not done. But if it should happen the Farmers should throw up their farm, or break on a sudden, as by their apparent divisions and differences betwixt themselves as well as by other circumstances and intimations I have ground to suspect they may, it will in that case be of great advantage to His Majesty to have three months' pay to satisfy the Army, till the revenue shall be put into some other way of certainty. I shall be as watchful as I can, that if the Farmers do break, I may have as long warning as can be had, so as to prevent as much as may be His Majesty's loss by it.

As in the time of bringing the revenue and Establishment to an even foot there is a difference in computation, so I find there is in what will be gained by the advancers, which I never undertook to calculate, nor will now to decide; but, whatever it is or shall be, His Majesty is not to pay it, nor will, I think, any of the officers or soldiers murmur at it, unless they shall be set on, or unless it may be some very few that are richer and better husbands than to desire imprests.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1677, September 8. Whitehall.—I was very glad to receive from your own hand of the 28th of August the news of your safe arrival. As to what you wait concerning a letter for a commission to examine my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, there was, they tell me, before your Grace's departure, such a draft as your Grace speaks of, but that it was not agreed on. I shall to-morrow endeavour the retrieving of it, but if it be that Lord's penning, your Grace will give me leave to look at it a little carefully in some certain reasons. As to the other part concerning Mr. Brabazon, I told it both to His Majesty and his Royal Highness; they both told me care should be taken in it. I shall peruse it again to-morrow.

News we have very little; only the French made an attack upon a little work called the Three Tours, nigh Vilvord, were beaten off, and retired, leaving some dead behind them, though no Army nigh them, and M. Luxemburgh there in person. Your son Ossory is still in the Army, and if the canaille at Bruxelles will do him no hurt as a cavalier he is not like to be touched as a soldier, there being little likelihood of any further action this campaign.

The M. de Borgoman giveth in very huffing memorials, little less than challenges, and his discourses are fuller of threats, talking of nothing less than breaking with us, and immediately seizing all the merchants' effects; which hath somewhat alarmed the Exchange, but it giveth rise to a sad reflection that he whom all the world believed beaten should threaten us.

Postscript—The King hath promised to grant no pardon for Murray till the fact be first stated to him by your Grace.

HEADS OF A TREATISE CONCERNING TRADE IN IRELAND.*

10 September, 1677.

The Contents of the First Book.

1st Chapter.—Of the general and common principles from whence all kingdoms and states act, in order to the improvement of their trade and wealth.

* These *Heads* are by Richard Lawrence, who, in 1682, published *The Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth Stated.*

2ndly.—Of the policies of several countries, as England, France, Low Countries, Florence and the Hanse Towns of Germany, in order to increase their trade and wealth, observed out of their laws and customs enjoined for that end.

3rd Ch.—That the advantages of Ireland are far greater than in any other countries, who, from small beginnings, have attained to great riches by increasing their trade and manufactures.

4th Cap.—Sheweth the reasons why Ireland, notwithstanding all its advantages for trade and wealth, is so weak and low in both at this day in four sections:—

1st. Sec.—From the unsettledness of the minds of the people, the Irish envying rather than imitating the English in their improvements, and the English jealous of disturbance from the Irish, discourageth their industry in improving. Some expedients proposed for the removing of those animosities.

2d. Sec.—Treats of Ireland's poverty proceeding from the great expenses it is at in maintaining foreigners to its peculiar interests in the most profitable employments of the kingdom, wherein is computed the vast sums of money that have been drained from it since the year 1660:—

1st.—By special grants upon the Treasury.

2dly.—By the Commissioners and Officers of the Court of Claims.

3rdly.—By the several sets of Farmers and Contractors with their Commissioners and Officers of the King's revenue.

4thly.—By the several changes of the hands of the Chief Governors, their attendants, and dependents upon them, computing so great a sum of money drained from the kingdom hereby would make a rich country poor, much more keep a poor country low.

3rd Sec.—Contains some reflections upon the Duke of Ormond's government, wherein is observed the condition his Grace found this kingdom in at his arrival in the year [1661], and the state he left it in in the year 1669, and the condition he found it in at his return in 1677 as to trade and wealth.

4th Sec.—Treats of other causes of the nation's poverty, as the bad payment the gentlemen make to the tradesmen. The universal liberty people of all ranks take of wearing silk, and other foreign manufactures. The multitude of idle and unprofitable people that, like drones in the hive, consume the honey others bring in, with expedients for remedies.

5th Chapter.—Reflects upon the ancient policy of the Crown in governing Ireland by noblemen of England rather than English noblemen in Ireland, and considerations whether the reasons first moving to that policy in the Government be not altered on the other hand. Wherein is observed how much the interest of the Chief Governor sways in all Governments, and consequently whether it be not His Majesty's interest as well as this kingdom's to farm his revenue to his subjects of that his kingdom, or at least to enjoin his Farmers to manage their farm by such Commissioners as are interested for its

common good, and better understand the condition thereof than strangers who have no interest but their salary and profits by the farm, which they will squeeze out of the people without respect to future good or hurt; for when they have made themselves never so odious to the people, and ruined the trade of the kingdom, they are gone with their gains, and hear no more of it, which persons of estate and interest in the country where they must abide, would dread to do.

IRELAND'S IMPROVER,

Or the Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth discussed in two books.

FIRST BOOK.

1st Chapter.—From the policy of its Government so far as it relates to the advantages and disadvantages of its trade and wealth.

2nd Chapter.—Of its foreign trade, with some expedients for its regulation and increase.

3rd Chapter.—Of manufacturing the growth of the country to the highest improvement.

4th Chapter.—Of the fishings of Ireland, with the great benefit other countries make thereout that want the advantages Ireland hath for the same.

SECOND BOOK

1st Chapter.—Of the husbandry of Ireland, both in the improvement of land and stock.

2nd Chaper.—Of planting of timber and fruit trees, with the art of gardening, wherein observations are made of the different nature of the climate and soil of England, and directions accordingly.

3rd Chapter.—Of experiments, not common, as the planting and propagating of wood, modder, liquorice, hops, saffron, with observations of the difficulties attending those attempts proper to Ireland above England.

4th Chapter.—Of country recreations, as hawking, hunting, fishing, and fowling.

5th Chapter.—Of good huswifry in the right ordering of butter and cheese, bacon, wax and honey for foreign markets.

6th Chapter.—Of distilling, preserving and conserving, with the right ordering of cider, perry, metheglin, wines of plums, currants, strawberries, gooseberries, etc.

7th Chapter.—Of physic and chirurgery, both for man and beasts, of the common known simples of the country, with some receipts for the cookery, and curiosity in entertainments.

Being the experiments of many approved authors, and most of them relating to trade and husbandry, proved by the author's 28 years' practise in Ireland, abstracted from their impertinencies and tautologies, as the nature of the climate, and qualification of the people of Ireland require. By a well-wisher to Ireland's prosperity.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1677, September 11. Castlemartyr.—I received last night by my son Harry* the great honour of your Grace's letter, with all the gratitude and satisfaction imaginable. I pay your Grace my most humble acknowledgements for it, and for your favour and justice in attributing to the true cause my being hindered from discharging the duty and enjoying the happiness of waiting on you. And I beg your Grace's permission faithfully to assure you that your obliging confidence of my constant and cheerful readiness to contribute my utmost endeavours in His Majesty's service, under your Government, shall never be disappointed.

Your Grace is pleased to lay the additional and great obligation on me of assuring me that what you said to my brother Cork in England about me, and what my Lord Chancellor of Ireland has written to me on that subject, your Grace does both own and will make good to a tittle. These are expressions I am so perfectly sensible of, and so highly obliged by, that I had much rather my services than my words should tell your Grace the deep and lasting impression they have made in me. But till I am so happy as to give your Grace full evidences of that great truth, be pleased I humbly beseech your Grace, to believe I will miss no opportunity to do it, and that it will be my trouble till it be done. My son Broghill is not yet returned hither, but my son Harry has told me the great favours your Grace vouchsafed to do both of them while they had the honour to wait on you. This does very much add to my debt.

Commission from Duke of Monmouth to Captain John Butler.

1677, September 14.—James, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, Earl of Doncaster and Dalkeith, Lord Scott of Askdale, Tindale and Whitchester, Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland, Lord Chief Justice and Justice in Eyre of all His Majesty's parks, forests and chases on the south side of Trent. Lord Lieutenant of the County of Stafford and the East Riding of York, Governor of the town of Kingston-upon-
(Seal) Hull, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Master of the Horse, and His Majesty's Captain of his Guards, and one of his most honourable Privy Council, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Colonel of the Royal English Regiment of Foot in the service of the most Christian King, etc.

These are to certify that I have appointed, and by these presents do appoint Captain John Butler to be eldest Captain and Major of my Regiment of Foot in the service of the most Christian King. And accordingly he is to discharge, execute, and perform all things relating to the duty of Major in the

* Henry Boyle, 2nd son of 1st Earl of Orrery, and father of the well-known Henry Boyle, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons and 1st Earl of Shannon.

said regiment, and the officers and soldiers thereof are hereby required to obey him as their Major and eldest Captain, and he is to follow such orders and directions as he shall from time to time receive from his superior officer in the said regiment according to the discipline of war. Given under my hand and seal at Fontainebleau this 14th day of September, 1677.
Monmouth.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond

1677, September 17. Castlemartyr.—I pay your Grace my most humble and real acknowledgements for the very great honour of your letter of the 15th instant, which I received this evening, and for the many high obligations your Grace has heaped upon me in it. I will not so much injure the lively sense I have of them as to attempt to express it by my words; but whenever my actions and services can do it they shall speak for me. I most faithfully assure your Grace that though I am in effect a man retired out of the world, yet whenever you command my poor opinion I will with all truth freely present it to you and lay it at your feet. Not that I am so vain as to fancy it can be of any use to a person of so great experience, and of so excellent a judgment, as your Grace is happy in; but to evidence I will obey you in everything else, I will do it even in what must too much demonstrate my weakness and folly.

The two heads your Grace mentions of the Treasury and of a Parliament, under which, as your Grace most truly observes, all other dependent things are comprehended, and on which your Grace will have me employ my thoughts. I will not fail to do it; and at present humbly lay before you what at first blush occurs to me.

I humbly believe the true state of the first will be easier known than remedied. I am not ignorant what great art and industry have been of late made use of to disguise it. But tricks in public affairs are never long lived; and no sophistry can resist the mathematics, since it is a science that depends on demonstration, as I believe the good or evil management of a Treasury does and ever will. I am perfectly satisfied that your Grace's designs to have the ills of it cured, and if I were convinced that all others concerned in it were so too, I might with some confidence presume to say the remedy would be easy, sure, and lasting, since the most difficult steps to the cure are to be sensible of the disease and then really desirous to be freed from it. I speak this with less diffidence because the noble person who was your Grace's immediate predecessor in the Government of this kingdom was pleased to honour me from time to time with all his transactions in that affair, and sometimes to command my insignificant opinion on it, which I could not refuse either to his authority or to his person; whereby I was but too much satisfied that the desire of the remedy was not a little [helpful], if not most needful, to the obtaining of it.

But of all this your Grace is the most competent judge. Only I cannot but say, unless the justice, not the absolute necessity of the thing itself, and your Grace's interest there can prevent the determinations in England concerning the Treasury here, and the disposal of it there, before you are fully consulted with, I fear the consequences will not be good.

As to the other great head, that of a Parliament. I was engaged about two years since to busy my unworthy thoughts on that subject, and now, since your Grace commands me, I will more intently employ them on that affair; but I must ingenuously acknowledge, unless I could know from your Grace how far His Majesty's own Royal goodness and your Grace's favourable mediation would go as to passing of bills to oblige his subjects, and if I did not also know how much is expected to be added to the revenue, on what such addition shall be raised, how long it should continue, and to what ends it should be employed for the safety and benefit of Ireland while the peace of the kingdom may enable His Majesty to dedicate it to other ends, without prejudice to his affairs in his other kingdom, or in foreign parts. I should not be able to present your Grace with my humble thoughts on this considerable affair, with those reasons, which I heartily wish may still accompany whatever I wish or speak to.

But this I may say in general, nothing probably can happen in the time of your Grace's government which will need more consideration than this one thing will. And though I foresee many great difficulties both in the laying and management of it, yet I will not despair but that by His Majesty's gracious concessions to his subjects, their loyalty and gratitude, together with your Grace's great knowledge of men and interest in the kingdom, and the deep prudence which forms and guides your actings, those many difficulties may be overcome. And really, my Lord, I would not for more than I will mention, that if His Majesty desire a supply he should fail of it, and also do it under your government.

In what I have presumed to write on these two considerable heads your Grace, I hope, will see I am resolved to have nothing in reserve in whatever you command my opinion, and also that I will, to the utmost of my power, which is very insignificant, contribute to make your government as acceptable to the King, as engaging to the kingdom, and as easy and honourable to yourself, as if my brother were in your Grace's station.

I am heartily sorry to find in the extracts of news which your Grace condescended to impart unto me, that so generous and noble a person as my Lord Ossory should present his assistance to a people whose present demeanour makes them so unworthy of that honour.

I had a letter last night from a very authoritative hand at Court, which had these very words in it, viz.: " notwithstanding the Spanish Ambassadors' (or rather Envoys') ranting, yet he offers us a firm alliance, ports and fortresses in Flanders, nay *carte blanche*, or what we please, if we will join in the

confederacy and make war on France," to which he adds "this has already much divided us, and I doubt will more." And that, I believe, is more intended by the Spaniards than an embargo, and, consequently, a war.

I should be very unworthy of your Grace's favours if I were not highly satisfied with them, and more unworthy of them could I hope to merit them.

Earl of Donegall to Ormond.

1677, September 24. London.—When I had the honour to wait on you here, I had your promise to endeavour an agreement of the suit between my Lady Gowran and me, if application were made to you. Sir John Cole writes to me her ladyship is much farther off a treaty now than I thought she had been here. My desire of an accommodation was my unwillingness to have any dispute with your Grace's family, which I have a very great honour for, not any diffidence in my right, which I question not on a fair trial in Ireland or England to obtain. For there was never any precedent for the King's seal to be put to Oliver's writ in Ireland, where his Majesty's prerogative hath never been so disputed as in England; it will be much admired hereafter in your Grace's Government, who hath ever been so loyal to the Crown, such a rent should be recorded and I made a precedent. The King's late order in Council puts it on the Chancellor to do it if he finds it agreeable to law, and justice doth not direct it, clears himself of it, and leaves the decency and justice at the Chancellor's door; and the precedents brought come not up to my case, they are all to confirm purchasers and were never controverted, and a precedent not argued is as good as none, but I fear I trouble your Grace too much. If upon the whole your Grace would be pleased to persuade her to come to an end by referring the estate in Ireland in controversy to friends, Sir John Cole shall do the like on my part, and your obligation in re-establishing my family shall always be owned to your Grace by me and my children, and on all occasions you may command me.

G. Mathew to Ormond.

1677, September 25. Kilkenny.—I have endeavoured upon several discourses with my lady to draw up an estimate of what your Grace's expenses will be as to building, liveries, servants' wages and other contingencies, in addition to that of your house-keeping, but I find 'tis not practicable till I can be at Dublin to see the check roll made up, and what the last livery came to. I shall soon have an account of what the finishing of the works begun here will amount unto in addition to what is now due, being about £1,100.

Mr. Robinson will deliver your Grace the model of the new prison at Clonmel with his opinion of the charge and his sense as to the removal of the houses in the middle of the street, which are your Grace's property, and would have been decreed so by law if you had not directed the stopping of the suit.

My lady will deliver your Grace a list of your mares and horses, and likewise a schedule of lands to be settled in caution to my Lord Chief Baron* for the monies you will have occasion to borrow to answer my Lord Derby's debt, and paying some of the bills that we have not fund for. Your affairs here will, for the future, be well managed by one Fannen, a new servant and a good accountant, who oversees the stock at Dunmore and all other concerns. I cannot well be at Dublin till towards the term in regard of the Receiver's accounts, which must be settled about this time, and then I shall go prepared to settle my Lady Gowran's jointure, and to pay the accounts of your estate since your going into England. Your hawks are in very good order, as Sir William Flower can inform you. I have some fourteen couple of beagles that run well but they are not of the colour your Grace would have them, till the young ones at nurse come in. When your Grace pleases to command them or the hawks they shall be sent.

HENRY THYNNE† to ORMOND.

1677, September 29. Whitehall.—Your Grace will herewith receive His Majesty's letter for appointing Commissioners to take Lord Ranelagh's accounts, wherein the same Commissioners are named that were in the former letter for that purpose, only your Grace is left out as you desired, and I think with very good reason, for I think the Lord Lieutenant who is to see that all Commisioners do their duty is above being joined with them in Commission, and my Lord of Essex told me that had he considered that matter so well at first as he did afterwards he would not have been put into that Commission. In the draft delivered by my Lord Ranelagh to Mr. Secretary for drawing up this letter, Lord Chief Justice Booth was left out, but His Majesty at the Committee of Foreign Affairs giving him directions to draw this letter as the last was only omitting your Grace's name, you will now find him inserted. We have no foreign news worth your Grace's trouble; all that our letters bring us is of the cruelties the French army uses in Flanders, where they have burnt eight villages to the ground for default of paying their contribution. Yesterday Sir Gabriel Silius went with the yachts to attend the Prince of Orange at the Brill, and if the wind continue favourable we may expect the Prince here about the latter end of next week. On Thursday night there happened a fire in the Inner Temple which, in spite of my Lord Craven's industry, destroyed in a very short time all the King's Bench buildings, and several people were killed and burnt. His Majesty has his health very well at Newmarket, where Mr. Secretary finds himself much more vigorous than he thought himself. I wish it may be so with my Lord Longford if his amours succeed, both for his own and the lady's sake.

Postscript:—Mr. Brabazon has made his submission to the Earl of Essex and the matter is composed.

* John Bysse, Chief Baron of the Irish Court of Exchequer, 1660-1680.

† Henry Thynne, one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, 3rd son of Sir Henry Thynne, Bart., and brother of Thomas, afterwards 1st Viscount Weymouth.

Duchess of Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1677, September 29.—At my going to Kilkenny I wrote to you, and do hope from what I hear out of England that this may find you there. I stayed in the country but a few days, where I found all things better than I expected. I hope my Lord's affairs are now so regulated as he will be able every year to pay off a considerable part of his debt, and yet support the dignity of his place in a way of honour and credit to him. I find no appearing dissatisfaction as yet, but what time and inconstancy of humour may produce at long running I cannot tell, for this world is subject to change. My Lord and Lady Strafford are expected here within a few days, the yacht being sent to bring them over, who shall be received by all of their relations with the respect that is due to them and our friendship and relation unto the family upon your daughter's account.

Ormond to [Earl of Orrery.]

1677, October 2. Dublin Castle.—I thought it would be an useless trouble to your Lordship to make an insignificant return to your Lordship's of the 17th of the last,* or to enter into a further discourse of the very weighty subject of that letter till I could in some measure answer pertinently to those questions which I confess must have such explanations and solutions as things of that importance are capable of before it can be reasonable that an opinion should be given by a person so considerate on so important an advice as that of calling or not calling of a Parliament in this Kingdom, which must inevitably bring great advantage or great prejudice to the King and subject.

The first step I thought most necessary to make was to know the true state of the Revenue, and the next I take to be to consider what burden it must bear, comprehending not only the constant payment of the establishment, but all such preparations. New works and provisions must necessarily be added before the army can be said to be useful or a Kingdom made the safer for it.

The first part is done, I presume, exactly by a Committee of the Board and brought yesterday to Council, of which I hope to send your Lordship copies by this post, but you will observe that the overplus, computed to about £23,000, will not begin till April come twelvemonth, and that it will not then hold unless the Farmers hold and perform their bargain, and unless the King hold his hand from laying any further charge on his revenue, and that none fall upon it by defalcations to the Farmers or by the return of more of those debts upon His Majesty which the Lord Ranelagh and his partners were by their contract to have paid, as some have already done, and are upon the establishment, and as all others are like to do which are not already paid, or past in account as paid, for so Sir James Hayes declared himself for himself and his partners yesterday at the Council, and the general answer now given by those that demand payment of them is that

* See p. 42, *supra*.

they have performed their undertaking and that the King must satisfy them.

The next thing to be done is a computation of the repairs, works and provisions to be gone in hand with and made, and of this an estimate will be drawn as soon as Mr. Robinson shall have perfected his observations on his last view taken of the forts and garrisons of the Kingdom; and those, I am sure, will be found so out of repair and the magazines so decayed and unfurnished that if all the King's revenue were paid and wholly applied to those uses and the payment of the establishment it would require a considerable time and prudent management to put them into a tolerable condition. Hence it may be safely concluded that the revenue as it stands will not reach to put the Kingdom into that state of defence it ought always to be in, even when there is the least and most remote possibility of invasion or disquiet, and consequently that it may be fit at least to consider how the revenue may be augmented since the charge in necessary things cannot and in unnecessary things is not like to be saved.

Those are the considerations moving the King to advise about the calling of a Parliament in this kingdom, which only can sufficiently supply him with what may secure his Crown and the subjects' property in quiet; but counsellors (who are presumed, as we have trust so, to have knowledge in what may be for the good of his kingdom and of his people) that His Majesty expects information and the preparations of such bills as may be fit for us to desire he should pass into laws, declaring only his readiness to pass any such any Acts. What those bills should be is that which I desire your Lordship to take into your thoughts, as I shall do into mine, with the best assistance I can call to me here.

His Majesty likewise believes that we who represent to him the state of the kingdom in reference to the Army, forts, garrisons, and magazines, are most like to give him a reasonable computation, and what may be necessary to remedy those defects, His Majesty declaring that whatever shall be given shall be applied to those ends, and it was declared, both by the King and my Lord Treasurer, that whatever sums of money should be given for those uses, the King would be content should be appropriated to them by the same Act that gave them. It is true I did not find His Majesty so clear in the case of constant revenue, because it argued distrust, and might be an ill example. I take the liberty to send your Lordship the copy of a paper I presented His Majesty with before I left the Court. It was very hastily, and, I am sure, imperfectly drawn, yet by it your Lordship may have some measure of my advices there.

Copy.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1677, October 3. Newmarket.—I owe your Grace for the honour of two since my coming to this place. The first brought enclosed a form of a letter for a commission to take my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, which I immediately got signed and sent

to Henry Thynne to be transmitted to your Grace; that I did not send with it a letter of my own I do humbly acknowledge. I could give no reason if I were in any other place but here, where writing and reading is more than a secretary dare publicly avow. It is fair if I answer you one in two, for if being in post haste is a (received) excuse for a short letter, race haste may make a good plea for this letter. Your letter of the 21st September I have showed His Majesty, but will not swear he hath read it, but it shall be kept cold for London. We think we shall see the Prince of Orange here, coaches being gone to receive him at Harwich. His voyage gives great alarmings everywhere, and as many or more several guesses at the design of his voyage. All I can say of it is they seem by their jealousy to believe we can upon some occasions keep our designs secret, but I doubt they fancy many things for us, and to do like them. I believe the issue of this journey will neither be so bad as they fear abroad, nor so good as we hope here, but certainly should it end in a bare visit, it would have ill consequences. This is as big a letter as Newmarket will endure, where many a man hath made an end of his treasure in fewer minutes than I have been writing this letter.

Postscript.—His Majesty and Royal Highness are in very good health; all things else in *statu quo prius.*

Earl of Essex to Ormond.

1677, October 4. London.—There having been nothing of business since my arrival here, which might engage me to give your Grace the trouble of a letter, I have hitherto delayed writing to you; but this opportunity by a gentleman who had a dependence on me offering itself, I could not omit the occasion of returning my thanks for the favours I received from your Grace at my parting from Dublin, and giving you assurance that as any affair concerning Ireland shall come in debate, if I am present, I shall most readily give my utmost assistance therein, and particularly shall do your Grace the same right which (when I was on the place) I could have desired my friends here to have done for me.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1677, October 5. Castlemartyr.—I have been since Saturday last afflicted with so sharp a pain in all my right hand that I most humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I am necessitated to make use of my son Harry's hand to pay you my most humble and real acknowledgments for the great honour of your Grace's letter of the 2nd instant, with the three papers enclosed in it.

I have diligently perused your Grace's proposals and considerations presented to His Majesty the 12th of July last, and most heartily wish they may be as punctually observed in the future, as they are grounded on great reason. And I am the more heartily concerned they should be so upon

the view of His Majesty's revenue and charge given in to your Grace by the Committee of the Council the 28th of the last month, which I assure myself is a true account, and therefore it does not a little trouble me, since I find thereby that though the Establishments (bating little trivial sums) are unpaid for six months, yet there is not so much as a prospect of having them paid up till Michaelmas last, even with employing the money brought out of England by Mr. Bridges, which amounts to £36,565.

By the Establishment, which was last made in England when my Lord Essex was there, the revenue payable by the new Farmers would, (as I apprehended it) more than pay the Establishment £40,000 a year, including in the Establishment His Majesty's £20,000, and the £6,000 interest to the new Farmers for the £60,000 they advanced. Yet now, by the Committee of the Council's calculations, though the money brought over by Mr. Bridges be added to pay off what was due at Michaelmas, yet there will be wanting to pay off the Establishment till then £16,528.

That this is so I am but too well satisfied, but how possibly it is brought about I cannot easily imagine. For whereas the farm rent at Michaelmas last should have fully paid off the Establishments till then, and have had £20,000 overplus, yet it will not answer the payment of the Establishment till then by £53,093; for so much the money brought over by Mr. Bridges, and what that falls short of paying off, till Michaelmas, the Establishment does amount unto.

Nor is this all the evil. for by the Lords of the Committee's calculation I find that till the last of April next come twelvemonth, the revenue will not answer the charge by £18,200, and from that April, 1679, to the end of the farm, if the Farmers be able to make good their annual payments, the revenue will exceed the payments but £23,262 yearly.

I was made believe that this £36,565 brought over by Mr. Bridges was to have enabled the contractors to have paid the Army at every month's end their month's pay, deducting for the same 12*d.* in the pound, but if this £36,565 be at once employed to make up what is wanting to the pay of the Establishment till Michaelmas last (and yet there will be £16,528 short doing the same), I cannot see possibly how the Army can be paid monthly, though they allow 12*d.* in the pound for the same. For should they be paid monthly before the said £16,528 is paid off, I doubt they would look upon that £16,528 as postponed, and apprehend the total losing of it. And they cannot be paid monthly out of the revenue from Michaelmas last, because that £16,528 will be almost a month's rent of the revenue, and the Farmers by their contract have a month's time after every monthly payment is due to satisfy it in; so that upon the whole matter, there being no money to pay the Army monthly from Michaelmas last but what arises monthly out of the rents due by the Farmers, and that what is due the last of September is not payable till the last of October, and that the Farmers' rent of October (not payable till November) be applied

to pay the £16,528 which is already due of the last Michaelmas pay, there can be nothing expected till the last of December out of the Farmers' rent to pay the Army monthly, so that in effect, though they pay twelve pence in the pound to be paid monthly, they are not like to receive one month's pay from Michaelmas till Christmas, nor ever after, but a month after it is due; whereby in effect they must pay twelve pence in the pound to be paid monthly, and yet never have a prospect to be paid accordingly. To which may be added that the ten months' postponed pay, and so much of the twelve months' postponed pay as is unpaid (both which by the Lord Ranelagh's and partner's contract should have been satisfied), and both which amount to a great sum, being never like to be paid to those to whom it is due (for by your Grace's letter they aver they have overpaid already) will, I doubt, beget no little discontentedness of mind, which I would never have happen during His Majesty's reign, and particularly under your Grace's government.

All these unhappy managements of the revenue I much fear will be urged to stop the mouths of all those of us who shall be most pressing to augment His Majesty's standing revenue, and also for getting of a sum to fill His Majesty's arsenals, and for repairing of forts, fortifying of places, building of shipping for the encouragement of our own trade, and, consequently, the certainer paying His Majesty's revenue, etc.: both which it seems by your Grace's letter are expected from the next Parliament; when they shall tell us that, though by the Lord Ranelagh's and partners' contract all debts due by His Majesty in their schedule should be paid off before the determining of their contract, and £10,000 over and above to be paid into the Exchequer with the balance of the Lord Anglesey's and Sir George Cartwright's accounts; yet that great sums of those debts in the said schedule are unpaid, though His Majesty, out of the new Farmers' advance money or rent, did lend them £24,000 in ready cash, and that the whole £80,000, and the said balances which should have come into the King's purse, is spent. When also by the new Farmers' contract there was more than £40,000 a year than would pay the Establishments; and yet the Establishments at this day are full six months unpaid, and but a sorry prospect how the military list shall be monthly paid in the future, though they allow 12*d.* in the pound to receive it monthly.

Alas, my Lord, I say, what shall we that would heartily advance the King's revenue say rationally to all this. I confess I would be very glad to be furnished with arguments to reply, for my dull brain will afford me but few. For when those who must grant supplies do feel that whatever they grant is not applied to the solid safety and benefit of His Majesty's Government, I fear it will come but slowly from them, since the ill payment of the Establishments hinder that speedy circulation of the little cash in Ireland, which is so necessary to the Farmers to pay His Majesty's rents, the tenants to the proprietors, and, consequently, the Army from being in a con-

dition to answer readily all your Grace's commands, for from the not punctual payment of the Establishments, those three great evils and many others which your Grace enumerates in your paper of the 12th of July, do and will inevitably flow.

We all expect and assure ourselves of a considerable redress in these particulars under your Grace's government, both on the account of your Grace's great interest with His Majesty, and the influence you have upon those who are like to compose the intended Parliament; and, therefore, I beg your Grace's leave to say that I the more heartily lament the present juncture of affairs, that, though the present farm does so much exceed the pay of the Establishment, yet there is not so much as a prospect that it shall answer the payment of them till after April, 1679. And yet His Majesty's occasions seem to require the calling of a Parliament much sooner; since then nothing less than a promise of a more regular ordering of the revenue to answer the Establishments will too probably be expected, and I confess I had rather satisfy a Parliament with demonstrations than with promises. And I ingenuously acknowledge to your Grace that my private apprehensions will be very melancholy unless your Grace, with as much expedition as may be, does procure from England not only a positive order that no warrant or directions touching the revenue of Ireland shall from henceforth be answered till the Establishment be fully paid; but also that when any overplus of the revenue shall come in, more than will pay the Establishments, no final disposition may be made thereof till your Grace be first heard and advised with thereupon. For since you cannot remedy what is past, it will be, in my humble opinion, both necessary for His Majesty's service and for the satisfaction of the intended Parliament, that an effectual course is taken to prevent the like inconveniencies for the future.

I am very glad to find in your Grace's letter that His Majesty is content that whatever sums of money shall be given for remedying the several defects and wants in this his kingdom, which your Grace enumerates, shall be appropriated in the bill that grants them to those uses, and that my Lord Treasurer of England is also desirous thereof. But I am really sorry that past misapplications of the revenue has made His Majesty willing to consent thereunto; the thing itself is very melancholy, but the causes which induce it are to me much more.

I have troubled your Grace with so long a letter that I am even ashamed of it, and yet before I conclude it, I beg your Grace's pardon if I presume to trouble you with two particulars.

The first is to assure your Grace I have busied my thoughts in obedience to your commands with what according to my poor understanding may be welcome and necessary materials for bills, and that as soon as God restores me to the use of my hands, I shall presume whenever you command it to acquaint your Grace with my humble thoughts on that great subject, which I shall do purely to obey you, for I know those which your Grace calls to attend you at Dublin in this weighty affair will hardly omit anything that may be conducive to it, being guided therein by your Grace.

The other particular is that since several payments which were included in the Lord Ranelagh's and partners' schedules, and which they should have discharged, are by their failure charged upon the new Establishments, and many more may be, if their accounts be not speedily audited and stated, I humbly propose to your Grace's consideration the doing thereof as soon as may stand with your conveniency. This is what I took the confidence upon several letters to me from your Grace's immediate predecessor upon that point to mind him of, for they then began to whisper what now they speak aloud, which is that they have overpaid, and therefore, whatever remains unpaid of their schedule and contract, those concerned must apply themselves to His Majesty for. For, I must take leave to say, this seems to me a strange and dangerous way of procedure. Since that they have not paid according to their contract is evident; and 'tis against law and reason that an averment, especially of the parties concerned, should be pleaded against a record. Nor indeed can I very well see how your Grace can give His Majesty such a prospect of his revenue, debts and charge, as I am certain you design to present him, till this one business be thoroughly adjusted. For if what they have failed of paying during their contract be placed on the revenue of the new farm, all calculations must be but at random, till those accounts be clearly stated, which now they have had a year and three-quarters time to do since the expiration of their farm, and yet have not done it, though in October, 1676, they presented a petition to His Majesty, a copy whereof I have, wherein they seemed to be very pressing to have their accounts stated, when at the same time my Lord of Essex wrote to me he could not get them to do it.

It could not enter into my belief that they had overpaid, unless towards making that out they charged His Majesty with interest at ten per cent. for all they paid besides the Establishments, and therefore I humbly present to your Grace how requisite it is that you should know exactly from time to time how and when they paid the Establishments, as well as how and when they paid any sums besides the Establishments, for I know so well the persons who were the late Commissioners that I cannot easily believe they had a stock of their own wherewith to discharge, before it was due, the £80,000 due at the end of their contract. And if the case should be so that they paid debts with the King's revenue for which they claim interest at ten per cent., and thereby leave the Establishments unpaid, it will seem but reasonable that if they make the King pay interest for his own money, they should also allow interest from time to time for not paying off the Establishments according to their contract. If they had money both to pay the £80,000 before it was due, and the Establishments and schedule of debts which they were obliged to satisfy as it grew due, why did they leave the latter to this hour so much unpaid? And if they had not money for both it is shrewdly to be presumed that they left the latter unpaid only to enable them to pay the

former, which was most beneficial to them, but was prejudicial to His Majesty and this his kingdom.

I have, if I mistake not much, some papers by me, which I will look out as soon as the pain of my hand gives me leave to do it, that may enable me to write more clearly to your Grace on this subject, for I think it highly concerns his Majesty's service, and the future happiness of the Government, which shall in all things be most sincerely and assiduously endeavoured by, etc.

Postscript.—I most humbly thank your Grace for being pleased to allow Captain Culter's company to continue still in Limerick.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1677, October 12. Newmarket.—Your Grace's of the 27th of September I have (received) with the form of a letter for a commission to examine my Lord of Ranelagh and his partners' accounts, but having received another from you a fortnight since, so I would not offer another to the King till I hear more particularly from you, especially since I find Sir James Cuffe and Sir Cyril Wyche inserted in the former which are not in this, but if upon second thoughts your Grace like this better, as soon as I hear from you I will immediately endeavour the procuring the King's hand to this last.

The Prince of Orange hath been with us ever since Tuesday, having come from Hounsterdike hither in two days. The King, Duke, and Prince of Orange lie this night at Euston, to-morrow come back hither, and on Saturday we are all for London. I shall from thence be much less negligent, but far more impertinent than from hence; the town is full of public ministers to watch what the arrival of the Prince will produce. I do not believe he and his uncle [ ] one word beyond what Newmarket may justify, so I believe the foreign ministers will be hard put to it to give an account to their superiors of their coming hither. The jockeys keep their privileges at the height, and command as formerly, both in drawing-room and bed-chamber. Your son Ossory is in perfect good health, and I doubt not but he telleth your Grace so himself.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1677, October 20.—I have yours of the 16-6 from the Hague. I hope this will find you at Court with the Prince of Orange, to whom you will deliver the enclosed. You will herewith receive the result of my diligence in relation to the revenue. You should do well to make yourself master of the state of it, that upon occasion you may know what to say upon the subject; it will found to be far short of the prospect given His Majesty of it, and it will prove worse if the present Farmers do not, without defalcations, punctually continue their payments, if the King shall charge his revenue with any new burdens, and if accidents occasioning any extraordinary expense (such as

the present expedition into the North) shall happen, I shall send copies of these papers to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary Coventry, holding it my duty to give the King as true a state of his affairs as I can, though I am not ignorant how ill he makes his court that shows the worst part of them, which yet is not so melancholy but that I can demonstrate it to be in the King's power to clear and augment his revenue, to add a considerable number to his Army, to build and repair forts and magazines, and fill them, in fit places; but then he must be content to part with some present advantages and restrain his bounties—I mean from going beyond what they are upon the Establishment. There is so little hope that such a project will be entertained, when every small sum supposed and suggested to be an overplus is presently sent for into England, that I am not yet resolved to make the proposition, since I find the present getting of £100 is more valued than the most profitable prospect of a £1,000, if it must be employed here, though the doing so contribute never so much to the King's greatness, and the security of his government in all his dominions. I would not have you therefore expose these thoughts of mine, at least till they are better digested, and that there appears a better disposition to receive them, yet I am content my Lord Chamberlain may be acquainted with them, because he may advise when it may be proper to make further use of them, and in the meantime will no ill of them.

I desire you would let Sir R. Southwell see, and if he pleases, take copies of the calculations of the charge and revenue.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1677, October 23. Whitehall.—By this conveyance I send your Grace, under cover, to Sir Cyril Wyche, His Majesty's letter in behalf of Sir Nicholas Armorer and Sir Gabriel Silius, which is all the business I have to trouble your Grace with, the great news we heard yesterday suffering us only to think in bells and bonfires, His Majesty in Council declaring his resolution of giving Lady Mary in marriage to the Prince of Orange, to which his Royal Highness very frankly declared his consent before the Council, whereupon the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, and both the Secretaries of State were appointed to draw up the articles of marriage which is to be consummated with all expedition. Upon this declaration of His Majesty the whole Council resolved to go in a body to compliment the Prince and Princess, which accordingly they did, and the evening spent in bonfires and ringing of bells all over the city, but Mr. Secretary could bear no other share in this joy than by his good wishes, being confined by the gout, but, I hope, he will be abroad in two or three days.

Earl of Chesterfield to Earl of Ossory.

1677, October 24.—I confess I am so little myself that I hardly know how to acknowledge your Lordship's kind-

ness, which in a less misfortune would mitigate my trouble,* but, my dear Lord, all my comforts are gone, and though afflictions are as natural to man as the sparks flying upward, yet this in all circumstance has been so terrible and unusual that I am not ashamed to own that my forces do so sink under it that death, if Heaven please, seems the best remedy to so deplorable a condition. I know length of time commonly lessens the sharpness of grief, but how to dispose of myself I am ignorant, for I now hate this place as much as formerly I liked it, and the thoughts of London are more odious to me, and to go again abroad and leave Betty and all my young children to the care of servants does neither suit with my years nor my kindness to them, so that I cannot resolve on anything, but shall expect and await the pleasure of the Almighty in disposing of. my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and most obedient unfortunate servant.

ORMOND to the KING.

1677, October 24. Dublin Castle.—By this post Mr. Secretary Coventry will receive such a state of your Majesty's revenue and charge here as can be for the present made, and I am persuaded it will be found to be no better than that computation represents it, so that I conceive it will be necessary for your Majesty to think of the ways of being supplied, if you still continue to be of opinion to put your affairs in this kingdom into a condition, not only to secure your Government here, but to contribute towards the doing it in all your other dominions. If your Majesty shall satisfy yourself with keeping things here in the state they are, that is, to make a scrambling shift to pay your Army and other necessary expenses of the Government by borrowing from future months to pay the present, I think it may be done, as long as no disorder shall arise within your kingdoms; but if you aim, as I hope you do, at making this kingdom useful to you in a more considerable degree by the enlargement of your Army, and the securing of commodious harbours and places, I do not doubt but it may be compassed, your Majesty doing your part towards it.

It is possible some projects may be brought to your Majesty how this may be done, at least in some good proportion, by the strength of your own revenue. I guess so because discourses have been held with me to the same effect, but I exceedingly distrust all such overtures. I am sure much time must be lost in the experiment; and that a Parliament here can and will do it, if it be rightly handled, I do not question.

There is nothing the considering part of this people do more apprehend should prove their ruin in the end, or at the best [hindering] them from reaping the fruit of their industry than the [trans]mission of their money into England, and they

* The reference is to the death of Lord Chesterfield's third wife Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Dormer, 2nd Earl of Carnarvon. His second wife had been Lady Elizabeth Butler, daughter of the Duke of Ormond.

suppose the more they give beyond what serves to support the Government the sooner they shall be undone, at least the longer they shall be a thriving. I do not think they will stick at giving any supply the kingdom can afford if a way can be found to satisfy them that it will be employed amongst them, without presuming to ask wherein (I wish the same temper ruled everywhere, this by the way), and methinks it should not be impossible so to contrive it, that they might have this satisfaction and yet your Majesty still receive what you now do, or a greater sum, out of this revenue by transferring some of the charge of England upon it, such as might be answered by the commodities of this country. But till this and the whole design can be better thought of and digested I must presume to beseech your Majesty that you would not send for small sums of money from hence upon every suggestion that there is an overplus when in reality there is no such thing, if your Majesty has it still in your purpose to try raising considerable supplies. For though the sums be inconsiderable, yet the drawing them away will greatly discourage and indispose them who must give those supplies, and if I durst I would rather propose that your Majesty (before Parliament shall be more talked of) would employ some part of your own £20,000, either in raising of more companies and sending them over, or in building of the fort of Kinsale, for I am confident (if you mean to command a Parliament should be called) the venture would bring you in a treble return, wherein your Majesty could not fail to find your account your own way. I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon for the length of this letter.

Earl of Anglesey to Ormond.

1677, October 26. London.—May it please your Grace: Being returned to London it is time that I congratulate your Grace's safe arrival and welcome settlement in that Government which I hope you will manage to general satisfaction, as I have been witness of your doing formerly.

I intend to make a motion to your Grace for your honour and the good of Ireland concerning Gloucester Hall, in Oxford, which now lies waste, but I have not yet drawn the design for it. I am sure you will pardon my good intentions in it as soon as you see it.

Your Lordship I hope will pardon me if now I beg your justice with favour in my concern in the first nine thousand pounds of the lapse money, wherein your Lordship is a witness I yielded to such forbearance as was desired for those that are to pay it. I have appointed my agent, and my Lord of Orrery hath appointed his, to attend your Grace in this concern (now my Lord of Essex is come away) to obtain your Grace's warrant for making His Majesty's grant effectual to us, by ordering out the survey books, process and whatever else may be necessary to the collecting of the money, that I may receive at length this pittance, who your Grace knows have had very ill hap with all former grants of benefit or advantage.

Your Grace's kindness herein shall oblige me in all your commands to show myself your Grace's most humble and faithfully affectionate servant.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677, October 27. Dublin.—I send herewith a letter to the Duke in answer to one of his, and have in it given him a short state of the revenue here, and of the only way I can think of to remedy the defects of everything relating to the security of this kingdom. I have taken notice to him of the letter I sent you by the last post for the King, because I do not know whether my Lord Chamberlain and you will think it seasonable to deliver it; I remember the ill-luck my Lord Aungier had by giving in a melancholy state of this revenue, and how my Lord Ranelagh got into his place by making a cheerful proposition upon it; but I have reason to think when my Lord of Ranelagh and his partners' accounts shall be closed, the King will be found as much in debt as when that undertaking began, and I have ground to suspect that before those accounts shall be taken, it will be endeavoured to make some new and specious offers to hinder the taking of them, and for some more years to cover the failures of the undertaking. It would be proper in case of any such offer that we here upon the place should be consulted in it; there can be no reason against it but the fear of being rightly informed. I suppose by that time this gets to you there will be an end one way or other of what is in agitation there, and that the King will be at more leisure to consider his affairs at home, and especially here, where I am sure there is much good to be done if the right way be taken.

ORMOND to EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

1677, October 30. Dublin.—My Lord: It is a week since we had notice here of your Lady's death, but I was not willing to give credit to the report till I was compelled to it by certain information from London.

Your Lordship has not wanted afflictions and trials of that nature, but perhaps they have been repeated to you oftener than to most men, which I do not mention as an extenuation of the misfortune, for I believe in many constitutions multiplied crosses do make the loss the more rather than the less insurportable; yet in this case I hope your Lordship may raise some consolation to yourself from the very uneasy and uncomfortable condition your Lady lived long in, and is now freed from. I wish I could in this, as in all other conjunctures, prove serviceable to you in any way, that it might appear with how much truth and affection I am my Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate father and most humble servant.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1677, November 6.—I received yours of the 23rd of the last yesterday, with others of the 27th and 30th from other hands,

on the subject of the Prince of Orange's good success in his pretension to the Lady Mary. I wish he may find all the satisfaction and advantage he proposes to himself in it, and that we who rejoice at it may continue and have cause so to do, as I do not doubt but we may and shall, if all the consequent benefits that may be gathered from it be rightly and constantly pursued

I am glad you went with my Lord Cavendish to Westminster, I hope after all his mistakes and misadventures he will prove useful to the Crown and his country.

I cannot imagine that what the Prince of Orange desires for you will be so soon taken into consideration, but that you will have time enough to think it over and over, and advise with your friends; for if there be not a very great change in counsels and in inclinations since I left the Court, there is no appearance that the King will so far own a body of his subjects to be in the States' service, as to give any allowance to his domestic servant to command them, and without some such authentic allowance it may be worth considering how fit it may be for such a one to undertake it. If a general or particular peace be made, or an alliance betwixt the King and the States shall be entered into, in order to a general peace, there can then be no difficulty in your aiming at it; but I am afraid there will be in that case difficulty in your obtaining it; and perhaps the King may not be pleased you should, before such a peace or alliance, effect it. I still wish you in that post as you ought to be in it, that is by the King's command, and with capitulations, conditions, and establishments made by the States with the Crown as heretofore, or at least that you have the King's command for it, and I doubt things are not yet brought to that posture. This is all I can say at this distance on the subject.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1677, November 13. Whitehall.—Since my last of the 6th instant, I have not made much advance in your Grace's commands. I have discovered the letter concerning the Northern troops to the King, who telleth me it shall be considered at our next meeting of foreign affairs, where you will, I hope, think we have been quicker than ordinary that a Prince should come and woo, marry, bed and carry away the Princess Mary in a month's time. You may imagine we have not been a little employed in consulting to make it effectual to the affairs of Christendom, but whether it will have the effect we desire is more than I can assure, but as for what is done I think is what all honest men have long wished.

As concerning a ship to guard your coasts, I have got the King to command Mr. Peepes [Pepys] that it may be proposed upon the first meeting of the Admiralty. The Prince and Princess of Orange go hence on Friday. Private letters from Scotland give not things so quiet as represented by the Duke of Lauderdale, but I hope he is in the right.

As soon as I can with any convenience have this matter of posts and magazines and his whole letter debated you shall be sure I will. I have seen your Grace's letter to His Majesty by my Lord Ossory's favour. No doubt the representations are just and rational, and if there be not obstacles of another nature, may likely thrive; but there are many that had rather advise spending money in stopping gaps though at never so much charge, though they know they will soon be open again, than build walls. In conclusion, I beseech your Grace to believe that I will not fail to be very punctual in whatsoever you shall command me in order to His Majesty's service, or your own.

Postscript.—As for Lord Ranelagh's accounts, my Lord Treasurer saith he hath given him a copy of what your Grace sent, but he hath not yet answered. I shall press that he may.

My Lord Ossory is so busy in attending the Prince of Orange that he cannot write to your Grace by this post.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1677, November 16. Castle Martyr.—I have received with all humble acknowledgements the great honour of your Grace's letter of the 13th instant. I durst not presume to trouble your Grace in any occasions but those which I humbly believe may be of some importance, and therefore I make use of my Lord Chancellor's favour in some humble representations, which are in my belief needful, though not worth your Grace's pains in reading my letters.

I have, in obedience to your Grace's pleasure, employed my poor thoughts on those two weighty subjects your Grace commanded them upon; of what might be granted to the King in the intended Parliament, and what might possibly be expected by his good subjects from his gracious care of them and generous bounty to them. I have also reduced them into writing, and put them into the best method I can. But I want confidence to lay them at your Grace's feet, till I have first sent them to my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and have obtained the favour from him of correcting and polishing them, so as they may not be wholly unworthy of your Grace's trouble to peruse them; I hope, by this post, to have them legibly transcribed to send them to his Grace, and when he has mended and fitted them, then I intend most humbly to present them to your Grace. But I must frankly acknowledge to your Grace, if by your pressing applications into England, and those weighty reasons which accompany them, (to which I am no stranger) not only an instant stop be put to drawing the revenue out of Ireland which is to support His Majesty's Government in it; and also if that some steady rules be not given to prevent the like in the future, I shall not be without great if not unconquerable fears that the success of the intended Parliament will not be such as from my heart I wish it may be. The reasons for those fears are but too obvious.

The barter between the Lord Ranelagh and partners of the one side, and the present Farmers and Commissioners (and in some cases accountants) seems very strange to me. And your Grace's apprehensions on it are very rational, and I doubt, should it proceed uninterruptably, will produce all those ill effects your Grace so readily foresees. There are two particulars in it, on which I beg your leave to lay before you my poor thoughts.

The first is (at least I guess it to be so by the honour of your Grace's letter written to me on the subject) that this barter is carried on without your Grace's approbation, nay, without your knowledge, which I cannot but consider as a very unwarrantable proceeding in both parties, and therefore deserves a most sharp reprehension, if no more; for if such an indignity should pass unresented, nay (in my humble opinion), if it should not therefore be made void and null, it will, I fear, authorise in the future many other like misbehaviours and affronts to the Government.

The second is that the late contractors (I mean the Lord Ranelagh and partners) having publicly owned they have overpaid all which by their contract they were liable unto, they have in that averment spoken the truth or an untruth. If the latter, 'tis hard that they should put so many thousands to petition to His Majesty to pay them what really the contractors, not the King, does owe those of the civil and military lists who are yet unpaid. If the former, then the present Farmers are but agents in effect for the late contractors, and yet will make use of their own officers and of the King's authority in them to levy private men's dues, if not to rack the subject in the raising of them; even also after the time that the contractors had allowed them to raise those dues, for that, I take it, ends the 25th of next month. And by then the present Farmers will be so far from having raised those pretended dues that they will hardly be in their way of doing it. And therefore I conclude that to encourage the present Farmers to this bartering, the said Undertakers have engaged to procure them a lengthening of the time for that ungrateful work.

My Lord Treasurer of England and my Lord Essex, when the revenue was to be set, in the year '75, were pleased to advise with me (though very unworthy) in that particular, and I remember I was fully of opinion that it should be farmed to any new bidders (that give good security for their performance), rather than under the old contractors. My reason was that unless the revenue were farmed by new men, the old Undertakers, by farming it again, would with the growing receipts so patch up all breaches that it would be impossible till the end of the second farm palpably to make out the failures of the first, and then too probably it might be ruinous to the revenue and the kingdom.

It would take up too much for a letter to set down all the apparent mischiefs, which, if this barter be not broken, will too probably ensue in my humble opinion; one other of the least is that by this assignation of the old contractors' pre-

tences to the new Farmers, your Grace will be several months in finally adjusting the balance of the contractors' accounts with His Majesty; for the Farmers may plead ignorance in their accounts, and they having transplanted themselves out of your Grace's reach in point of authority, all transactions in that affair will be very slow and dilatory.

I did by my Lord Chancellor humbly present your Grace with what news I had the last English packet.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1677, November 17. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace of the 13th instant, the scene of affairs is somewhat altered as to the affairs of your neighbours of Scotland, my Lord Duke of Lauderdale writing that the Conventicles are of a sudden both more numerous and insolent than formerly, and that he hath reason to suspect they intend somewhat more than bare preaching and praying, and that he hath already given orders to prevent any insurrections as well as he can there. This agreeth so precisely with what His Majesty's intelligence is from amongst the disaffected here that His Majesty thinketh it very reasonable to prepare immediately against all attempts they can make. I am therefore to tell you in the first place that all your demands in your letter of October 30th are answered. First, His Majesty consents that all the field officers shall have their pay as proposed by you. Secondly, as to the shipping, it is left to your Grace's discretion to provide them where you shall find them most convenient for the present service, and in the next place with the least expense to His Majesty; but they must be in readiness to transport the men, horses and ammunition, etc. whensoever my Lord Granard shall be required to come to Scotland, and your Grace is to give him orders to obey the orders of the Council of Scotland, both for the time of his transportation, and likewise how he shall dispose of himself and his men when landed. In the next place His Majesty sendeth an express to the Duke of Lauderdale to send over a gentleman on purpose to negotiate with my Lord Granard concerning all those matters he desireth to be satisfied in, as concerning a landing place, magazines, and the like, as likewise the posts to be established, all agreed to by His Majesty, if your Grace and the Duke of Lauderdale or the Council of Scotland can adjust how they shall be. His Majesty maketh some provision in the North of England by sending some troops that way, and taking all care for the speedy suppressing of those incendiaries. There will go a duplicate of this letter by an express by way of Scotland. In conclusion, His Majesty would have your Grace lose no time, but prepare all things, so that this party of men in the North of Ireland may be ready for transportation upon the first warning.

I herewithal send your Grace a copy of a little account the King hath had from my Lord of Essex of what considerations were had relating to this business in his time, not that it is

sent to prescribe to your Grace, but only to give you occasion of considering whether, if you have not already given the like orders in this business, it may not be convenient to consider of the fitness of these. I have no more to importune you with at present, but to take my leave.

Viscount Granard to Ormond.

1677, November 18. Belfast.—Since my last I have received intelligence by one I sent for Scotland, who turned short and went no further than Glasgow, that in Fife there has been a Presbyterian minister rescued after he was in custody, and that fourteen of His Majesty's Guards of Horse were killed in the rencontre. Now they are entered in blood your Grace may imagine the consequences; this I dare not aver as a certain truth, yet I have reason to believe it, which, if otherwise, I hope your Grace will pardon me who desire nothing but my duty to you. My Lord, I am likewise informed that in their itinerary meetings they have sworn to adhere to one another in case they should be attacked. These considerations give me ground to believe we here may be commanded thither, and if so I humbly conceive an absolute necessity that I should wait on your Grace before I leave this country, for there is several directions which I can not miss nor well receive in writing which I must receive from your Grace. The generality of the Commons there seem by what I know to be in a bad humour. I pray God they may not be influenced by the greater sort of people, which, if they be not, they will signify little. My Lord Lauderdale is still in Scotland and by what I can learn as yet resolves there to winter. I expect now daily a servant whom I have sent to Edinburgh, by whom I expect to receive the just measures of that country, which no sooner known but shall be imparted to your Grace.

Postscript.—There is two regiments of Highlanders raising. The companies which quartered in Glasgow are removed to Stirling.

Sir Henry Coventry to Duke of Lauderdale.

1677, November 19. Whitehall.—His Majesty hath not been a little concerned in the account your Grace lately gave him, and what is since brought to him from several other hands, concerning the number and insolency of the Conventicles with you. He has therefore sent this express to let you know how far he has provided for your assistance, if there be need, as likewise to receive by the return in what posture you are there, and if in a condition of force in Scotland, not only to dissipate them, but to seize some of the principal ministers and laymen, and bring them to condign punishment (which His Majesty conceiveth very necessary to be done): that the Council then immediately gave order to act against them, but if you doubt of the force of those troops you have to employ

against them that then you temporise till the succours prepared by His Majesty may come to you. What readiness they are in in Ireland I shall acquaint by sending your Grace a duplicate of what I wrote by His Majesty's command to my Lord of Ormond, as likewise the extract of part of a letter of his Grace to me concerning a landing place, magazines on your side, and erecting a post to entertain a constant correspondence with Ireland. His Majesty would that your Grace, having considered of the whole of the letter and queries, should despatch some understanding officer to my Lord of Granard, by whom you may likewise send the inclosed to the Duke of Ormond for more security, though I have sent from hence; but because the winds sometime remain contrary for several weeks, His Majesty hath commanded a duplicate to be sent by way of Scotland. This officer may adjust all matters with my Lord of Granard concerning his queries, and inform your Grace in what readiness he findeth them for their transportation. There are in Ireland already at three several rendezvous in the North 1,800 and 300 horse in six troops regimented; besides those His Majesty has given orders for two troops of horse to march to Alnwick and quarter there. And if your Grace think there will be need of them, upon notice from you they shall have order to recruit to 100 men each troop. The same order of recruiting shall be likewise given to the King's two garrisons in the north, as soon as you have declared your opinion of the need like to be of them. And of those garrisons His Majesty will draw 1,200 foot for your assistance—all old troops—and garrison his towns with others; your Grace seeth how much His Majesty concerneth himself in those affairs. I beg a speedy return of this express, that His Majesty, being fully informed of the measures you intend to take there, may the better judge how to take his here.

PRINCE OF ORANGE to ORMOND.

1677, November 19-29. St. James.—Monsieur: Je ne vous puis assez exprimer la douleur que j'ai d'être obligé de partir d'Angleterre sans avoir eu la satisfaction de vous y voir. Et vous remercier de toutes les marques d'amitié que vous m'avez témoigné en tous occasions, même quand je n'étais pas ici à la mode, et vous assurer en même temps que de tous vos serviteurs il n'y en a pas un qui vous soit plus affectionné que moi et plus attaché à vos interêts, et a tous ceux de votre famille; j'espère que le temps vous le fera voir plus particulièrement, et que vous aurez la bonté de me continuer votre amitié, puisque je serai toute ma vie, Monsieur, votre très affectionné et très humble serviteur.

Prince d'Orange.

ORMOND to SIR ROBERT HOWARD.

1677, November 20. Dublin.—I received yours concerning Mrs. Gwin's concernment in the pension given her in the name

of my Lord of Middlesex. The case is thus: There were several patents prior to hers, and those—at least some of them —on valuable considerations, granting certain sums out of this revenue as soon as any pension or pensions amounting to those sums shall fail by death or other determination, and though the King's command to put the latter on the Establishment and leave out the former would take place and would have been obeyed, yet that way of doing it would have been some disparagement to the security I wish the great seal might always convey to the subject, and bring on noise and murmur. I have therefore thought I could not serve Mrs. Gwin better or more suitable to her desire than by prevailing with those prior pensioners to consent that her patent shall pass without questioning the validity of it before theirs, and that her pension shall be put on the Establishment and so to withdraw a petition they had preferred to me against it. By this means she will have the benefit of the King's bounty quietly; but then they hope for her assistance if what they take to be their right should again be invaded; and this I have promised them, and I hope she will make good when opportunity offers. Be pleased to let her know all this, and that I am her most obedient servant.

Postscript.—We have heard of wonders you did upon your crutches*—it was no small one in that state to be so nimble. I congratulate your activity.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1677, November 23. Castlemartyr.—I presumed in a letter I wrote to your Grace this day sennight humbly to acquaint you that I had, in obedience to your Grace's commands, employed my weak thoughts on what might most hopefully be obtained from His Majesty for his subjects of Ireland, and might be granted by them for his supply in the intended Parliament, and that I had written my humble thoughts thereon, but that I wanted the confidence to lay them at your Grace's feet, until I had first sent them to my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and begged and obtained his amendments of them, which I should endeavour to do by that post, and which accordingly I did, and in the letter which enclosed those papers I unfeignedly and earnestly desired his Grace to give me his sense of them, and that he would take the pains to correct whatever he found amiss in them.

By the post last night I received the obligation of his Grace's answer, wherein he seems so little to dislike them as he has desired my consent by this post to present them to your Grace; and though I have too much ground to believe his usual civility chiefly has made him approve them, yet I could not disobey his desires therein, and since those papers could not have my name subscribed to them (for they were sent but as an essay and to be corrected or altered as his Grace pleased), I have

* See Sir Robert Southwell's letter of Nov. 10, 1677, *infra*.

desired him, if he still is of opinion they are not altogether unworthy your Grace's perusal, that they may be most humbly presented to your Grace, accompanied with this letter, thereby in some degree to repair the indecency of presenting you papers written by me, and yet not subscribed with my name.

If your Grace will give yourself the trouble to read them, and then give me the honour to know and receive your Grace's pleasure on them, I shall apply myself to obey the honour of your commands thereon, when they are amended as your Grace shall judge fit. For 'tis over improbable but in the elections in those parts some may be chosen who are my friends, and those I would begin to persuade to appear for what particulars in those papers your Grace shall be pleased to let me know you esteem for His Majesty's service, and for the good of this his kingdom.

I did design to have worded the things in those papers less ill than at present I fear they are, but I solemnly protest to your Grace that as to the substance of what I wrote I have conscientiously, and to the very best of my weak judgment, humbly proposed what I thought fittest for His Majesty's service and the solid and lasting benefit of his good subjects. For the residue of life, which God in his mercy shall lend me. I would faithfully employ to advance the true religion, and to serve my kingdom and country, and also (which I say without compliment) to contribute my poor but hearty endeavours to make your Grace's government grateful to the King, happy to the kingdom, and easy and honourable to yourself. Since whatever misunderstandings (for I can believe them no other) has happened between your Grace and your servant, yet I so entirely believe what you have said to my brother Burlington, and what you have written to me, as if he were in your Grace's station, I would not more really and cordially serve him in it than I will do your Grace, and in this my pen writes nothing but what my heart dictates to it. I confess also I would have the King and the kingdom also experimentally find the difference between Ireland being governed by a noble person of it and by a stranger sent to do it.

I thank God I want nothing, because I have a contented mind with what I have (for happiness consists not in what is without us, but in what is within us), and therefore I would, next to the service of God, wholly dedicate the rest of my life to make our religion safe (not oppressive), and to settle the kingdom so firmly to the Crown of England, that it should be as much the interest as it is the duty of every honest subject to sink and swim with the Royal line. And if I could see this done as firmly as law is capable to do it, and have the happiness to bear my share in bringing it about, I should go to my grave in peace and joy. Thus I have presumed to make your Grace my confessor.

Before I close this letter I beg your Grace's leave to acquaint you that I have endeavoured to get the English Act for the additional duties, that I might have specified the particulars

which pay them, and the sums respectively to be raised on them; but I have failed there. Yet I remember (for I was one of those who voted for that Act) that all French, Spanish, and outlandish wines, vinegar, and many other merchandises, are made liable to it; and therefore when that Act is read, some reasonable estimate may be made what the like duties may yield the Crown, if the like Act shall be passed in Ireland. Yet still my meaning is, that what those may fall short of the annual income mentioned in those papers may be supplied on additional duties on silks of all sorts, spiceries of all sorts, and on such other merchandises as are imported and are not of necessary use to the subject.

I know nothing propounded that is very material but what is already in effect granted by statute laws in England (except the Act for registering); and since His Majesty has granted those laws most graciously to his subjects of that kingdom, I will humbly hope by your Grace's great favour and weighty reasons they may also be granted here, where I believe they are much more needed. And if those laws should be granted, I will not only hope but also believe the supplies mentioned in those papers will be humbly given to the Crown.

Ormond to Viscount Granard.

1677, November 23. Dublin.—I have received your Lordship's of the 18th, and have read that you wrote to Sir Cyril Wyche, which, though it retracts some circumstances in the former concerning the killing of men in rescuing the minister, yet it agrees in the disorder of the action, and says the minister was rescued. By letters I received yesterday, I am commanded to have the party under your Lordship's command in a readiness to be transported when the Lords of the Council of Scotland shall send for them. In order to this I desire your Lordship to consider and inform yourself there what vessels fit to transport that party, horse and foot with the ammunition and equipage, may be had in those parts; whether any fit for that purpose may be hired; and at what rates by the week or month. Next I desire your Lordship would inform yourself what provision of horse or man's meat can be had there, in case the party should be called over before the biscuit in preparation here can be ready and sent to you; since it is better to make double provision than to hazard the want of it or staying for it, which may happen to occasion the loss of an opportunity to perform the service.

I am informed by my letters that a duplicate of the despatch I received yesterday is sent by an express by the way of Scotland, from whence also my Lord Lauderdale is commanded to send a gentleman to your Lordship, by whom I do not doubt you will receive perfect information of things there, and of whatever else may relate to that service and your post in it, when you shall be on the other side. In the meantime your Lordship may let the field and staff officers know that His

Majesty is pleased to make up their pay according to the inclosed list during the expedition.

If after this your Lordship continues to be of opinion that it may be necessary you and I should have discourse before you go (as I think it may be), considering that you cannot be ready to embark so soon, but that there may be time for it, I very much desire it; in which case your Lordship shall do well to leave somebody proper for it to enquire after the shipping and provisions, and to contract for them, which contract shall be ratified and performed by your Lordship's, etc.

Minutes taken at the Treasury Chamber concerning Mr. Ryder.

1677, November 25. Treasury Chambers.—Present: His Majesty, His Royal Highness, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Duke of Monmouth, Mr. Attorney General. Mr. Ryder called in, did acquaint His Majesty that Sir James Shaen and some other partners of the present Irish farm had agreed among themselves to get what money arising by the revenue they could into their hands by May or April next, and then to dispute with the King that they were to have by their bargain the £80,000 agreed to be paid by my Lord Ranelagh to His Majesty in the years 1676 and 1677; and this Mr. Ryder declared had been discoursed amongst them at their Board, and that he, the said Mr. Ryder, did acquaint them that for them to pretend to any part of that money would be unjust, for that it was never intended to be any part of their bargain, and that he would never consent to so dishonest a practice; to whom Sir James Shaen replied that if he were so nice he would never thrive; and further he saith that during the time they were in treaty and passing their grant Sir James Shaen would often say that he had something under his thumb that would help them in case the farm was too dear, and that it would be worth them £15,000 or £18,000 per annum.

And he further saith that he has received information by letters out of Ireland that Sir James Hayes and others, my Lord Ranelagh's partners, have compounded with Sir James Shaen and his partners not only for the arrears, but also for the £80,000. His Majesty directs a letter to be sent to the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint him of this practice, and also that his Excellency give directions that the Farmers receive no part of the £80,000 payable by my Lord Ranelagh to the King, nor that any receipt or discharge be given in the Exchequer for the said £80,000 upon payment of the same by my Lord Ranelagh and his partners to the said Farmers, or upon any composition to be made between them.

Viscount Granard to Ormond.

1677, November 25. Belfast.—Your Grace's of the 23rd instant I received on Saturday late at night, and have as far

as in me lies put in execution your Grace's commands. First, I find there is shipping in this bay sufficient to transport all the foot, but not enough for the horse; wherefore I humbly conceive that some vessels may be sent from Dublin or Drogheda to perform me that service, if occasion be. It will prove difficult to bargain with each master, but I have directed the captain of the man-of-war to put a stop to all ships outward bound till further order, which in case of necessity we might make use of; from Scotland I have not heard as yet, but what comes by passengers.

I find that we can have ten thousand weight of biscuit made here in a short time, which quantity I have bespoken; besides, I have issued orders that every man shall provide six days' provision in his quarters to be ready in case of a march. Drink and cask for water will be hard to be provided, yet I will do my best. This party is two months behind of their pay, and several of the men begin already to want; wherefore my humble request to your Grace is that three months pay may be sent down with all expedition, that the soldiers may be timely provided of necessaries. Carriages for ammunition we have none, neither horses to draw those nine field pieces now mounted in Carrickfergus; neither do I find that Sir James Cuffe has sent down gunners nor matrosses to manage them. I intend, as soon as these matters are put in some method, to attend your Grace in Dublin, in case no other orders arrive which may put a stop to my journey; there is several of our yonng officers who I conceive had left and are absent; your Grace's commands will bring them hither.

This inclosed will give your Grace an account of all the best ports in Scotland which are opposite to this kingdom. Sir William Flower will stay here, and will be ready to receive your Grace's further pleasure, as likewise what despatches shall come from Scotland he is to open and will transmit to your Grace by an express in case the service do require it.

We want five score men to complete our companies; if your Grace conceive it fit that they shall be made full, I humbly propose that it may be done out of the next adjacent garrisons or quarters. This is all I can remember at present. What I am short of in this paper, I hope to have the honour to discourse with your Grace in Dublin.

Duke of Lauderdale to Ormond.

1677, November 25. Holyrood House.—I was very glad to receive yours dated at Belfast the 10th instant, which this footman of yours gave me on Friday, the 23rd late. By it I find with much satisfaction that you are so near us with so good a party under your command, which makes it doubly welcome. I intended this a long letter, but yesterday I received His Majesty's commands by an express that I should send over some officer to your Lordship to adjust all matters concerning your transportation (if there shall be need of it) and to bring to you duplicates of His Majesty's orders unto Ireland. This

officer shall be here to-morrow, and I hope to despatch him, to you upon Tuesday. In the meantime I would not detain this bearer longer, though I reserve all particulars to the next, only I must say there is yet no rising in Scotland, nor do I think they dare rise in haste. Yet we must lie at their mercy no more to be alarmed by them; but we shall make ourselves ready for them with all speed, and give your Lordship timely notice. The King has appointed a post to be settled betwixt this and you, which I shall quicken all I can. And I do not intend to leave this kingdom till it be settled, which I trust in God shall be this winter. Robin Hamilton would be very welcome to me.

PATRICK MENZIES* to VISCOUNT GRANARD.

1677, November 26. Holyrood House.—My Lord Duke commands me to send your Lordship this extract, which his Grace assures you is truth.

Extract referred to—

1677, November 5. Carrick.—Sunday was sennight, Mr Welsh kept a most numerous conventicle in and about their new built meeting house in the parish of Girvan, where were present Mr. Dick Cuningham, Gilchryst, Gilbert and Robert Kennedy's preachers and about 7,000 people, and the communion was celebrated, and upwards of 2,000 persons received it; who, before communicating, were all engaged solemnly never to hear the orthodox ministers more, and to adhere to and pursue the glorious ends of the solemn league and covenant. Mr. Welsh preached on Jon. ii., 34, 35, and amongst other seditious doctrines he said: "the kings, nobles and prelates are the murderers of Christ," and then, sitting down in his chair, said: "Oh! people, I will be silent—speak, Oh! people, and tell me what good hath this king done since his home-coming—yea, hath he not done all the mischief that a tyrant could do both by his life and laws," and told the people that the present solemnity was appointed to restore Mr. Gilbert Kennedy, the Nonconformist to his cure at Girvan, and that this was more Christlike than an erastian indulgence. Monday after they kept a Presbytery, and chose Welsh moderator, and having published and received the penitence of one Mr. Cuningham (who had received ordination from the late Bishop of Galloway), forever disowning episcopacy, they appointed him to be ordained by new imposition of hands. They proceeded to make Acts, such as 1°. the people should not rise in arms till provoked thereunto, and that thereupon the sign should be given them to make ready; 2°. that people should be dissuaded to hear the orderly ministers any more, but they are not to hurt their persons or break their houses till they should be found acting against the cause of God by complaining to authorities, and that those who did so are to be fallen upon. This they warranted from the commission the Israelites had to destroy the Canaanites.

* Secretary to the Duke of Lauderdale.

Sir Robert Howard to Ormond.

1677, November 26. Exchequer.—I would not have troubled you with the least mention of what has happened to me, were it not to justify myself why I have not thus long presented the offer of my poor services to your Excellency; but while I lay under the least accusation that could but seem to cast a blemish on me, I thought presenting such an offer to your Excellency would rather seem to beg the protection of a powerful friend than to make a clear tender of an inconsiderable servant. But since I am free from such an objection, which perhaps is by this time presented to your Excellency by indifferent persons, I would use the benefit of such an advantage which I have received by the favour and justice of so excellent a King and master only to entitle myself the better to receive your Excellency's commands, and if you are now pleased to judge anything in my power here that may be useful to your Excellency, your commands would give me the satisfaction of esteeming myself your servant by that mark of your favour, and my obedience and care in the performance should at least justify my endeavour to merit the title.

Mrs. Nelly has commanded me to present her among the number of your true servants, and does think herself so much obliged to your Excellency, that unless within a little time you command her something that she may serve you in, she swears she will pick a quarrel with you, for she vows she loves you entirely. I presume to present her own words to your Excellency that she was pleased to use when I gave her the account by Mr. Melins' letter of your great favour in the assurance that you would settle the £800 pension, notwithstanding the pretensions of Sir James Cuffe and Mr. Carr, by a grant of a precedent date; but that grant being general, and this wholly particular and specially to succeed Sir Jo. Hanmore's in the same sum of £800 per annum, if by the favour of your Excellency this should not now take place there would arise a great dispute whether it could ever take place at any other time, it being fixed to the succeeding the determination of Sir Jo. Hanmore's time. But your Excellency's favour has fully prevented this; and I am sure 'tis suitable to His Majesty's resolution Mr. Melins will present this to your Excellency, and receive any commands you are pleased to send to him that to the utmost of his power will ever appear your Grace's etc.

Sir William Temple to Ormond.

1677, November 27. Shene.—As I can never neglect any occasions of your Grace's service, so I fall unwillingly into those which can be only of trouble; and yet at this time and upon the late loss fallen upon our family I cannot forbear the sensible acknowledgements I owe your Grace both for the last honour you were pleased to do to the memory of my father and for the favour you were pleased to express towards my easy

succeeding him in his office by your Grace's despatch to Court, upon that occasion which my brother gave me an account of.* I cannot but renew to your Grace the memory I shall ever retain of having owed the reversion of that place (many years since) entirely to your favour, and so I shall now reckon that I do the possession of it, since I find it was so early in your Grace's thoughts and intentions; nor should I have made my application here to His Majesty upon that occasion, before I might have done it under your protection, but that my stay in England depends upon such uncertainties, that though it has drawn out into lengths I could not expect, yet I can seldom reckon upon one post before me. The retirement I have past here in the country for near this week, since the news of my father's loss, allows me no pretence to say anything of public affairs; besides that I know your Grace receives it constantly from better hands. Yet I will venture to say this only in short, that we are very near the greatest crisis that has yet happened in His Majesty's affairs or those of Christendom. For upon my Lord Feversham's return, which must now be very near, we shall see whether France will be content to make the peace without the conquest of Flanders, on such terms as must evidently make way for it upon the next invasion. If they will not, His Majesty must in a very little time and once for all resolve whether he will look on and see that country lost the next campaign, and feel the consequences that will have upon Holland, or whether he will by some new measures endeavour to prevent it; and upon this the fate of most affairs at present on foot will certainly depend. I ask your Grace's pardon for this presumption and your belief that, what place or condition of life soever I may fall into, no man can be ever with more constant passion or greater truth than I, Your Grace's, etc.

Duke of Lauderdale to Viscount Granard.

1677, December 1. Holyrood House.—By my last, dated the 25th of November (which your footman carried), I told your Lordship that in obedience to His Majesty's command an officer should be despatched to you with sufficient instructions to acquaint you with our condition here. The person is this bearer, James Maitland, one of the lieutenants of the King's Regiment of Guards here. He will deliver this to your Lordship, and is ordered to show you his instructions and enlarge upon them, whereby you will have a full view of our condition. He will also deliver you a letter to my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which Mr. Secretary Coventry desired me to send by him (another copy of it having gone immediately to Dublin from London). I do likewise send your Lordship a copy of

* Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, died Nov. 14, 1677. A King's Letter for his appointment of Sir William Temple in his place was issued on the following day. He had already received a grant of the reversion in 1664. Sir W. Temple was at this time Ambassador to Holland and a Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Nimeguen.

Secretary Coventry's letter to me, together with a copy of his letter to the Duke of Ormond which he sent to me. Your Lordship will also receive the Act of Council for settling the post, but it will be the middle of January before it can be made effectual, so we must in the meantime correspond by expresses. There is a general meeting appointed of all the Privy Council here on Thursday of the 5th of this month; so in some days after you have sent back this bearer you may be pleased to send over some person to me, by whom you shall hear of what is resolved here a full account.

Instructions concerning Disorders in the Western Shires of Scotland.

1. In obedience to His Majesty's commands, signified to the Duke of Lauderdale, you shall go to Belfast or to any other place within the kingdom of Ireland where you can find the Viscount of Granard. You shall acquaint his Lordship that the great disorders in the western shires continued now divers months by numerous field conventicles, building of preaching houses in commons, solemn communions given at those meetings, unlawful oaths imposed upon the people, seditious doctrine preached, inciting subjects to open rebellion, threatening the persons of the regular ministers, and preparations made to take up arms against His Majesty, his authority and laws; these and the like practices which were followed by the fanatics when they rose in rebellion in 1666, has moved His Majesty's Privy Council to take effectual course for suppressing those insolencies by drawing the King's standing forces of horse and foot together, and making suitable preparations for their march upon the first order, and by requiring the noblemen who have interest in the highlands, and others in the north parts who have considerable vassals and following, to be in readiness to march to Stirling upon the first advertisement. And from thence (joining with the King's forces) to march to the west, to the places infested with these disorders, And those forces of horse and foot (besides the King's standing forces) are assured to be four thousand five hundred foot and five or six hundred horse, to be present at the first rendezvous there, and that many more can be drawn together if there be need for it, and all this besides the Militia.

2. You shall let his Lordship know that there are none risen yet in arms, and therefore the Council has not as yet called any horse or foot together except the King's standing forces, but has them ready upon a week's advertisement.

3. That we are very glad to know of so considerable a party of horse and foot ordered by His Majesty for assisting his service here, and that they are commanded by his Lordship. And though the Privy Council is not resolved to desire his Lordship march hither till they find great cause for it, yet it is

fit his Lordship should know the condition of this kingdom, and we his, and what preparation he expects towards his landing.

4. That his Lordship give notice what place he intends to land at (if called for), and in order to his transportation it is not doubted but convenient vessels, and all other things necessary for his embarking, will be carefully provided on the Irish side, seeing we have nothing fit for such passage to send from hence.

5. In order to the provisions and forage for horse, it is known that the country where he intends to land is sufficiently able to provide all the horses in corn and straw and victuals for the horse and foot, in order to which, fit persons (so many as are necessary) shall be provided to be in readiness upon his Lordship's first landing to provide all things necessary in the premises; and his Lordship may (as he thinks fit) take care to transport a month's provision of bread, cheese or other victuals for the horse and foot.

6. The Privy Council has ordered the establishment of a horse post by stages from Edinburgh to Portpatrick, and from thence by sea to Donaghadee, according to the warrant of the Council herewith sent; and therefore it is offered that a packet boat be provided on the Irish side, and the post established on that side by land, this being His Majesty's express command.

7. That his Lordship may provide a train of field Artillery to bring along with him, with suitable ammunition.

8. That his Lordship give notice how soon he can be ready to land in Scotland after he receives advertisement; wind and weather serving.

What his Lordship thinks fit to return in answer by you, or what he shall acquaint us with hereafter, we shall readily comply with, and shall make suitable returns to his Lordship.

[*Signed*] Lauderdale.

Endorsed.—"Instructions for Lieutenant James Maitland at Lisburn, on disorders in the Western Shires, signed by the Duke of Lauderdale."

ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING.

That my Lord Viscount of Granard has orders from His Majesty and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to embark these forces now under his command and conduct them to Scotland, if so required by the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council there, and from time to time to receive such orders as shall be sent to him by their Lordships.

That the forces my Lord has here are above two thousand foot and three hundred horse all commanded men, besides officers and servants, which are all ready, if required, to attend His Majesty's service there or elsewhere.

His Lordship's humble opinion is that (if he be called for) Dumbarton Haven, or any place about Granack (Greenock), is the fittest place to land on, and his Lordship's reasons are—because it is near Stirling, near Edr. (Edinburgh), and a plentiful country before him, and the Highlands at his back, and a place where he may join with any of His Majesty's forces that are raised or are to be raised. As for shipping, they are now all ready, and His Majesty, at a thousand pounds a month charge for their demurrage, besides the disadvantages His Majesty sustains by loss of trade, and his Lordship desires a sudden resolution that His Majesty may be rid of that charge.

That he conceives if the enemy be strong he cannot quarter at large his horse and foot, and for that reason he has provided 30,000 weight of biscuit, but if otherwise he will make the best shift he can to do it out of the country.

As to the post and the boat, his Lordship thinks my Lord Lieutenant will give orders for it according to their desire, and has done already something preparative to it.

That his Lordship has already four field pieces ready with ammunition, together with spades, shovels, pickaxes, and the like, in case they have use for them—for all which his Lordship desires carriage horses may be provided at the place where he designs to land, it being a hard matter to get ships enough to transport all the horse and foot here now at one time; his Lordship can be on shipboard, if the embargo be not taken off in forty-eight hours advertisement.

[*Endorsement*].—The answer I made to the Duke of Lauderdale's instructions.

Warrant for the Establishment of a Horse Post between Edinburgh and Portpatrick.

1677, November 27.—John Graham, Postmaster General of Scotland, is to settle Postmasters at :—

Linethgow	1st	Stage from Edinburgh.
Killsyth	2nd	
Glasgow	3rd	
Stewartown or Kilmarnock	4th	
Ayr	5th	
Drumbeg	6th	
Ballintrae	7th	
Portpatrick	8th	

Letters to be received and despatched from Edinburgh on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

Rates as follows :—

Every single letter, not exceeding one sheet to or from any place not exceeding 40 miles distance from place of receipt ...	Two shillings (Scots).

Every double letter same ... Four shillings (Scots).
Every ounce weight ... ... Five shillings (Scots).
And for four score miles or upwards these rates are doubled. And so forth proportionately.
Morover, for every one who wishes to ride post, three shillings (Scots) per mile, and a groat each stage for guide.

To provide for necessary expenses (including the building or hiring of boat), the Privy Council will recommend to the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury that a grant of £150 be made —£100 now and £50 as they shall be certified that the work is proceeding diligently—on account of the establishment of the post, to begin by the first Council meeting in January ensuing.

Foot posts are to be discharged. Magistrates of Glasgow, etc., are to be exhorted to help the Postmaster General, who is now assuming the whole burden of the work; the Committee already appointed is to meet and settle all necessary things, and Lord Lauderdale is to write to the Earl (*sic.*) of Granard giving him an account of all the proceedings herein.

Endorsed.—Abstract of Order in Council for the establishment of a horse post between Edinburgh and Portpatrick, and of communications between the latter place and Drogheda for the same purpose—the Postmaster General to keep a vessel to sail twice a week and back to Drogheda.

Roderick Mansell to Earl of Arran.

1677, December 6. Belfast.—My ever honoured Lord: On Monday last I had notice given me of one Mas. Douglas, an eminent preacher and co-partner with Mas. Walsh in the great conventicles lately held in Scotland, and that night Mas. Douglas came into this town, of which I had present notice. I presently had him in my chamber, where after spending some heavy sighs and groans with him, and promising unto him kindness and friendship, and that he should be provided for in this kingdom, providing he would disclose what was truth to his knowledge of the designs now on foot in Scotland, he did condescend unto it. I went immediately and acquainted my Lord Granard therewith and brought him unto his Lordship, and after my Lord had a while discoursed with him, he commanded me to take Mas. Douglas out with me, and to try what I could get out of him, for he could not gather anything out of him to purpose. I took him into my chamber again, and there, after renewing my promises unto him, he has related unto me:—

That there is a full purpose in the fanatics of Scotland to take the sword in hand, and that the covenant is there renewed.

That there is (as Mas. Douglas calls them) papers passed and subscribed throughout the greatest part of the kingdom, and the greatest nobleman and gentlemen therein concerned.

That Mas. John Walsh is at this time in England and has promised faithfully unto the people to return again unto them by the 30th of January next, and that in the meantime he has left orders that they should not meet in any great numbers.

Mas Douglas doth expect within two or three days to have some letters out of Scotland, whereby to confirm what he has here declared, and much more; and has promised me that if I will but keep him here secret that he will in short time do very eminent service for God, his King and country. My Lord Granard would have confined him, but I have prevailed for his liberty, and have taken his parole that he will not stir from here; and since he has declared that if he had been confined he would thereby have been made incapable of doing the service he designs. By some words that fell from him I do heartily wish that he was with your honour for some few hours' discourse; and if the letters he expects out of Scotland do arrive here before my Colonel come away for Dublin, and that I find in them anything of moment, I will if I can prevail persuade Sir William to take him along with him unto your honour. My Lord, he has discovered and named to me a very eminent statesman, of whom he says they are assured of, and two more of the greatest peers of the kingdom, which by my Colonel I will give your Honour an account of, and what further I can get out of him.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1677, December 7. Castlemartyr.—I received this morning with all the gratitude and satisfaction imaginable the very great honour of your Grace's letter of the 1st instant, in which you have condescended to approve of what I could but hope you would pardon; and that only on account of its being an act of obedience to your Grace's commands. I will only say on those papers I presumed to present to your Grace, that what I wrote both in relation to the public and to your Grace's particular were the dictates of my heart. If they may be of any use and service to your Grace, I shall have therein the highest, and indeed, the only advantage I expect.

That part of your Grace's letter to His Majesty which you have vouchsafed to communicate to me, is what my little judgment in affairs and my great affection for His Majesty's service and the good of this his kingdom does most really close with; and therefore I shall with no little concernment expect his gracious answer to it.

When your Grace has (with my Lord Chancellor) looked over and examined what I did write, whatever your Grace shall think pardonable in it, and what in the whole your Grace shall judge the best measures to be taken, as soon as I know your commands therein, I will diligently endeavour to gain such of my friends to be for the promoting them as I

have some grounds to believe may be members of the intended Parliament. And in whatever else your Grace shall command my service it shall be obeyed with all diligence and sincerity.

It was no small allay to the high contentment your Grace's letter brought me to find you had been under a great headache when you had written a part of it, and that when you were ending it, your first distemper had been cured by a second. I beseech God to free your Grace from all such indispositions, and continue you long in perfect health and happiness.

I am entirely ignorant what that Commission is which was granted by my Lord Essex to Sir James Shaen;* and some others of the Farmers to manage the farm, and which your Grace is directed, under the signet, to vacate, and to grant two new commissioners more agreeable to their contract. But that the present Farmers should pretend a right to the £80,000 which the Lord Ranelagh and his partners were to pay the King, seems very extravagant to me. Possibly this pretence might be one motive to Sir James Shaen, Mr Richbell and Mr. Stanyon to make the late contract with Sir Ja. Hayes, of which my Lord Chancellor did me the favour to send me the heads, and on which I took the liberty to give his Grace some of my thoughts. I wish that £80,000 were in His Majesty's Exchequer in Ireland, and then that the King's and the farmers' title were tried for it. But as now 'tis, it seems to me it is not worth a suit, or so much as a pretence, unless Sir James Shaen, etc., by having a right thereunto, may consequently hope to make annually out of their farm rents till it be paid. And though this is a most extravagant imagination, yet I know some busy brains capable of entertaining wild notions.

My London and Dublin letters by this post tell me the late clouds in Scotland are blown away; if it be so I shall be very glad of it on many accounts. For I confess to your Grace I was not without apprehensions that if that part of the army under my Lord Granard's command had been transported into Scotland, the Ulster Scots might not have been quiet. For I believe too many of them are inclined as some of their countrymen are, and I saw no preparations in that case to send more of this army into Ulster, nor indeed a possibility to do it, this army being so small and the revenue so anticipated, which made me doubt, while we went to quench our neighbour's house, our own might be set on fire. Till I know on what account the tumults there have been appeased, I shall not be able to form a judgment satisfactory to myself how long this pacification will last. But I too well remember when the first pacification was made in the year 1639 the sore was but skinned, and not healed at the bottom, and therefore soon after broke out more fiercely; I heartily pray the like may never happen again.

* The Commissioners appointed in 1677 were Sir James Shaen, William Ryder, William Muschamp, Edward Richbell, Lawrence Stanyon, John Gourney and Stanhope Mill.

SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE FARMERS OF THE REVENUE.

1. Mr. Ryder's allegations, viz. :—
   i. That they have made a new establishment of officers.
   ii. That they have anticipated the revenue (at Youghal)
   iii. That they have remitted into England several sums upon private occasions.
   iv. That they have bought Sheridan's and Hill's shares with the farm-money.
   v. That only £40,000 was really advanced, and the other £20,000 paid out of the King's money.
   vi. That they have represented to the King's Commissioners the produce of the revenue to be more and the repayments and wine-warrants less than they are.
2. If these allegations be not proved or confessed, some of the Farmers to be sent over.
3. Whether the calling for the £20,000 would not endanger the breaking of the farm ?
4. That your Grace will have a constant inspection into their cash and quicken their payments.
5. Your Grace is to give his Majesty your opinion upon the whole matter.

Queries to be put to the Farmers.

1. What money they have taken up beforehand upon the credit of the revenue in any of the ports of Ireland (particularly at Youghal) ?
2. What part of the farm money they have applied to private occasions, viz., other than the payment of their rent, and the charge of management ?
3. What they have paid to Mr. Hill and Mr. Sheridan for their shares of the farm out of the farm-money (and what to Sir James Hayes) ?
4. How much of the £60,000 was really advanced, and how much of it was paid out of the revenue here, and how much of it which was really advanced is since repaid ?
5. What the repayments of port duties and discharges of rents and wine warrants amounted to in the year ending at Christmas, 1676 ?
6. Whether they are able to pay in the £20,000 further advance money and continue their monthly payments ?

Lastly that they be required by an order in writing to deliver to the King's Commissioners every Monday an abstract of the receipts and payments in their treasury for the week preceding, in such form as was used in the beginning of this farm, and this to begin on Monday next.

Endorsed—An Abstract of Mr. Secretary Coventry's Letter, December 22nd, 1677.

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1677, December 23. Dublin Castle.—Soon after I received your Excellency's upon the subject of your father's death,

wherein you are pleased in a most obliging manner to remember the desire I had to serve you in the succession (of which I may now give you joy), I fell ill of the gout in both my feet, and have but now recovered ease enough to write in a tolerable posture.

My Lord Feversham's return I suppose we own to have produced the shortening of the adjournment, and from Mr. Montague's, or from his despatches, it may be collected what will be proposed to, and I hope resolved on by, the Parliament. It will be an ill-natured and I believe an ill-grounded thing in any to say it is too late to apply a remedy, and I hope instead of such at least unfruitful retrospects we shall look cheerfully and unanimously forward, and casting from us those distrusts which may indeed make it too late and too difficult, betake ourselves to speedy and vigorous acting, which may yet bring France to reason without a breach or put us in a condition to support one. I write not without pain.

Postscript.—Though my letter of the 25th of the last was not written with any thought of the King's seeing it, yet since your Excellency thought that anything in it was worth his consideration, I am not unsatisfied he saw it.

Our last letters out of England say my Lord Lauderdale was preparing for his journey to Court, whence I hope I may conclude that his apprehensions of danger in Scotland are over, and from thence that I shall shortly have orders to dismiss the chargeable part of those preparations I was commanded to make to assist the Government in Scotland. My son Arran and others who are members of Parliament are preparing themselves to attend their duty, though I had no order to warn them to do so, and I shall send my proxy to my Lord of Essex, having had his in the same case.

We are much infested by highwaymen and Irish Tories; their most remarkable robberies are committed on the English, their conscience as well as profit so directing them. Our old friend, my Lord of Carlingford,* is, I fear, going out of the world by the same steps my Lord Crofts went before him.

Duke of Lauderdale to Sir Henry Coventry.

1677, December 25. Holyrood House.—Since I wrote last to you, I have had the honour of the King's commands by two letters from you, the first dated the 11th December, ordaining my care to prevent any levies for France here, and seeing you saw my letter to my Lord Treasurer as to that matter (which was written before I had the least suspicion of anything like a rupture with France), you may be sure I shall now be most watchful. Your second letter is of the 18th, and came to my hands on Sunday last. I was sorry I could not return an answer sooner, for this is the very first post, and I was unwilling to send an express, which makes a great noise, and could not come two days sooner. As to that letter you may please to let

* Theobald 2nd Viscount Taaffe, 1st Earl of Carlingford, died December 31, 1677.

His Majesty know that I am sorry his care of this kingdom should put him to so extraordinary a charge, for I did not think that there did need an embargo upon ships, or ships to lie upon demurrage, seeing I should always have given timely warning, and I less imagined there needed any further pay to field officers than was formerly when such a party went to the North of Ireland. It hath been of great use to the King's service that the party is so near, and hath damped the disaffected, and I beg they may continue on that coast; but my humble opinion is that it is enough if they quarter on that coast as formerly. Within few days I hope to give the King a good account of effectual orders given by the Privy Council here for suppressing the fanatics and settling the peace.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1677, December 31. Dublin Castle.—I having received His Majesty's letter of the 23rd of November last, commanding me to supersede the commission by which the Farmers of the revenue now act, and to give notice that they may have such new commissions as therein are directed. I immediately sent for the Farmers, and having had the letter read unto them, caused a copy thereof to be that day delivered them, that upon superseding this commission they might present me with commissioners' names for those two new ones to be granted. But instead of that, in a few days they brought me a petition, with a paper annexed (of which the enclosed are copies), desiring that I would first present the several matters therein contained, and what their Council could further offer to His Majesty's consideration; whereupon, a day being appointed, Counsel, as well for Mr. Ryder as the other Farmers were heard at the Board; and the matter appearing to be of great consequence to His Majesty's affairs here, it was thought necessary by the whole Board, at the instance of the rest of the Farmers, before any order were given for determining this present commission, humbly to represent to His Majesty the state of the cause, which—upon what was then opened—I conceive to be this.

By the commissioners now in force, Sir James Shaen, Wm. Ryder, Wm. Muschamp, Edw. Richbell, Lawrence Stanion, John Gurney, and Stanhope Mill, Esqs., seven of the Farmers are impowered to accompt as commissioners in all the branches great and small, of His Majesty's revenue. His Majesty, by his letter of the 23rd November, is pleased to direct that this commission should be superseded, and, that at the same time they should have notice that they may have such new commission as shall be agreeable to their letters patents, and the laws of this kingdom, viz.: one for the Customs, and another for the Judicial part of the excise, in each of which commissions the number and quorum of the commissioners are to be agreeable to the Acts of Parliament for settling the said respective revenues, *and that no other branch of His Majesty's revenue should be put into commission during the term.*

The most material points that were insisted on by the Farmers against the direction of this letter were :—

That before this present commission shall be superseded it will be necessary that the persons should be agreed on to whom the new commissions are to be granted, so that no part of the revenue should remain uncollected for want of commissioners to manage the same. And by the clause, page 72 and 73, of the present farm, the Farmers or such other persons as any seven of them should nominate are to be commissioners of the customs and excise. And this present commission was granted at the desire of seven of the Farmers. If a new commission should be granted to all the Farmers, who are eleven in number, then the commissioners would be more than are allowed of by the Acts either for Customs or Excise. The commissioners being to be but five by one of the Acts, and but seven by the other. And all the Farmers concerned who are now in Ireland, together with Mr. Ryder and Mr. Mill, who are absent, are in this present commission. To prevent this objection, as far as could be, when this commission passed, care was taken as to the Excise that only five of them, and no greater number than five, should act at one time. But if a new commission should be granted to any other persons than the Farmers, they must be such as shall be nominated by seven or more of the Farmers, and I do not find that any seven of the Farmers do agree in the nominating of such new commissioners, but the major part of them seem rather to rest satisfied, and to desire that the present commission should stand.

2ndly. As to the other part of His Majesty's letter, whereby it was directed that no other part of His Majesty's revenue besides the Customs and Excise should be put into commission during the continuance of the farm; it was insisted on by the Farmers' counsel that by a clause, page 104 of their farm, His Majesty hath agreed, upon humble suit in that behalf, to give the Farmers such further authority for the ordering and better collecting the annual rents, hearth money, duties arising by licences, for retailing wines or strong waters, and ale and beer, and all other revenues to them demised, as any commissioners or Farmers of His Majesty's revenue then had, and as in that case should be thought fit and reasonable. And that most of those duties are not only, by the Acts of Parliament whereby they were granted to the King, appointed to be managed by commissioners, but were also actually managed by commissioners both during the time of the late farm here, and also after the determination of the late farm, until the date of this present farm, and that if there be no commmission granted for receiving the quit rents, the Farmers by their patent cannot, without very much difficulty, receive the same, in regard by a clause, page 119, of their farm, all acquittances for quit rents are to be given under seven or more of the Farmers' hands, and there are not so many of the Farmers now residing in Ireland; and if there were, it would be very difficult to obtain so many hands to all such acquittances, so that if the present commission for the quit rents be superseded, and no new com-

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mission granted, they cannot receive or discharge any quit rents, but only by virtue of that clause in the farm, which at present would be of little or no use to them. So that if the King should not think fit to grant them such a commission for the quit rents, hearth money, and other duties demised to them, as was granted to the late Farmers, and was also in being when the present farm bears date; or if His Majesty shall, without the consent or desire of the major part of the Farmers, determine this commission that hath been already granted to them, they pretend that they shall be thereby entitled to a demand of defalcation, to be allowed them by His Majesty out of the rent from them reserved, from what loss they suffer thereby. And in regard it will be of very ill consequence to His Majesty's affairs here, if though the present determining of this commission now in being there should be any want of a sufficient power to bring in any part of His Majesty's revenue; or if by reason thereof, the Farmers should have any just pretence to a defalcation which, if this commission be superseded, and another not granted, the opinion of the Council is, that this whole matter should be represented to His Majesty to the end His Majesty's pleasure may be known thereupon. And if notwithstanding what has been before said, it should be found that the present commission as to the Excise is not agreeable to law, and that His Majesty cannot dispense with that part of the Act of Excise, whereby the number of commissioners are not to exceed five, it is humbly submitted to His Majesty's consideration, whether that may not be remedied by granting a new commission to five such persons as any seven of the Farmers shall nominate, whereby that part of the present commission for the Excise will determine; and the same will remain still of force, to enable them to manage the other parts of the revenue. And whether till seven of the Farmers shall agree upon five to be commissioners for this branch, the present commission shall not continue in force in its full extent. This is the sum of those difficulties which myself and the Council met with at the hearing, and which at their desire by your hands I humbly represent to His Majesty, and shall be ready to obey such commands as he shall think fit to send thereupon.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1677-8, January 1. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 26th of December I have received, and humbly thank you for it. At the very same time I received one from my Lord Lauderdale, of which I send you a copy. I have acquainted His Majesty with the contents of both, and he hath commanded me to let your Grace know that upon the assurances the Duke of Lauderdale giveth of giving early notice, you should save the extraordinary expense, and only quarter the men, as they were in my Lord of Essex his time, and as nigh the same expense as may be. Whence the alarm came so hot of affairs in Scotland I know not, but this I can say—the positive orders

sent you were by the King's own direction, and in the presence of the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

As to what your Grace recommended concerning the Provost of Dublin, I presented it to His Majesty, but he remembered the same case was recommended in my Lord of Essex his time, and then refused; and so he seemeth to do still, notwithstanding the arguments in your Grace's letter saying that where there are many young men in a college that are not to be dispensed with, he knoweth no reason why those that are elder should, and to forbid the youth of the college any indulgence to that appetite, and at the same time to bring women into the college to be always in right, is like the Welsh hoop, a put her to and a put her from. In conclusion, though his discourse was mixed with mirth, I have not seen him more serious upon a denial of anything recommended by your Grace in my life.

As I wrote to you in my last, the Dean of Paul's* is declared Archbishop; Doctor Stillingfleet, Dean in his stead. Our foreign affairs are upon the foot they were, only your son, my Lord of Ossory, hath got leave to go over into Holland upon the circumstances he will acquaint you, which I suppose will not be disapproved of by your Grace. I heartily wish your Grace new years without stint, and all the health and prosperity you can wish yourself.

Earl of Anglesey to Ormond.

1677-8, January 1. London.—I had rather trouble your Grace with my letters in some service of your own, than in any concerns of mine. But your Grace, who hath been as well a witness as a judge of my faithful discharge of my trusts under His Majesty, executed in great part under your government and guidance, is not ignorant of what undeserved scrutinies and examinations I have undergone in requital, continued by some with a greater aim to reach your Grace than me. But though I have against the most powerful prosecutors and partial pre-engaged judges vindicated myself with honour, and both your Grace and I stand acquitted by His Majesty in Council from the foul and false charge of mismanagement of his revenue, yet I find the same evil spirit which assaulted me openly heretofore, now underhand and by surprise practising against me, and endeavouring to make your Grace the instrument, not only of injuring me, but, in consequence and by a side wind, yourself; which they could never do in the several intermediate governments whilst your Grace hath been kept from the helm there. The case is this, I understand lately from Ireland, which in all reason and justice I should first have done here if it be just or intended to concern me therein, that the King's warrant is brought to your Lordship requiring a commission to be issued out for the stating of mine and Sir

* William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, in succession to Sheldon, in December 1677.

George Carteret's accounts, which your Grace knows have been by commission under the great seal of Ireland in the usual manner declared many years ago, and my deputy since dead, and securities I had for him much weakened by my receiving and allowing his accounts, though I have since found errors in his private accounts, much to my disadvantage, which his executor and heir, Sir Richard Bellingham (who perhaps may be the procurer of this new extrajudicial commission to surprise me and wound me undefended) is obliged to make good to me, as well as justify my public accounts passed by his father. In this intended commission I was amazed to hear Mr. Taylor is to be a commissioner, who hath already made wrong certificates, though without effect, in any case, and Alderman Peter Wybrants, one of Sir Daniel Bellingham's sureties, for true accounting; but the commission is so far from having any named by me that it is so much *ex parte* that I had no notice of it but by chance. I know your Grace's justice too well to doubt your passing such an illegal commission of inquiry upon me when you know me concerned in it, having a standing power in you to delay the King's warrants till you certify your opinion hither and give an opportunity for me to be heard thereupon before any further direction, which is a protection I cannot doubt to have from your Lordship against such an injurious attempt, and is all I shall yet beg from your Grace.

Postscript.—Being ill at this time, I hope your Grace will pardon my using another's hand.

Ormond to Duke of Monmouth.

1677-8, January 1.—I am unsatisfied that any command of your Grace's should meet with any delay when it is directed to me, but it shall be no longer than till I have represented the case of Captain Chetwynd to you, and then received your sense upon it. This gentleman received a commission for a company above three years since, and from December, 1674, to this time he has never been in the same country where his command is. Many others have taken the same liberty, and looked on their purchase of a company as if they had bought an annuity to which no duty was annexed but the getting of a licence of absence and receiving their pay. This I would willingly reform, but cannot do it justly unless I deal indifferently with all; and have therefore resolved to give no further licences of absence, but where sickness or some very important necessity is in the case, and that very authentically certified; yet if this gentleman shall appear at the next muster, which will not be till March next, his absence hitherto shall be no prejudice to him.

Instructions to the Earl of Arran.

1677-8, January 7. 1.—The state of the revenue is fully represented in several despatches in Mr. Secretary Coventry's

hands, as far forth as is possible till the accounts of the Lord Ranelagh and his partners' undertaking shall be taken, and the reasons are given why the taking of those accounts is retarded.

2.—By what is remitted to Mr. Secretary it will appear that this revenue must fall short not only of making those provisions fit to be made in times of greatest peace and security, but of answering all the parts of the Establishment by reason of the overcharge fallen upon it by the Northern expedition. How far then it will come short to make those preparations and provisions requisite when a foreign war is probable and the fomenting of a civil war is to be expected, may easily be supposed.

3.—Of what numbers the Army consists I suppose is well known there; but if it should not readily be remembered, you are able to tell how few men are left of the worst in the army to do duty in the most important garrisons. As to the officers I do more doubt of their sufficiency than their loyalty. What order I have given to be informed of the number of unserviceable men in the army you know.

4.—Of the state of the forts, stores and magazines, the Master of the Ordinance is able to give an account, having received one lately from hence; but it is so bad that it is no less shame than danger that it should be known, and concealed it cannot be.

5.—I suppose the people of this kingdom may be best distinguished by the truly loyal and conforming, the Irish Roman Catholics, and the Nonconformists who will be called Protestants. The two latter are so opposite in religion and civil interest that they are in some sort such a balance to each other that neither dare to rise against the Government, for fear it should make use of the other to suppress and chastise the first disturbers; and even among the Nonconformists some distinction may reasonably be made betwixt the Scotch and English. The Scotch I take to be more heady, more united in opinion, more compact in habitation and neighbourhood, more ready to abandon their wretched residences, and for all these reasons more apt to be inflamed and put into action by their vagabond teachers. The English are more set upon trade and improvements, not so unanimously bent one way, more scattered in the country, and will not so easily be persuaded to quit their much more commodious homes. The Irish, though I think more in number than all the rest, I do not conceive are so much to be apprehended as the other party, but in case of an invasion or when any other party shall have begun; but then it must be expected that many of them will join with the invaders, or in the other case will endeavour to form a third party, as they did when they found a breach in prospect betwixt the King and the rebellious Parliament.

[*Signed*] ORMOND.

Endorsed.—Memorials for my son Arran, to be made use of as there shall be occasion.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, January 15.—I have yet nothing to add to what you carried with you, except the copy of my letter by this post to Mr. Secretary Coventry, which relates only to the necessity of securing the harbour of Kinsale. As I remember I told you, it was fit you should visit my Lord Treasurer; and if he shall give you the occasion, I know no reason why you may not freely impart to him anything that relates to the affairs here. I am of opinion he will receive you civilly; if he does, you may accordingly be the more frequent in going to him. He has much business, and is not easy of access, so that unless you shall have particular business with him, I think the dining time will be the fittest time for you to go to him. I hope you will not forget the resolution you went away with; there are few things that can happen that would trouble me more than that you should. I desire one thing more particularly, which is that whilst you are at London you would not go to any of the eating houses or taverns upon any occasion; the thing is not hard to be avoided, considering you have a house and family, and so many tables to go to there, and yet it would be great satisfaction to me.

I send you the copy of the last letter I had from my Lord of Granard, that you may observe that the Lords of Scotland still continue to take no notice of me in all this affair, but give their directions to my Lord of Granard as if he were under their command. Whether it proceed from affected pride or ignorance I will not determine; nor shall any omission of common civility in them in the least slacken my industry, if occasion call for it, to serve the King's affairs in that kingdom. If I had been to have received help from them for the King's service here, I should certainly once at least have taken notice to them of their care and readiness to obey the King's commands. I do not intend to make a quarrel of ceremony of it, and therefore do not desire you should take notice of it to anybody, unless it be to my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary Coventry. I have always been unfortunate in my endeavours to serve the most considerable of this nation. Those I have preserved have forgotten it; those I could not, thought I might, and impute their ruin to me; nay, even those I have advised and put into the way of doing themselves good, and through sloth or ignorance have neglected to pursue their interest, impute the disappointment of their pretensions to me, as if I were obliged not only to direct and favour them, but become their solicitor and agent. A fresh instance of this is my Lord of Carlingford, who, with his friend, I hear is dissatisfied with me and you that he succeeds not to his father's pension, and that it is given to Sir James Cuffe and Mr. Carr. The case as I am concerned in it is this: my Lord of Carlingford you know, came hither long before his father died; at his first visit to me, after I had inquired of his father's condition as to his health, and that he had told me there was little hope of his recovery, I told him I believed he would not be left in such a state, but that the continuance of his father's pension

to him would in some measure accommodate him, and advised him to procure the reversion of it whilst his father was alive, or to get his father to surrender his patent and take out a new one for both their lives. He thanked me, but never spoke syllable more of it to me since, nor it seems employed anybody in England to obtain this for him, which certainly an easy mediation would have gotten him; and now I am charged with his disappointment, with having recommended Sir James Cuffe and Carr, and in effect with breaking my word, for they have the gift of laying that causelessly to my charge, taking an advice for a promise. It may not be amiss that you say this, or transcribe this part of my letter to the King and Duke, especially if you hear anything of it. They say they will yet retrieve the thing, and get Cuffe and Carr struck out of the Establishment, and my Lord Carlingford put in. I would be glad of any good to that Lord, for I think him a very worthy gentleman; but justice and the King's honour I consider more.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, January 15. London.—I got safe hither on Sunday last, and yesterday had the honour to kiss the King's and His Royal Highness's hands, and delivered your letters to them. I was very graciously received, but neither of them asked any questions concerning Ireland. All their discourse was about my voyage, because it was generally taken for granted here that I was cast away at sea. Mr. Secretary Coventry told me after I had given him your letter that he had at large informed you by the last post how matters were here, for it seems since my leaving Dublin great levies were ordered, and already above six hundred men are enlisted by way of recruits to the regiment of Guards here. The Parliament was this morning adjourned to the 28th instant, the reason given by His Majesty's order for it was that he had matters of great importance to communicate to them, and have their advices in, which were not yet ripe enough. This I am sure was the substance of what my Lord Chancellor delivered to us.

I believe I shall know nothing of the state of affairs, either relating to this country, or Ireland, but what I shall have from your own correspondents, unless either His Majesty or the Duke happen to discourse with me about them. I shall lose no opportunity when it offers,, neither will I be officious. Mr. Secretary is so full of Parliament business, and all the other great men so concerned about the intended war with France, that I believe we shall have no good opportunity to bring the affair of the Irish revenue under consideration notwithstanding this adjournment.

Sir Robert Southwell, to whom I likewise delivered your letter, told me he had given you an account of my brother Ossory's intentions. He carried over with him the same capitulations that the Duke of Monmouth made with the French, which, if he gets allowed and performed, he may do very well; but he has not carried one man of business with him, which

makes me fear they may be too hard for him in penning the conditions; but I am told by one who knows his mind, and is to serve under him, that rather than go without the employment he will take less advantageous terms, which, if he does, I am afraid his own fortune will suffer by it, and perhaps his desire will not prosper so well as he expects. My Lord Chamberlain is very much blamed for insisting so much upon his right to the groom porter's place, when he saw the King so much concerned in behalf of Mr. Chicheley; it has done you I believe no small prejudice in your employment of Steward, for the King urged your case as a precedent; some people believe it is so ill taken of him that it may prejudice him in greater matters, but as he tells his own story, he was as much in the right as to the manner of his proceedings as he undoubtedly is in his pretensions, though the matter was carried against him.

Monsieur de Ruvigny's son is this day come out of France hither, as is believed with some message from the French King.

Duke of Lauderdale to Ormond.

1677-8, January 16. Holyrood House.—On Sunday last, the 13th instant, I received your Grace's letter dated at Dublin Castle the 5th, together with the confession and information of William Douglas, now prisoner. On Thursday the 10th, I received a full narrative with a copy of that examination from Colonel Jeffreys, whom the Viscount Granard sent over to me for that purpose. Immediately an exact search was ordered to be made for arms in all the places which are so particularly described in Douglas's examination, both in this city and in Glasgow, and both at one time. On Sunday, about the time that I received your Grace's letter, my Lord Ross was ordered to march to Glasgow with a sufficient party of foot and a squad of the King's troop of Guards here. And he did diligently search all the places mentioned at Glasgow, but without any success as to arms or ammunition. The like search was made at the same hour in this city, and nothing at all found. The Lord Ross will stay at Glasgow, and continue his search till the rest of the troops come up, which will be once this next week. I humbly thank your Grace for the great care you express towards His Majesty's service in this kingdom.

Interrogations to be put to William Douglas, a Scotch Nonconformist Minister.

1677-8, January 17. 1.—His age, place of birth and education, when and from whom he took the ministry?

2.—What are the grounds and reasons of the seditious way of conventicling in such numbers?

3.—Whether those conventiclers have entered into any obligation to each other?

4.—What the obligation is, to what end, and how long to continue in force?

5.—When and wherefore he joined himself with them?

6.—Who are the principal ringleaders of the ministry amongst them, and who of the laity do give them most encouragement either publicly or privately?

7.—What expectation they had of a conjunction with them out of England or Ireland, what encouragement or assistance hath been given them from both or either of those kingdoms, particularly from whom, and who was employed to obtain it; and how was the money transmitted, and how has it been employed?

8.—What is the reason of his coming into Ireland, whether he was employed by the Conventiclers or any other; if so, by whom, to whom, and what was the subject of his employment?

9.—If it was to do the duty of a good subject in the discovery of ill designs, why he did not rather apply himself to some of the Ministers of State in Scotland than come hither?

Endorsed.—Questions to be put to Mr. Douglas, a Nonconforming Minister.

Earl of Essex to Ormond.

1677-8, January 17. London.—Yesterday I received the favour of your Grace's letter together with your proxy, for which trust I return your Grace my most humble thanks, and I shall endeavour to make use of your vote this session as may most conduce to his Majesty's service. Your Grace cannot be ignorant of the great affair which in all probability we are entering upon, a war with France; which, if it should happen, I know no part of His Majesty's dominions of which there ought to be greater regard and earlier care taken than of Ireland. I am and shall ever be ready to give my assistance therein to the best of my knowledge at all times, when any deliberations of that nature come before us. I presume Mr. Secretary Coventry has acquainted your Grace with the thoughts His Majesty hath of calling a Parliament there in this conjuncture. Upon this occasion I acquainted His Majesty with my opinion that the people there will undoubtedly contribute their utmost assistance, and readily give money according to their abilities, provided it were wholly applied to the public uses of that kingdom, and none directed to any other. This I am sure was the sense of most men whilst I was there, and I doubt not but your Grace finds the same inclinations still among them. Major Radcliffe, who hath a company in Ireland, came over with me, and has had some business of his own to despatch here, which hath kept him absent till this time; I desire your Grace will be pleased to give order that he may not suffer by his stay. He hath promised me to begin his journey for Ireland on Monday next.

Earl of Arran to Duchess of Ormond.

1677-8, January 19. London.—I have little to say this post, for nobody is able to make any certain conjecture of affairs in this interval of a session. I had a letter from my Lady [Derby]

last post in answer to mine from Chester, in which I took notice to her of the report I heard of her breeding, but she tells me there is no such thing, and desired me to let you know how great a mind she has to be in Ireland. I doubt her Lord will not let her go, though you invited her never so earnestly; he is expected in town this night. My sister Candish [Cavendish], as I am informed at Newport House, is now at Hardwicke, and intends to set out for this place on Tuesday next. I met her Lord last night at the French play, but he has not yet been to see me. I went yesterday to Kensington to see the childern. The boy is very much mended, and is a fine child; but so ill-favoured a fat porpoise as the girl is did I never see.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 19. London.—I can give no account of my brother's proceedings since my last, there having come no letters out of Holland since his landing there; but the report in town is that we are like to have a peace, notwithstanding our great preparations for war. Whether this be true or no the statesmen who are your correspondents will inform you if they can. Mr. Ryder told me this morning that he is to have a hearing at the Treasury Chamber on Monday next, upon the business of the commission for the judicial part of the excise, etc. He thinks he has found out an expedient which will do his business; he showed me a state of the present farm, which he intends to give to His Majesty, in which he makes very bold with Sir James Shaen. As to the other great concerns of Ireland I suppose nothing will be done until you have returned your sense upon what Mr. Secretary wrote to you concerning a Parliament; pray let me have some private instructions how to discourse upon that subject when it falls in my way.

Churchill has left his accounts in such confusion that a great many of your friends are afraid they shall suffer, and amongst them my Lord Suffolk, who desires you would not pay the money you owed Churchill until you see that the administrators desire to do justly with his creditors. I promised my Lord Suffolk that I would say this from him, but I must say something for myself, for I find by my steward here that he had placed some of my money in his hands, and I think I may justly expect preference in this matter. I know not what the sum is, my servant having written in general, but I believe it it not much, and I think your debt is £700; my Lord Suffolk had near £3,000 in his hands when he died.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 22. London.—Upon the news last packet out of Flanders brought we all conclude a war will ensue, but I cannot give you any news authentic. My brother got safe into Holland on Sunday was seavennight, but escaped very narrowly, for it seems the weather was so hazy that they mistook their course, and had run upon a bank of sand if they had

not by chance met with a fisherman that directed them into Zuricksee.

Mr. Ryder gave in yesterday the paper I mentioned, and Saturday next is appointed to hear the matter, in expectation of Sir James Shaen; but if he should not come by that time they will determine the matter without him. I desire Sir James Hayes to write to his brother, Captain Hungerford, to let him know your pleasure concerning the absent officers, and I believe I shall agree with him to part with his command to Captain Floyd, having had your leave to that purpose. Major Andrews, governor of New York, was with me to make his excuse. I find the Duke is much concerned for him; I told his Highness the rule you had made, and desired to know what was his pleasure in the matter. He said the King desired to employ him again in those parts, and his desire was you should do him the favour to let him part with his command to such a person as you shall think fit, and that he may have such a compensation as you think reasonable. I have nobody to propound, but I believe you may find some young men that will be glad to buy, and may prove fit for command. I believe this rumour of war will make employments cheaper than they have been.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1677-8, January 22. St. James's Square.—I was yesterday sent for by letter from Mr Bertie to attend His Majesty in the Treasury Chambers. When I came I found the business to be about the representation your Grace has lately made of the difficulties objected by the Farmers against superseding the present condition by which they now act. Their petition and paper of reasons annexed, and your Grace's letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry, were all read, and Mr. Ryder said he was ready with all his counsel to reply; but there being nobody yet come empowered by the Farmers, it was put off till Saturday next. Their delay seems to be looked upon as a matter of art, and was pressed as such by Mr. Ryder, which suited with what he endeavours to possess the ministers here, that they intend to break speedily, and therefore use all ways of feigning to prevent a sudden inspection, which may hinder getting money into their hands. For this reason it was that they have over-rated the revenue, and under-rated the charge; which he was ready, as he says, to prove by particulars, that it may not be known upon what ill terms they stand. I acquainted the King and the Board that your Grace had, before I came away, required them to send one of their body over to answer and satisfy His Majesty in such things as were objected; that they had pitched upon Sir James Shaen to be their man; and that I did believe he might be now in his journey. I was asked by my Lord Treasurer to give the King an account in what posture the farm at present was, and what grounds of suspicion moved your Grace to make a late seizure, as you had been pleased in one of yours to inform Mr. Secretary Coventry, and what kind of

seizure it was. I said the rent was well paid; that your Grace, to have a nearer inspection upon them, had lately required that a weekly account should be given in every Monday morning of all the receipts and payments of the week preceding, but that I knew nothing of any seizure your Grace had been forced to make. My Lord Treasurer seemed to wonder that I should not be acquainted with a thing of that nature, to which I replied that had there been any such thing I doubted not but that I should have been able to have given His Majesty some account of it; but that I did believe I might with some confidence assure His Majesty there had been no seizure, and that there must needs be some mistake in concluding it from any passage in your Grace's letter. Mr. Ryder continues very strongly to possess the King and his servants here that not only they must break, but that they have agreed they will, that he himself was one of the council when things were adjusted in order to it, and had they not found an averseness in him to this proceeding there had been no difference between them, but that from the time they found he would not be brought in to be of the party, but that he rather proposed a naked and ingenious confession to the King of their condition and begging his mercy, Sir James Shaen (because more was to be got the other way) had designed all ways he could to exclude him, and that this was the only reason why the Commission now in question was both first prosecuted and now maintained. He adds that the first four months' profit of the farm, where they paid nothing, is all already gone, that they have not been able lately to pay their rent without borrowing money upon very disadvantageous terms, that there is an understanding between them and Sir Jo. Champante, and that it is agreed among them to hold on till they have received the hearth money and the quit rents, which in a little time will come in a lump, and then to defer a month's rent, by which they forfeit £500; and that your Grace being then not to seize till so many days after, by that time they will be possessed of a considerable sum further of the growing revenue, which, with the said hearth money, and quit rents, will by May or June be worth breaking for. This, he said, is what is resolved and settled among them, and that in the meantime what they endeavour is only to delay. This he did not then say there, but I had it from him afterwards in discourse. He then only gave in to my Lord Treasurer a paper, setting out this matter more fully, of which the enclosed is a copy. I have herewith also sent your Grace a copy of those reasons which the present Farmers gave in to my Lord of Essex against allowing my Lord Ranelagh and the other undertakers further time after Christmas last for collecting arrears.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, January 24.—I have yours of the 15th, giving an account of your safe arrival and your disposing of the despatches and letters you carried with you. I think you are not to press

for more knowledge in affairs than you find there is a disposition to impart them to you, yet it will be fit you make your court assiduously, not in the drawing room only, when everybody is there, but at the King's and Duke's rising, which besides that it is a duty (especially in an officer and person of your station in such a time) opportunities may happen and discourses set on foot wherein you may properly bear a part, or usefully take notice of them, and if you can introduce yourself (as I think you may very easily) at places and hours of more retirement, it may be of advantage; but remember, sloth and too nice a modesty can be of no use.

Mr. Secretary, in his letter of the 12th instant, gave me a large account of affairs as they then stood there; what he writ it will not be hard for you to collect from the return I have made, which is only to be imparted to my Lord Chamberlain, who is of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and was, I suppose present when Mr. Secretary was ordered to write to me.

I gave your brother the best advice and the most pertinent caution I could, but I fear his haste to be in action will transport him beyond his prudence. I am sorry my Lord Chamberlain contested so warmly and unsuccessfully for the rights of his place in a particular depending on a custom only connived at, and which therefore may be abolished whenever the King shall please to reduce his office and mine to be of less value than will possibly support the dignity of them. I know not wherein the King instanced me, or to what end; if it was that he had disposed of any places usually given by me and my predecessors, I remember none without my own consent first given to the pretender, as to Sir Winston Churchill. It is true in my Lord of Buck's height of favour I think an answer was put in by him to the Board of Greencloth, out of his turn, for a turn the Avenor had, and then the Master of the Horse makes the Avenor. But this is not to take my right quite from me, but to suspend my making use of it, which differences the case from that of my Lord Chamberlain, who by this determination, it seems, loses for ever the making of a groom porter. I have had Mas. Douglas a week with me, but he is still a greater mystery to me. The man certainly knows very much, but whether he came on purpose to declare his knowledge and do the King service, as he seems to pretend, and as the little care he took to conceal himself gives some probability to, I know not. If what he says of 445 and 342, be true 726, 91, 33, 425, 93, 58, 384, 54, 700, 720 but it seems 732, 573, 526, 32, 643, 214, 55, 440. This is a trial whether you are skilful in deciphering, else it might have been written in plain letters.

I desire you would in my name make a visit to Mrs. Gwin, and assure her of my readiness to serve her.

Viscount Granard to Ormond.

1677-8, January 25. Lisburn.—Colonel Jeffreys will give your Grace a full account of his progress in Scotland, and how affairs stand there. By what I can learn from thence, Douglas

is a mountebank and almost as great a knave as his prompter Mansel, who has treated me with so many and so great aspersions that I must fly to your Grace's justice for reparation. I humbly propose that he may be confined till I be heard, which will be as soon as I shall receive your Grace's license to repair to Dublin.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 26. St. James's Square.—In the account I gave your Grace by the last post of what I had from Mr. Ryder about the designs of the Farmers, I should have added that he said they do intend to insist upon the £80,000 due from the Undertakers, and that the chief reason why they deal with Sir James Hayes is that they may be able to possess themselves of as much money as they can get in out of the arrears due to the undertaking, and then with the money in their purse, dispute the point; if it be allowed, they have gained so much more than was within the intention of their grant; if it be not, they will make that their pretence of breaking. I but being at the Treasury Chamber this afternoon (where I had the honour to be present all the while), I found by a letter there read from your Grace by my Lord Treasurer that the Farmers do already insist on this sum. There was also part of another from your Grace read about the product of the farm, which your Grace by experienced men is informed to be such as that it will bear the rent, and further intimating a reason why your Grace has not commanded some or one of the Farmers to come for London, as was expected. By this the King, finding that none of them were yet likely to come, sent for Mr. Ryder and his counsel in, who insisted upon the illegality of the present commission being to seven; but five are allowed by the Act; the impractibility of it, since three being the quorum, the number would allow two quorums acting contrary to each other to the prejudice of the public service; and the inequality of it, those that have least or no share in the stake being by this empowered with the whole management. The conclusion was (for, the Council sitting late, I am forced to hasten, lest I should lose the post) that the Farmers should be required to disclaim under their hands any pretence to the £80,000, as being evidently not the intent of the contract; that they should pay the £20,000 further advance by such reasonable but speedy gales as might yet more save the King against those designs of breaking which Mr. Ryder has insinuated; which yet, if they did the first, that is, renounce the pretence to that money from the undertakers might be the longer; and thirdly that Mr. Pigott be added a commissioner. Your Grace will receive the King's pleasure from a proper hand. I will only now hasten to give you a short narrative of the heads of things.

Postscript.—My Lord of Ossory came safe last night to town.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 26. London.—I had on Wednesday last yours of the 15th instant, with the enclosed copies of my Lord

Granard's letter to you and yours to Mr. Secretary Coventry. I had been to wait upon my Lord Treasurer long before your letter came to me, and was very civilly received by him, but he gave me no encouragement to discourse anything with him concerning the posture of affairs in Ireland. I often meet him at my Lady Portsmouth's, where we play at the new game the Prince of Orange brought amongst us. My Lord Ranelagh is one of the set, and the chief man consulted in all affairs relating to that country. I have hitherto forborne the going to eat at any of the treating houses, and make no doubt but I shall continue so to do, though the temptation were greater than it is.

I dined this day with my Lord Chamberlain and informed him as well as I was able how matters stood with you in Ireland in relation to the revenue and the Army, and for his better instruction I shall get from Sir Cyril Wyche the copies of the papers you have transmitted concerning the Lord Ranelagh's undertaking and the present farm, though I believe it will be of little more use to him than to divert him when he has nothing else to do, for he is not admitted to the meetings in the Treasury Chamber, where all the affairs relating to Ireland are transacted. This afternoon Mr. Ryder was heard about the new commission desired by him, and I went in with his counsel, who did not need to say much for him, the King and the Duke appearing so much in his favour. My Lord Treasurer showed a paragraph of one of your letters, informing him that Sir James Shaen did not go over, and that he insisted upon the £80,000 as granted to the Farmers by their contract. After fine things said of Sir James, the result was this, Mr. Ryder undertaking to go on with the farm according to the contract, and renouncing all pretensions to the £80,000, is to have the commission now on foot vacated and a new one granted to him, Mr. Gurney, Richbell, Stanyon and Mr. Pigott, it being allowed of that the last being an assignee, and having advanced his money, he may be admitted as a commissioner. I hope this will no way endanger the breaking of the farm, for I confess I am more inclined to Mr. Ryder than the others, and should have spoken in his favour if occasion had been offered me, for I think he has reason of his side; whether or no he will abuse of the power hereafter that this commission will give I can't determine.

I had the other day occasion given me to discourse a little with His Majesty concerning the forces in Ireland, and the posture the forts were in. He said he hoped the Parliament there would enable him to repair that at Kinsale and build one at Dublin, so that your letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry is very seasonable. I am in hopes you are misinformed in that matter of my Lord Carlingford's; for he wrote to Garrett Moore, who is chiefly concerned in the management of his affairs here, and that last post, that he was very much obliged both to you and me for the favours done him in his concerns. I am sure I have not only given him the best advice I could, both in his pretensions to the pension and his business of placing deficiencies upon the lands in Connaught, but have

been his solicitor, and that with more diligence than ever I followed business of my own; and this Col. Moore has informed him. My brother, I suppose, has informed you what success he has had in his pretensions, for he told me he would send you a copy of the capitulation. My Lord Derby came to town this night, and my sister Cavendish will be here on Monday next. I had not time to write to my mother, nor indeed anything worth her trouble. My Lady Suffolk is like to die, and so is my Lady Betty Felton, and my Lord Suffolk is very ill.

Agreement for Packet Boat at Donaghadee.

1677-8, January 26. Lisburn.—Whereas his Excellency the Lord Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland did empower me to settle a postmaster at Donaghadee, and to agree with a fit person to mantain and keep up one packet boat well manned and fitted with rigging for that service at Donaghadee for carrying packets, letters, etc., from Donaghadee to Portpatrick, in Scotland: In pursuance to the said trust, and his Excellency's commands, I have this day agreed with Hugh Campbell, of Donaghadee, gentleman, to be postmaster at Donaghadee, aforesaid, who is to keep a well-managed packet boat to attend the service aforesaid for this present year next ensuing, and is to receive and send all packets, letters, etc., directed into Scotland, once a week, upon every Thursday at night, or Friday morning, and to speed them over with all possible diligence (wind and weather serving) from Donaghadee to Portpatrick, in Scotland, free of all charge of sea passage; or if any packets, letters, etc., either from Scotland or in this kingdom shall be sent to him oftener for His Majesty's service, signed by the Secretary of State, or any of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, or the Clerk of the Council, the said postmaster is likewise to forward them diligently from Donaghadee to the Post Office at Belfast, and also all letters from Belfast to Donaghadee. And the said Postmaster of Donaghadee is likewise to keep an account of all letters that shall be by him sent from Donaghadee to Portpatrick in Scotland; also to keep an account of all letters that shall come from Portpatrick, in Scotland, to Donaghadee, and send them to the Postmaster of Belfast, and is likewise to observe such further and other particular instructions and directions as he shall receive from the Postmaster General of Ireland or Scotland for distributing and charging postage of letters that shall come from Portpatrick to Donaghadee. It is also provided that no letters shall be charged with any sea postage between Donaghadee and Portpatrick to or fro until further order and directions from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor for the time being. And for the said Hugh Campbell, Postmaster, his pains and encouragement as postmaster and keeping a packet boat and observing and performing what is aforesaid, he is to be paid the salary of one hundred pounds ster. for one

year, to be paid him out of the Treasury or otherwise, as the Lord Lieutenant or other chief governor shall appoint, from the time of his entry to this employment, which is agreed upon to commence from the fifteenth of February next, and is to have a commission from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to that effect. Witness my hand the day abovesaid. Present at this agreement—Geo. Rawdon. Hu. Campbell.

EARL OF ORRERY to EDWARD DENNY.

1677-8, January 28. Castlemartyr.—I doubt not but you know the probability there is of His Majesty's having a war with France, and I am sure you cannot but believe if that should happen that the discontented natives will be forward to disturb the peace of His Majesty's kingdom, and all his good subjects in it. We are preparing the best we can to weather such a storm should God permit it to fall on us, but in regard timely intelligence is essentially requisite, and that the County of Kerry is one of the most suspected parts, and also that I know you to be zealous for His Majesty's service, and very active and vigilant, I write this express to you and send it to Sir Boyle Maynard, with a flying seal to convey it safely and speedily to you, and to desire you earnestly and diligently to lay out for the early discovery of any designs against His Majesty's Government which may be brewing in that county, and by express messengers (whom I will pay) to give me speedy notice if anything be discovered by you which is considerable, and also to do this from time to time. Whoever you shall employ therein that shall make discoveries that are material, I will both see them sufficiently rewarded and have their names always concealed. I have several such now abroad in other parts, who have already brought me an original letter of an Irish officer in the French service, of a great family near this place, where he enjoins his correspondents to list men secretly and to assure them they shall not want money. Let me know as soon as you can what you judge is the best course to keep the discontented Irish in that county quiet, either (if it should be judged fit by my Lord Lieutenant) to demand hostages, and what hostages, or otherwise.

I write not to my Lord of Kerry, for I hear he is not in Kerry, and I pray desire Mr. Hasset, Capt. Henry Ponsonby, Mr. Tho. Crosby, my cousin, Patrick Crosby, and such loyal Protestant gentry in those parts who you know best, from me to be aiding to you herein for His Majesty's service, and do it without noise. In all this your best care and diligence is desired by, Honest Ned, your true friend and servant.

[*Addressed*].—To my esteemed friend, Edward Denny, Esq., at Tralee haste.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 29. London.—I believe you will have an account of the proceedings in Parliament from other hands, therefore I shall not trouble you with that. It seems, after I

went out of the Treasury Chamber last meeting, upon debating the matter concerning a new commission, the resolution was altered from what I informed you, and directions will be speedily sent to you in that concern. My sister Cavendish and her children are come to town and are all very well in health. It is so late that I must beg your pardon for the shortness of this letter. I was at cards with my Lord Treasurer all this afternoon, with whom I am very gracious.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677-8, January 29 (5 in the afternoon). Castlemartyr.—I have just now received the great honour of your Grace's letter of the 26th instant. I am perfectly sensible of your Grace's unmeritable favour in it in what relates to me, and I shall long for an opportunity to assure your Grace of that great truth more significantly than my words can do it.

The post, who usually comes in hither on Monday afternoon, came not this day till five, after dinner, so that it is impossible for me to obey your Grace's commands in it so particularly as it is my duty and earnest desire to do. For the persons I had contracted with to erect the fort on the harbour of Kinsale are above thirty miles from hence, and without discoursing with them I shall not be able to give your Grace so probable an estimate as I shall be when I have discoursed them (and for whom I will send expresses) what the beginning of that good and very necessary work will require; much less shall I be able, after discoursing with them, to know what weekly will be requisite to carry it on, until I know from your Grace within what time you intend to have it finished, and what your Grace may depend on as to money to carry it on as fast as materials can be brought in place, and artists engaged to work on it. But this I judge I may say at present to your Grace, that little less than £1,000 will be requisite to set the work towards motion, for there is neither limestone at Kinsale nor fuel to burn it; the former I was necessitated, when I began the work, to send for by sea to Cork, and the latter (viz. culm) to bring from Wales. Good stone we can have near the place, and up the river. One large wharf I caused to be made there, and there must be some boats built and many spades, pickaxes, shovels, wheelbarrows, etc. forthwith made, and stone-hewers as well as diggers set on work, that nothing may stand still when the work begins. But of this the engineers will be best able to inform your Grace. There is one material thing which I presume most humbly to mind your Grace of. The ground in which the fort is to be built belongs now to Sir Robert Southwell When I began it, I had his father's free consent, but I know not whether since this he may not have leased out the land or part of it, but doubtless his consent, with due consideration to him for his land, seems requisite to be had.

I will search among my papers for the articles I once signed for the complete finishing of the fort, the batteries, the houses

for the officers and the soldiers, with the arsenals and magazines, and to do all completely, even to the locks and keys; for they may be of some use to your Grace in this worthy undertaking, which if I were as able as I am willing to advance, your Grace should be served in it to your satisfaction. However, I have not failed to press my Lord Treasurer of England, both by reasons (which I think are weighty) and by my earnest desires, to incline His Majesty to order your Grace the £12,000 you have moved for to do this useful work. I know Mr. Robinson, and know him to be a very ingenious and diligent person. I have not the satisfaction to know Captain Archer, but if he were twenty times an Irishman and a Papist, yet since your Grace is confident of him, I am sure I will be the like, and assist him as heartily as if he were my brother in all your Grace's commands, and be as much pleased to have his work done exactly well as he himself can be. I am very glad your Excellency is fitting a marching train, but sorry you must do it on credit. God send your Grace may never be necessitated to use it.

My Lord Chancellor has done me the favour to let me know your Grace's resolutions in Council about excluding the markets from being (in this juncture) kept in the great garrisons, which will be a thing of great safety. God send your Grace good news out of England, where methinks the complexion of things are not so promising as it is wished they were by your Grace's, etc.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, January 29.—Three packets and all our packet boats are on this side, and the wind strong in the east, so that I know not when my despatches will get away, or when we shall have an account of yesterday's and to-day's work in Parliament, upon which all our thoughts are fixed, as upon that which is like to determine whether we shall be happy and safe or the most unhappy and exposed people in Europe.

Colonel Jeffreys is returned out of Scotland and says Douglas is a notorious cheat, and so esteemed by those of all sides there, and by some held to be frantic. I have spoken several times with him, and all the signs of madness I can discover in him is that he should affirm so many things and so particularly which a sober man must know would be disproved in a short time. He has drawn Maunsell into a very ill condition, for I find my Lord Granard so enraged against him, as I think he would not be but upon high provocation and proof. I expect my Lord here in a day or two, and then I shall know the particulars which I do not. I believe upon the credit Maunsell gave to Douglas he has spoken too freely of my Lord Granard, which may bring him within some article of war; certain it is Maunsell has conducted the whole matter very unskilfully and impertinently. I have ordered many companies that lay in country villages into the principal sea towns for the security of the places and the men, who, in those open

places, lay subject to surprise. This will expose the country to Tories, but that is the lesser evil. I would be glad to know what allowance of servants the officers of horse and foot have in England and how they are to appear at musters.

Duke of Lauderdale to Viscount Granard.

1677-8, February 1. Holyrood House.—Though I have not heard from your Lordship since Sir Robert Hamilton and Colonel Jeffreys went from this, yet meeting with the opportunity of this gentleman's going into Ireland, I could not neglect the kissing of your hands, and letting you know the forces which the King called together for taming the mad fanatics in our western shires did keep the rendezvous frequently and exactly, yesterday was sennight, and there be in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew and Lanark at this hour seven thousand foot effective, and about one thousand horse at least. This force will, I hope, do the business, and when they are once forced into obedience and order, it will be the fault of the Privy Council if they be not kept from playing such tricks again in haste. Within this fortnight I hope to give you a good and particular account of all. Now I am in haste, so my dear Lord, adieu.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1677-8, February 1. Castlemartyr.—The same hour I received the honour of your Grace's commands concerning the fort to be erected on Kinsale harbour, I sent away two expresses for those men with whom, in the year 1671, I had contracted for the building of it, that by discourse with them I might have been able the more punctually to have informed your Grace in all those particulars your Grace required of me. Two of them came this afternoon, the rest could not be found at home. From those two I got the copy of my contract about the masons' work by the perch, whatever the quantity of the perches should amount unto, which copy I here inclosed humbly present your Grace. I found also my particular, what I had disbursed and for what; and I required them to let me know what remained thereof, after above six years giving the work for abandoned.

I here inclosed also humbly present your Grace a list of the one and their account of the other, and at the rates they account, they will take the materials in part payment, if they be contracted with for the masons' work and hewing the stone, in case your Grace will have them agreed with for all the masons' and hewn stone work according to my contract, and cheaper I think it cannot be had to have the work done substantially; and I know the men to be good artists, and very able, for they have had first and last above £4,000 of my money for building for me. The perch of wall is to be forty cubic feet, and all they use must be brought from Wales, Cork Harbour, and down the river of Rian, but water and sand.

They will be bound to keep forty able masons daily at work till the work be finished, and as long as masons can work for the weather. They are willing that the £500 to be advanced shall be lodged in the sovereign of Kinsale's hand, that they may have it as they need it to advance for necessaries, and every four hundred perch to be paid off. Besides this charge I was at already, I was put to more small expense to hew a rock fourteen deep, hewed down on the south-east side of the fort, that the cannon on the battery on that side might be planted a little above high water mark, the better to defend the harbour to the very entrance of it. As soon as ever your Grace is pleased to let me know when Captain Archer shall be here, I shall send them notice that they may meet him, and then he may agree with them or others as he shall see best.

No less than £1,000 advanced and £300 weekly, if your Grace will have the fort finished by next All Hallowtide, will serve. And they must have your Grace's orders to press masons, boatmen, quarrymen, and vessels to go for Wales, and Cork harbour, they being paid the usual rates. If this month be well employed to provide all things, I see no reason why on the first of March they may not begin their wall-work, and so have eight months together to work in, which, if money fails not, may near if not wholly make the fort defensible by land and sea. This is the best account I can give your Grace at present of this affair, and I am sorry I could not make it more exact.

I esteem it my duty to acquaint your Grace that just now an express messenger is come to me from Youghal with notice in writing that this morning a ship of that port is arrived there from Ostend, and from which it set sail this day sennight, and then all was well there. But they thought the French King was that day come to Dunkirk, because they had heard many peals of ordnance which had been fired there, and they thought it was to solemnise his entry into Dunkirk. This I write because our merchants' late letters had said the place was besieged, and some other of their letters said it had been surprised by the French.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, February 5. London.—This night, about nine o'clock, three packets were sent me out of Ireland with yours of the 24th, 26th and 29th of last month, and the copies of your letters of the 22nd and 26th to Mr. Secretary Coventry, with the other papers you mention. I shall not lose time to read them over before the post goes away, and therefore can say nothing now upon what they concern. I am sorry Maunsell has run himself into such a business as no friend can help him out of if prosecuted; his way must be submission to my Lord Granard that he may avoid a trial. I have the greater compassion for him because I know all the officers of the regiment hate him, and he has little or nothing but his command to live upon. He has hitherto been a diligent officer,

but I shall never countenance an inferior officer against his superior, or go about to palliate a crime of that nature.

The Commons sat till after seven o'clock this evening upon the supply, what they have voted either Mr. Mulys or Sir Cyril Wyche will send you. The main business in our house this day was the binding my Lord Pembroke to the peace for a twelvemonth.

My Lord St. Albans invited the Duke and Duchess last night to his house, where I was commanded to be, and the Duke and Duchess danced with us until four o'clock this morning. I had this post seventeen letters, besides those that came in your cover. I am glad to hear my mother has disposed of my cousin Preston to her satisfaction.

Since you tell me what you wrote in cipher is not of great importance, I will not venture the post's going away by endeavouring to decipher it to-night, but you may depend upon me so far as this cipher goes which is betwixt us, if the copies are true.

Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell.*

1677-8, February 6.—I have yours of the 19th and 29th of the last, and have nothing but my thanks to return. My son Arran, if you call to him, will show you copies of late letters from me to Mr. Secretary Coventry, which contain all I am able to say of the state of the kingdom in reference to the present conjuncture. If but a reasonable part of what the revenue yields had been applied to the use of the kingdom, as it might have been, we should have been in a better state than we are to resist an invasion or suppress an insurrection; as it is I hope to give a good account of the kingdom, if we have but a little time to look about us. I am designing the fortifying the harbour of Kinsale, and do hope out of unbegged scraps of the revenue to set to the work the next month.

My orders for preparing of a party to serve His Majesty in Scotland were from the King, and to him I can justify the expense I have put him to better than I could have done the not sending that party if they had been called for, or sending them to be a burden rather than an assistance, of either of which my Lord Lauderdale perhaps would not have been the last to complain.

Earl of Danby to Ormond.

1677-8, February 8. Treasury Chamber, Whitehall.—Your Grace well knows there hath been long due to the Governor and Assistants, London, of the new plantation in Ulster the sum of four thousand pounds for the purchase of the customs of Londonderry, which was one of the debts undertaken to be paid by the Lord Ranelagh and partners; but they having about two years since humbly prayed His Majesty to take the

* This letter has not been printed in the Series of Ormond's Letters to Sir Robert Southwell in the second volume of these Reports (1st Series, i., pp. 259-308).

payment of the said debt upon himself, they being willing to discount so much out of their settled over-payments, the King was pleased to order the speedy payment of it, by two or more letters directed to the Earl of Essex, his then Lieutenant of that kingdom, which have hitherto proved ineffectual, and therefore the said Governor and Assistants have of late made very earnest and importunate applications for His Majesty's further directions, which the King is most willing to grant, thinking both his justice and service are concerned to have it cleared. Howsoever, I cannot find, upon the perusal of the state of the Irish revenue sent me by your Grace, there will be any possibility of satisfying it until the thirty-six thousand pounds advanced by Mr. Bridges be repaid, which I compute will not be until March or April, 1679, there being allowed but two thousand pounds or thereabouts a month for their repayment; but when that is completed the King is inclined to grant the payment of this four thousand pounds by a thousand pounds a month out of that fund, and the remainder may go to provide the stores, etc., as in the state is mentioned. Whether your Grace hath any objection to this way of satisfying it, or whether you can propose any other which may be more speedy and convenient is what I desire to know as soon as may be, the King being very impatient until he hath quieted the just claims of these gentlemen by settling their satisfaction one way or other.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1677-8, February 8. Castlemartyr.—I received last night late the great honour of your Excellency's letter of the 5th instant, and in humble obedience to your Grace's commands therein, I presume to say that, in my poor opinion, your Grace's intention of making that part of the intended fort of Rincorran, which is to protect the harbour first up, is absolutely the best, for those reasons your Grace is pleased to mention; they were the cause which made me, when I was erecting it, to resolve to begin there first; and I think one of the best batteries in Europe to command a harbour may be there made.

It was with no little pressingness that I obtained leave to keep many of the larger ordnance which I got took out of His Majesty's ships, and planted at Rincorran for their own defence, to be left there when the danger was over. It is now ten years since; and I doubt for these last five years so little care has been taken of their carriages that little of any and few of them are anyways serviceable, and I wish the iron-work be not embezzled; for so many cannon as are there now were left for a time without a guard—nay, without so much as a sentinel over them; which as soon as I heard, and that many of them which were flung out of the breaches in the fortress into the sea (at high water), where they were like to be buried in the sand, I writ to my Lord Essex about it, and got immediately his orders and a little money for Colonel St Leger to secure them. The mounting of so many and such

weighty ordnance (though but on ship carriages) will take up much time and cost much, especially if the ironworks of them have been stolen. I therefore propose humbly to offer to your Grace whether it may not be requisite that a view be speedily taken of their condition, and an estimate made what will mount on ship carriages the culverin and demi-culverin, both at Rincorran and in the fort and blockhouse of Kinsale (which a little will do if the ironwork be preserved), and then if your Grace judges it fit that your orders may issue for doing it for the lesser guns, as sakers and under-sakers, those may be done at leisure.

And I the rather humbly propound this to your Grace, because we know not how soon the need may be, but I know that should they be immediately gone about, yet it will require much time to do it; and though the intended batteries of the fort should not be finished ere there be need, yet if so many weighty cannon should be mounted and fitted we can at a push with cannon, gabions, and sods and earth, make it hot work for any enemy's ships to attempt destroying our own, especially if the cables I bought, and some I begged, and the boom and gins have been preserved, as I ordered they should be. An account of what round shot for the larger ordnance are at Kinsale, in my opinion, were fit to be had, and also of the cross-bar shot,—of both which I got good store out of the King's ships—that if any be wanting they may be timely cast, which I think may be done in the ironworks in those parts, and at easy rates.

I am very sorry to find, in the honour of your Grace's letter, that the Farmers are so bitterly at odds. It may ruin them and the farm, and consequently be fatal to this poor kingdom, though we should have peace continued, of which methinks by His Majesty's speech and the address of the House of Commons, there is small appearance. And yet, if a war be resolved, in my poor judgment it is strange that to all your Grace's reiterated representations of the miserable present state of this unhappy kingdom your Excellency has yet received no orders or money to put it into as good a position as your Grace can; nay, as my Lord Chancellor writes to me, the £20,000 he fears is ordered for England, out of which your Grace was to have £12,000 for a fort, at least as necessary, if not more, to England than Ireland. But I will hope when His Majesty's ministers there have duly considered what your Excellency has so fully represented (to which I have added my small mite) they will be rather inclined to send your Excellency money, than to withdraw what is here. I have yet no answer to what I wrote so pressingly to my Lord Treasurer and other friends on that subject, nor indeed could I expect any this post.

I most heartily congratulate my Lord Ossory's late happy escapes, returning from and going into Holland, and that command his Lordship has vouchsafed to accept of under the Prince of Orange: for though he highly merits a much greater, yet I hope those six regiments will shortly be made more, and

that this will be but a step to a nobler command. Such a person as the head of so many of the King's subjects will, I assure myself, gain his Lordship and those who have the honour to serve under him, great reputation, which I most heartily wish and pray for.

My Lord Inchiquin this post has written to me that he has contracted for a foot company under my Lord Ossory's command, for his brother Sir John O'Brien, and has sent in bills to pay for the victualling and transporting eighty men, with their officers. I humbly beg your Grace's authority to have them raised and transported, without which I can do nothing. I shall get him good men and good officers—they are by their contract to be sent to the regiment at Bois le Duc.

I most humbly thank your Grace for your obliging inquiry after and concernment for my poor Lord and Lady Suffolk.* I thank God my letters of the 29th January tell me she is much better of her palsy, and he of his gout. They are both very really your Grace's servants.

I have written a long letter to my Lord Chancellor about some public things; having in this too highly trespassed on your Grace's patience, for which your pardon is humbly begged.

Earl of Danby to Ormond.

1677-8, February 8. London—His Majesty has received many alarms about his revenue in Ireland, and I confess that the only comfort I have received in that matter has been from your Grace, who, I perceive, is confident that the farm is well worth the rent. Mr. Ryder will bring your Grace from Secretary Coventry divers instructions which are intended for preventing the King's loss as much as may be in case a sudden breach of the Farmers be designed; but all is left to your Grace's directions, who must needs judge better of the whole matter than we are able to do on this side. For news I shall refer your Grace to the Secretary's letters, who says he gives your Grace a constant account how things pass here, and I suppose acquaints your Grace that the King does very well approve the borrowing of £12,000 upon the £20,000 which the Farmers ought to lend, and that he would have no time lost in the applying it to the fortifications at Kinsale. His Majesty has particularly commanded me to acquaint your Grace that he will have the pension which is charged upon the Establishment to Mr. Hyde to be punctually paid to him, and the arrears, if any be in your Grace's time. I have nothing more to trouble your Grace withal.

Earl of Arran to Ormond

1677-8, Saturday, February 9th.—On Thursday night *bm* [D. Bucks] was at *dk* [Court] attending *io* [the King] at his supper. He assures his friends that he is as well with *io* [King] as ever, knowing (though *io* [King] be *cf* [change]able) better

* Lord Orrery was married to Lord Suffolk's sister.

than any man when he speaks his heart and when not. That he has told *io* [King] how all his affairs were out of order, so that he would not meddle with them or with other men's works. And being desired by *io* [King] to make friends with *te* [Lord Treasurer], he said he could not with one whom he *yn.xo.zc.zz.ws.xl.wv.wn.* [despised] not only as an *yc.zx.yq.yb. zk.xd.wo.zp.ze.xu.* [ungrateful] but an *ys.xq.xx.yy.xb.yk.xx.xd.* [ignorant] *la* [man]. I gave him (said he) to *io* [King] as one who could tell that 2 and 2 made 4 and 2 more 6. But I did not think you would put him *xd.ui.xb.xe.wu.xo.xt.xs.xx.xq. wn.yy.zw.zo.zc.* [to rule kingdoms]. He uses *pb* [Portsmouth D.] not much better. *v* [Arlington] passed on him in the House of *krs* [Lords] some compliment on his return to *dk* [Court], to which he answered that if *te* [Ld. Treasurer] saw them speak, it would at least give him a motion. *lq* [D. Monmouth] is sorely afflicted at this progress. And all this is from *bm* [D. Bucks] his own mouth to one I dare credit.

Yesterday *as.* [Bp. of London] told me with heavy heart to the effect aforesaid, saying he looked on *te* [Ld. Treasurer] as a lost man. That all this has been brewing since those entertainments at *yx.yo.yu.xs.ze.* [Nelly's], upon which and the scenes of abuse there passing on *te* [Ld. Tre.] it seems *ce* [Ld. Cha.] did take upon him to remonstrate to *io* [King] the evil of those things. To which in substance this was the answer, that he would not deny himself an hour's divertisement for the sake of any man. That *fi* [D. of York] has with all his power dissuaded and exhorted therein, but can avail nothing. About a month since *ne* [Wm. Penn] foretold me much of this. *bm* [D. Bucks] has used arts with him, and such as he, to transform himself into an angel of light. They allow, indeed, some personal failings and immoralities still remaining. But never had any man a truer notion of this government and of the things which must make an English nation happy.

I have said enough at once for any one to frame consequences *gl.cf.ig.sz.dk.* [for change in Court]. And where it will stop (in such a conjuncture as this) God only can tell. And God direct *io* [the King] aright.*

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1677-8, February 12-22. Whitehall.—I received the last post three from your Grace, two of the 22nd and 26th of January, and one of the 29th. As to Douglas, we here can as little tell what to make of him as your Grace, and His Majesty leaveth him totally to your disposal, either to retain him there till you see more light, or to send him to my Lord Lauderdale, if you judge him to have told lies out of malice.

As to your long letter of the 22nd, it was read and considered of, and Sir Tho. Chicheley ordered to bring the King the list you sent him, that all may be considered of, and you supplied as soon as may be. As to your calling the Parliament, His Majesty would have you accelerate it all you can, and your

* The equivalents for the words in cipher in the original are interpolated in Ormond's handwriting.

sense is generally well approved of the whole matter—neither do I find the King unwilling that they should have their satisfaction in the point of the revenue not to be called out hither. The main thing that was stuck upon was whether it were not better to obtain from the Parliament an increase of the revenue, whether by Parliament, excise or otherwise, rather than subsidy, which some were of opinion could not be collected above two in a year, and of this my Lord of Essex seemed to doubt himself. His Majesty and all seem to acquiesce that you should have arms enough sent to arm the Nonconformists and Scotch, but not to put them into their hands till you are very much pressed.

They could not at the Committee at present resolve anything about the trained bands, but the consideration of that and of the revenue to be augmented is deferred till another meeting. In the meantime my Lord Treasurer, Lord of Essex, Lord Ranelagh, and Lord Conway are to meet and consider particularly of that point whether revenue increased in proportion will not be more feasible and convenient than the way you propose by subsidy. As soon as they have given in their report, and His Majesty taken his resolution, I shall not fail to transmit it to your Grace.

As to your proposition in one of your former of getting or borrowing money for Kinsale, His Majesty approveth mightily of it, and would have it hastened as much as may be. As to your proposition for confirming of the Decrees of the Court of Claims, some period to be put to the finding and concealment, it is doubted whether that can be done without allowing defalcations to my Lord Ranelagh and partners, who are to be spoke with upon this point. Chimney money to be regulated in the gathering is not disapproved of, but before His Majesty will give any determinate resolution he would be informed of the manner of the regulation, and how the abuses may be rectified, and yet the revenue not too much diminished. Your opinion concerning the Roman Catholics and priests was not disapproved of.

As to the not farming of the revenue, or at least to men only living in Ireland, it is a point capable of great consideration, for it is thought the revenue is easier and more profitable in farm than in collection, and if tied to be farmed only to men living in Ireland will possibly restrain the King to so few chapmen as will not be able to make the best of it, but of this nothing was concluded one way or other.

For the time of the sitting of the Parliament with you your Grace's reason answers all objections. All things go now so smooth here that I see no reason to apprehend an ill issue of this session, their only jealousy being that they shall not have a war, which I am afraid they will be welcomed with before they are ready to receive it. The French have taken St. Tobago and the forts from the Dutch, besides many prisoners and some ships—the Governor and almost all his officers blown up by a bomb that lighted into their powder.

Duke of Monmouth to Ormond.

1677-8, February 12. Whitehall.—I have received your Grace's of the 15th of January with the inclosed petition of the clergy of that kingdom; I do not find in myself any desires to invade the rights of the Church, which I wish rather should be preserved. But the impropriations and tithes in questions were proposed to me as things belonging immediately to the Crown, and entirely in His Majesty's disposal—an evidence whereof is that some of them have been lately granted away to laymen under the great seal of Ireland, without any opposition from the clergy there. And whereas it is urged against me that His Majesty hath already bestowed those things on the Church by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and his letter of May, 1673, I shall only acquaint your Grace what I am informed, that those Acts do not reach these impropriations, which never were in possession of the Church, but always in the King, since the Reformation, and that there is a letter on my behalf of a much earlier date than '73, as you will find if you please to call for a copy of the grant made to the late Earl of Roscommon in the year 1641, which Colonel Dillon hath now the benefit of, and that was thought of so much force by my Lord Chancellor here and the Attorney General, as to give him a right to the rectories and tithes there, granted to his father and his assignees, which was the reason of my taking him into partnership with me. But after all I submit my interest to your Grace's determination, and shall expect no more than may in justice and equity be pretended to by your Grace's faithful, humble servant.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, February 12. London.—I had this day yours of the 5th instant, though by mistake you dated it January. If they are hereafter directed to me at large, I shall have them sooner than under anybody's cover, for I had other letters last night. Mr. Ryder, who, I suppose, is with you ere this, has brought you instructions concerning the farm. I was resolved this morning to have desired you to have sent your commands concerning Ireland to my brother, for he took it ill an application was not made to him, and I found he was not well pleased when I spoke to the King about matters now to be transacted in Ireland, though he was not well informed himself, but he resolves to go for Holland to-morrow, and therefore writing to him can be of no use.

Captain Hungerford is come to town, and says he will starve sooner than part with his command for money, now there is like to be action; he resolves very soon to go for Ireland, and he says he intends to settle with his family there.

Sir Robert Reading is very importunate still about his pretensions of being a Privy Councillor in Ireland. He thinks he has friends enough here to compass his design, but desires your leave to attempt it, since I told him he must not expect your recommendation.

I send you with this a copy of His Majesty's order concerning officers' servants. You will find that all the field officers but the colonels have no greater allowance than captains; the troops of horse consist of more men than those in Ireland, but the foot companies and those of our Army had the same number when the order was made.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1677-8, February 15. Castlemartyr.—I am humbly of your Excellency's opinion that it is even a reproach to the Government and to the times we live in that the harbour of Kinsale, which is of such importance to England and Ireland, should be now to be secured. I am sure I pressed the having it done many years since, and I got the King's orders to me to begin it and did so; but to do it laid out my own money. As long as that lasted it went on, but when that ended the work did so too. I hope this £1,000, with what has been done and is yet in the place, will put things in motion, and so prepare materials and clear the foundation for the batteries to the seaward, that by the time the £300 weekly is to be paid (which I perceive begins not till the 25th of next month) the work may go on vigorously.

My Lord Chancellor has signified to me your Grace's pleasure in several particulars, for which I pay your Grace my most humble acknowledgments, as also for your Grace's favour to Captain John Bryen, who shall proceed in raising his company on what your Grace has written to me on that subject, which I take to be a sufficient authority; only I would beg your Grace's warrant or permission rather, that when they his men are rendezvoused at Youghal or Cork harbour I may have leave to have a guard of the King's soldiers to hinder them from slipping away; for if they should, it would be a prejudice not only to the captain but to the country, for such slippery companions commonly turn Tories.

Ormond to Earl of Burlington.

1677-8, February 16.—I am much joyed to have such an instance of your recovery as that of an obliging letter, nothing being more valuable to me than your good health, and the continuance of your favour to me. I desire always and in all things to be punctual in the performance of my promises, and more especially when passed to those I have so much affection and respect for. My Lord your brother* affords me on all occasions his advices very freely, and I make suitable returns. I have now put the direction of fortifying the harbour of Kinsale into his hands; a work no less, but, I think, much more useful to England in time of war than to Ireland. I have found means to begin that work, and hope I shall finish it. It has been twice before attempted and all the preparations upon the matter lost by the discontinuance. I hope it will have better success now; I am sure it may have if

* The Earl of Orrery.

my propositions be hearkened to. I rejoice at the hopes you give me of seeing you here so soon, and promise myself great assistance from your interest and advice; your stake here is worth the looking after and preserving. I am neither surprised nor frighted at my Lord of Buckingham's reception at Court, and if I am sorry for it I am sure it is not for my own sake. I serve a master that knows us both. Many of my despatches relating to the defence and good of his kingdom lie yet unanswered, at which I neither wonder nor murmur, things of the greatest importance that can be agitated in any time or state being under debate; when they are a little settled I know it will be considered that this remoter part is yet a limb of the English monarchy that cannot be spared without manifest danger to the body. I am at this time, I fear, falling into a relapse of the gout for want of giving myself ease and physic, but as it is unpainful, I hope it will not be lasting. Lame or sound, sick or well, I am, etc.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1677-8, February 16.—I approve of your conduct in relation to my Lord Treasurer and your promise in the manner of it. I hope the next may give me some account of the conference, and the construction you may make of the manner of it. If anything passed or was proposed not fit to be ventured in open language, Sir Cyril Wyche, or rather your brother, will lend you a cipher. You have found the true reason why duplicates of my despatches were not sent to you, and that reason continues of force, and will do, so long as your motions must depend on the King of France, who perhaps intends not where he seems to point, and may change his designs with great facility. I suppose both your brother and Mr. Secretary will show you all they receive from me, and you may take what part you please. As soon as my Lord Granard's horse shall come to town, he and all yours but *Montagu* shall be sent over. I have many letters to write, and nothing more to say to you.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, February 16.—Though you have read, yet I doubt you have not well considered my letter of the 22nd to Mr. Secretary, for though I have proposed what can be done here to put the kingdom in a better state than it is, yet I have not said that those things would put it into a good condition, nor indeed can it be put into a tolerable one without the assistance of a Parliament. I cannot guess what information in relation to the Militia was wanting or necessary, and consequently I know not how to apply myself to give satisfaction. I am sure if the English here should know there is any difficulty made to put them in condition to defend themselves it would have very ill constructions and suitable consequences, both here and in England, which I would have you impart to Mr. Secretary, or

rather say nothing of it, because I will write on the subject to himself. Before you went I addressed duplicates of all I writ to your brother, as I should do still if I were sure he would continue there, so that I take it for granted you impart to him all that you receive. I never received one letter from my Lady Wentworth since I came into Ireland. If she has anything to command me let her send her letter to you and she shall be sure at least of an answer. I cannot assure Vernon of an employment here unless the King would enlarge his Army.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, February 16. London.—I was told that my Lord Treasurer, Lord Conway, Lord Ranelagh and my Lord Essex were appointed as a committee to manage all affairs here concerning Ireland, but upon better information I found their business is only to consider of the representation made by you concerning the late undertaking. The Duke of Monmouth came to me this day in the House and asked me whether I should not be glad that a battalion of the regiment under my command should be sent for to serve His Majesty in Flanders or Holland, and withal told me that it would be a considerable post for me, for I should command as colonel of a regiment of Guards. I answered I should be glad to serve His Majesty wherever he thought fit to employ me, but I thought as matters now stood it were more necessary men should be sent over thither, and that the regiment consisted of 1,120 men only, and the battalions are to be 800, and that I thought you ought to be consulted before anything of this nature should be resolved upon, but I told him my own inclinations were to go where the first action was like to be. Pray let me have something from you to say upon this matter, for I know it would be of very ill consequence and no small danger to that kingdom to send so many men away at this time; but if I should appear much against it perhaps it may be interpreted as though I were afraid of going into danger, though it is not unlikely we may have our share in that kingdom if the war happen.

My Lord Loftus carried his cause yesterday in the House of Peers against Mr. Barrett. As I had writ so far, I had brought me yours of the 10th, which I should have received last night. I have of late had the misfortune to be suspected by those friends I have endeavoured most to serve, witness my Lord Carlingford and my Lord Granard; all the letters I had from Maunsell out of the north I constantly showed to you, and took it for granted that my Lord Granard was privy to them, and if he writ any such news as that the Covenant was taken in the north, I confess I was so far from thinking his Lordship concerned that I never thought of the thing since, and therefore was not like to report it for news.

I hear all the chief officers that are to command the Army now to be raised here are pitched. The Duke of York, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Albemarle and Lord Gerard are the four

colonels of horse, the Prince and my Lord Feversham the two colonels of dragoons; for the foot it is not yet known who are to command.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, February 16. Dublin.—I have yours of the 5th and 9th, but the weather is here so bad and tempestuous that I know not when the packet will get off, and am much afraid for *Ned*, *Ludlow* and other horses of your brother's which were shipped off on the 14th of this month for Liverpool. I have, as you told me I should, received the King's directions concerning the calling of a Parliament here upon a report, or rather minutes, brought in by those Lords to whom my letter on that subject on the 22nd of January was referred. There is little material in that report, and the letter upon it, besides His Majesty's resolution to have a Parliament, and his approbation of what was proposed by me; so that his pleasure might much sooner have been known here if the report had been sooner brought in. If proportionable delay shall be of returning bills when they shall be transmitted it will be impossible to have a Parliament here before October. To prevent which delay I shall humbly propose that no private provisoes be admitted, the rather that the scope of the Bill of Confirmation will be to secure such as are in possession, whatever their title is, and this serves for an answer to Ned Vernon.

I do hope Sir Charles Feilding will ease me of the pains of writing the affairs of the regiment. I think you will find some companies of it removed to Kilkenny and those parts, that they may be ready to march to any part of Munster or Connaught.

His Majesty will in a few days have a joint account from me and the Council of the state of the controversy betwixt Shaen and Ryder, and their partakers, and of what is done to prevent His Majesty's damage by that civil war. The letters I writ to the Duke were all concerning Major Russell, of Galway. He is here now, ready to transport himself to receive the honour designed him.

Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry.

1677-8, February 18. Dublin.—Now that the calling of a Parliament is publicly owned, all those that think themselves able to propose the best way of augmenting the King's standing revenue, or to improve the trade of the kingdom, make their applications to me; among them there are two or three, the most knowing and substantial men, that offer to show how, by a reasonable addition to the excise of ale and beer (such as will leave the brewery and retailers as great gainers as those of England, and yet not raise the price to the drinkers) £20,000 a year will come to the King, and for their reward they desire only that they may become farmers of such addition at that rate, and may have His Majesty's promise for it. The

difficulty of complying with their desire is in a covenant given to the present Farmers that they shall have the collecting of any addition that shall be made to the revenue. To this the projectors offer to farm the whole duty from them, and give them as much as at any time they have made of the old duty, which, if they should refuse, it is supposed His Majesty has them enough in his power to bring them to reason. The reason why the proposers do not desire to be named they say is because their being known to be concerned in it may lessen the credit they think they shall have to facilitate the passing of the clause; and that is also the best reason I can give for His Majesty's making any such promise to them as they desire, for there goes but little invention in proposing an addition to any duty, and as little arithmetic to cast up what that will come to. This proposal, stated as well as I can, I humbly desire His Majesty's pleasure upon.

I find all I speak with of the supplies expected from a Parliament here so far from grudging His Majesty the £20,000 he reserves to his own disposal, that I am confident he may have it augmented to £24,000, and established in an Act of Parliament to be paid him by what payment and where he pleases. But without his directions I shall not presume to have such a clause offered to him. I have chosen to write these two particulars in a letter apart, that the King may impart them to as many or as few as he shall think fit, for to me the secrecy is of no importance any further than his service may be more or less concerned in it, of which it is fit he be left to be judge.

Draft. Endorsed.—Never sent.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, February 19. London.—I had no letter from you last post, but in other letters I have information that it is like to go hard with Captain Maunsell. If he should be adjudged to lose his employment, I desire either my Captain-Lieutenant, or Dick Morris should have it. If you give it to my Captain-Lieutenant, I desire Morris may have his place, and my Ensign Morris his employment, for he quitted a Lieutenant's place in the regiment and chose my colours, and then you may oblige Sir Charles Derrick in making him my ensign, and my Lord Granard's son in giving him Sir Charles his colours. I left a paper in your hands before I parted from you, much to this purpose, which I desire you would cast your eye upon. I spoke with His Majesty about the reversion of the Field Marshal's employment, which he granted me yesterday, but he scruples at giving a patent, and has given order that a letter should be drawn for you to dispose of it to me when it becomes void; when that is done I mean to write a letter to my Lord Granard.

Mr. Secretary Coventry desires that when you write to him about public business, you should intermix no other things with it, for he is ordered to show your letters to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Trelawny, who sold his troops to my Lord Blessington, complains that he has received more money than he should, and desires you would see him satisfied, to which purpose he intends to petition. Mr. Villiers tells me he intends to settle in Ireland, and desires you would be mindful of him in case of new levies or regimenting the Army.

Ned Vernon desires you would make him a Parliament man in some of your towns. Pray let my mother know that I have hers of the 12th, with the enclosed paper concerning Sir Laurence Esmond, and by the next post she shall have the Duke of Albemarle's answer.

Ormond to Earl of Danby.

1677-8, February 19. Dublin.—I have your Lordship's of the 8th instant, by Mr. Ryder, with His Majesty's directions concerning him and his partners in the farm of this revenue, which I shall observe as punctually as I can in all the particulars. But where I conceive the strict or too hasty executing them may prejudice the King's service, I shall make use of the liberty given me by my instructions to represent the inconveniencies as I apprehend them, and then expect His Majesty's final determination. I did not take upon me (as I remember) upon my own judgment to be confident that the farm is well worth the rent. It is true I was, and am still, told so by men of more skill than I pretend to; but if the bargain were better than it is, the contention betwixt the Farmers, if it cannot be reconciled, must distract and spoil the management and at last break the farm. And though they should agree and manage their business never so well, yet if there shall be such a war with France as to bar all trade with that kingdom, I fear they will not be able to continue their monthly payments. And if it shall come to pass that the revenue must be put into the hands of managers or accountants, it should be considered whether fitter and more responsible men may not be found for that service than some of those Farmers are; but I cannot think of the breaking of this farm without much trouble. because I am more than doubtful the King will lose by it, and that it is not easy to foresee how much or how far the mischief will extend. All we hope is that Mr. Ryder and his particular friends and partners will propose what may carry on the farm, or make the King a saver if it should break by their means.

The fort for securing the harbour of Kinsale will immediately be gone in hand with. The only two engineers we have in this kingdom are gone to receive my Lord of Ossory's assistance and directions, and the Farmers have given bills charged on their collectors in those parts for £1,000 to provide materials to carry on the work, and they promise from the 25th of March next to furnish £300 weekly, and all without delaying or lessening their monthly payments of £20,000, which I think implies that it is to be out of the £20,000 they were further to advance.

There are other places fit to be secured whose walls and works are much ruined, but none more necessary than Galway,

the only important sea town in Connaught, where there are more Irish and fewer English than in any other of the provinces, and where an invader may soon fortify himself, and, as I am told, secure his ships. I shall have a better account of the place as soon as one of our two engineers can be spared from Kinsale.

The establishment is cut out so even to the revenue, that, though the revenue should hold as it is, yet every accidental charge must affect some part of the Establishment, and make it by so much longer before any overplus can be expected. The only expedient I can offer to your Lordship's consideration is the endeavouring to borrow from those who advanced the £36,000 five or six months of their £2,000 a month. Their bargain is said to be so good that methinks they should not stick at it, having sufficient security and ten in the hundred interest. The principal of them are on that side, and I should think there can be no hurt in the trial. I shall not fail to order the Deputy Vice-Treasurer to make punctual payment of Mr. Hyde's pension with the arrear, if any be incurred since I came over.

Extract from Letter relative to JOHN HEBDON, Envoy from the King of England to Moscow.

1677-8, February 20. Moscow.—La continuelle indisposition de sa Maste. ayant empeché que le Sieur John Hebdon, Envoyé de sa Maste. Brittanique, n'a pu obtenir aucune audiance, le dit Envoyé a depuis ma derniere lettre du 13 courant trouvé bon de faire donner à sa Maste. un memoire par lequel il se plaint premièrement de son malheur de n'avoir pu avoir l'honneur de voir les ieux clairs de S. M., (comm'on parle icy) et mande après la cause et les raisons de sa venue a scavoir les offres de mediation à S. M., au nom du Roy son maistre, entre Sa Maste. de Muscovie et le Roy de Suede, pour assoupir leur differens et prevenir d'autres malheurs pour le futur, y adjoustant que sa Maste. Britanique avoit résolu d'envoyer à L'Orizont l'Este qui vient cinquante vaisseaux de guerre, avec un nombre competent de bruleaux et autres navires necessaires proveus de quinse mille hommes pour obliger les parties combattans a une paix.

Translat et Extrait d'une lettre escrite a Muscou le 20 Fev., 1677.*

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1677-8, February 22. Castlemartyr.—I presume to present your Grace with a treatise of the *Art of War*, which I finished last spring, but could not get it printed off by reason of the gout till the beginning of this winter. I have two excuses for this confidence. The one is that your Grace was the first general who gave me a commission to be an officer; the other is that your Grace is the last general that I have the honour to

* The orthography of the original is followed in this transcript.

serve under, so that your Excellency has a double title to this book. Those who are not accustomed to flattery assure me that it hath met with a much better reception in England than I could reasonably hope it should, or than I fear it does deserve. I attribute this wholly to its being the first book on this subject that has been published in our language, and therefore the novelty more than the treatise itself may be liked. Those books sent me over stayed three weeks at Bristol, and I have stayed three weeks for a conveniency to send this to Dublin, which are the causes why this mean tribute has been no sooner laid at your Grace's feet.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, February 23.—In most of the sessions of Parliament I have been at, complaints were brought of the great mischief to the clothing trade of England by the transportation of Irish wool into foreign parts, and committees were appointed to prepare some remedy, but the work was still left imperfect. Since my last coming to the Government, I have endeavoured all I could to prevent that abuse, both by the issuing of a proclamation, and by causing severe prosecution of those who have been guilty of it. But after all, I find nothing can be done on this side effectually to prevent it, without something on that side be done to hinder the obtaining of false and fraudulent certificates from the officers of the Customs in England. I have therefore advised with the most skilful men here, and send you their opinion in the propositions enclosed, which, if there be a Committee of Lords appointed to take that work in hand, as heretofore there has been, you may offer to their consideration; but first it may be fit for you to receive my Lord Treasurer's approbation, because what is proposed concerns His Majesty's officers, and such as are under his Lordship's government and jurisdiction.

Memorandum respecting Wool Exports.

1677-8, February 23.—The mischief and prejudice done to the clothing trade of England by exporting wool from Ireland to foreign parts under the pretence of shipping it for England is great and manifest, and also the bringing from England into Ireland fuller's earth and clay, under the notion of tobacco pipe clay, which is brought as ballast; and as such it goes with the wool to foreign parts, contrary to Acts of Parliament both in England and Ireland. And this cannot be prevented here, although all care is taken for it. For though it is felony to ship any wool out of Ireland without license,* and though those that have such licenses do enter into bonds to land such wool in England, and to return certificates from the Customs Houses in England that it was landed there accord-

* See the particulars regarding wool licenses printed at the end of this volume.

ingly, yet still both wool and clay are carried in great quantities for France and Holland, and certificates obtained or procured in the names of the customers that such wool was landed in England, after which fraud strict inquiry is making, as appears by the enclosed proclamation. But so long as clay is suffered to come from England, and that such certificates can be procured, it will not be possible to prevent this mischief by anything that can be done in Ireland. It is therefore proposed that if the more effectual prevention of this mischief shall fall under the consideration of either Houses of Parliament this session, as in most sessions it has, this following expedient may be offered: That it be enacted:—

1.—That no certificate for landing wool in England shall at at any time be given but in the open Custom House, and signed by the Customer, Comptroller and Searcher, and under the seal of office.

2.—That they express the name of the ship and master thereof, from what port or place she came, the quantity of wool landed, with the marks and numbers of the bags or packs, and the day when they entered and landed such wool.

3.—That such customer do not sign any such certificate but in the presence of such Comptroller and Searcher, and that they do all sign such certificate at the same time, and that it be entered in some book for that purpose to be kept in the Custom House.

4.—That four times in the year (to be expressed in such Act) they send duplicates of all such certificates under their hands and seals to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to be examined and compared with those that are brought by the merchants.

5.—That if any certificates shall be signed where the wool shall not be landed, or if they shall suffer any such clay or earth to be shipped contrary to the Act in that case made and provided, such officers to forfeit their offices and estates.

6.—That the aforesaid officers shall take an oath (to be inserted in such Bill) not to suffer such clay or earth to be shipped, or to give any certificate of the landing of wool, contrary to what is before proposed.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, February 23. Dublin.—When I sent you the copies of my last letters of the 19th, I was in a relapse of my gout, and so could not write to you with it. I think that post will have given you an account of the sentence of the Council of War against Maunsell. The truth is, nothing of that nature could be more against the obedience and respect due to a superior officer in chief command upon an expedition, or might more probably have brought him into distrust with the party he commanded. Jones has his company, and Morris commands yours. Sir Cha. Derrick makes scruple of being lieutenant to Jones, but desires rather to be ensign to you, if the ensign will quit to be lieutenant; if he will not, they must

both remain as they are, and then the lieutenancy is in dispute betwixt Paget and Lucas; but I think Lucas will carry it, though my wife interposes for her officer, and says he is valiant and diligent. Dr. Meara says that he much apprehends Major Broughton may die of the sickness he now labours under, which sure will hasten Hungerford over. If the Major dies, Morris must not take it ill if I give the company to Bradston, who is much the elder officer in this service. I would be glad to have the King's regulation there of commands and precedences in field and garrison, and especially betwixt horse and foot officers who shall happen to be garrisoned in one place; for that is first like to breed disputes, and would already at Cork, if my Lord Shannon were not Governor by special commission. Let me know all that is settled in those matters that I may conform the discipline in the Army to that in England. The letter I send you about the wool I desire may be produced as mine to my Lord Treasurer and to the Committee, if the matter is or shall be before a Committee; if it be not, and yet shall be in the House of Commons, Sir Cyril Wyche may produce it and the proposition there.

I have just now received yours of the 16th, and shall add the answer to this letter.

In Mr. Secretary's of the 9th, he says that whether a sum of money by way of subsidy, or an addition to the constant revenue, should be demanded of the Parliament here, was the only point referred to the Committee, of which I wonder my Lord Privy Seal, my Lord Burlington, yourself and Sir Cyril Wyche were not, as well as the Lord Conway and Lord Ranelagh.

I presume what the Duke of Monmouth proposed unto you was but a conception of his own, or something accidentally discoursed of, for to think of calling away any part of this Army, as things now stand, without sending at least as many in their room, and expecting that this people will at the same time give money to the King, are so irreconcilable that it cannot be the effect of a serious consideration; at least I take the liberty to think so till I shall receive it as a command from the King, and even in that case I shall presume to represent my thoughts of it before I shall dare to put it in execution. This I doubt is too severe a reflection to be shown to any but the Secretary, and I think there will be no need of your saying any more than you have done on the subject. Just now Will. Flower tells me there is little hope of Broughton's recovery, but great probability that he will die within forty-eight hours. If he does, I believe I shall give Sir Charles Feilding a commisson to be Major, and justify it by Hungerford's not having seen his company these seven years, but the little time he stayed very uneasily here since my coming. When Broughton was, as he called it, put over his head, he had a pretence, such as it was, for his absence, which he has not now; for four or five of the years he has been absent. The other gentleman has scarce ever been from his post for sixteen years. Sir Cyril Wyche has obtained a reference to me upon a petition of his

to His Majesty for a pension of £500 a year, and to be put upon the Establishment from the 25th of March, 1676, calling himself Chief Secretary of Ireland, which is not his title, and alleging that some of his predecessors have had it, that many of the King's affairs pass through his hands without fees, that the perquisites are lessened, and the duty continued. None of which motives, as they may be understood, and as he seems to desire they should, are possible for me to affirm. But if they were all true in the sense suggested, it cannot be proper for me to give my opinion that it is fit for the King at this time to add to his Establishment, when what is already upon it will be too heavy for the revenue, and when that revenue must lessen and the charge increase, if there be a war; and if it be not when it is very probable the contention betwixt the Farmers will break the farm. But beyond all this, at my first entrance upon the Government, I have taken a resolution which I have not yet broken during my continuance in it, never to advise the King to add any private charge on his revenue, till it shall be able to support all the public expense of the Government.

At Sir Cyril's departure he desired a recommendation to the effect of the report he would now have me make, but I excused myself as obligingly to him as I could, and that he should now desire the same thing in effect and put me upon a necessity of doing what is not fit for me (of which I will presume to be judge), or to refuse him under my hand, I have no reason to take kindly. If he could have obtained a positive order with full *non obstantes* to all rules and instructions, I should have obeyed without reply.

Sir Robert Howard to Ormond.

1677-8, February 25 (received).—Mrs Gwin has commanded me to give your Excellency an account that as yet she cannot get the money due on her pension Michaelmas last, according also to the payments in Ireland, and also in all the accounts she receives she has intimations that if she will give twelve pence in the pound she may have it advanced, that is, besides the usual fees in the Exchequer. I shewed my Lord of Ossory last night one of the last letters, which he would needs have to send it to your Excellency, which had not so much started me by giving an account that it could not be paid till the civil and military lists were satisfied, but that it might be had for money more than ordinary. That experience that I have here makes me know that this is not for the King's interest nor honour, and therefore I know 'tis enough that I present it to your Excellency, and beg I may receive your commands by Mr. Mylius, who presents this to you.

Ormond to Duke of York.

1677-8, February 26. Dublin.—Your Royal Highness' command in yours of the 18th inst. by Major Russell is obeyed, as

appears by the enclosed copy of my letter of this day's date to him, wherein I hope I have pursued your R.H. pleasure, which shall always find the like punctual obedience from me. I do not doubt but he will readily accept of the honour, unless his having laid out all his substance in and about Galway and his going from the management of it should hazard his undoing.

An army of 30,000 is quickly named, and I hope will not be longer a raising than must be allowed in a nation so universally clamorous for a war as England has been for this they are now like to be engaged in; yet if there should be a slackness in the coming in of men, I cannot tell why Scotland and Ireland might not be permitted to furnish a regiment or two each. Against Scotch I know no exception that can be taken by the most zealous [ ] [ ] they have apprehension of the Irish [ ] [ ] may in case of an invasion I [ ] how they can secure themselves better against them than by letting the most active and dangerous of them to spend their mettle and themselves against the French. Perhaps such a proposition may be too early now, and yet when recruits shall be necessary it may take place, I humbly beg your R.H. pardon for so impertinent a diversion from things of greater moment.

February 27.—Before my letter to Major Russell was able be sent to the post he came to town and [ ] of your R.H. favour to him, most thankfully accepts of the honour of the employment you are pleased to give him, for which he will fit himself the best he can, and to that end returns immediately to settle his affairs at Galway, and will make all the haste he can into England to receive your R.H. commands.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, February 26.—I have with some difficulty read your much blotted and ill-written letter of the 19th inst.; pray write your letters more decently and legibly. You have from some other the information of the changes made in the regiment, and my last tells you of more like to be by the death of Broughton. Yesterday there seemed to be some hope of his recovery, but this morning I am told Kirkham says there is no hope of his recovery, and just now Will Flower told me he will die to-day. It is not like I should outlive my Lord Granard in this Government, so that if your letters be not directed to me, and any other Chief Governor after me, it may be insignificant; and if it be, and entered in the Signet Office, there, and enrolled here (which are, I think, necessary circumstances), I know not why a grant may not pass as well and as privately. Captain Trelawnys' complaint, as you state it, is very extraordinary; you say he has received more money than he should have done. I believe he will expound it otherwise, or somebody for him. I shall be very glad Mr. Villiers may have encouragement to settle here, but there is little appearance that there will be any levies for this place when the fear is of carrying some of our Army away.

Postscript.—I have received your letter by young Rogers, but will admit of no more traffic for money in the Army, except where men have bought their employments, or may pretend to longer service in this Army than that gentleman can. If I would have permitted it to anybody, it should have been to Bromwich, who is yet alive. I shall write another letter to you about my Lord Treasurer to be shewn him. I am just now told Major Broughton is dead, and within this hour Feilding shall have a commission to succeed him.

Viscount Granard to Ormond.

1677-8, February 26.—My duty obliges me to send your Grace all I received from Scotland, which is the enclosed account from my Lord Duke of Lauderdale and his Secretary. From one Campbell, who is employed to manage the packet-boat at Donachadi (Donaghadee), I have this further relation that many in those western countries have deserted their habitations, whether upon the account of the rudeness of the Highlanders, or that they are conscious of their own guilt, I cannot judge.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, February 26.—I find by yours of the 16th that I express myself so ill in one of my letters, as you concluded by it that I thought yours of the 22nd last month to Mr. Secretary had propounded a way to put that kingdom in a good posture of defence without expectation of supplies. I keep no copies of my letters, and therefore can't tell how I came to mistake. I know and remember very well that I left you in such a condition that a considerable sum was necessary, either to be furnished from hence, or raised by a Parliament there, even for the very being of that kingdom, in case our now very near neighbour King should cast his eye that way. Gaunt he has already taken in two days time, and it is believed Bruges, Mons, and Brussells may be had as easily.

What I writ concerning the Militia has not, I believe, taken vent, for what was said was in the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I cannot inform you what has been done concerning Ireland since the last Committee was appointed, of which neither the Secretary nor Lord Chamberlain are named. As I informed you before, I conclude that by this time Mansell has received his sentence, for my Lord Longford informed me he was to be tried on Tuesday last. I hope you have disposed of his command, as I desired in mine of that date, that being like to accommodate several; and for George Binnion, now I hear Rolleston is provided for by the death of Sir Francis Gore, I hope you will give him the next company that falls. Sir Thomas Newcomen desires me this post to recommend him to you, that he may succeed his colonel; pray own that I writ in his behalf. Truly the man is very stout and diligent, and is of late become a great martinet, but the King told me some time

since that you should have orders to recall the northern party; if so that design must fail.

Mr. Richard Seymour, Lieutenant to Cary Dillon, intends for Ireland this week. I am informed he was checked last muster; pray, if you can retrieve that, favour him in it, for he is a very honest gentleman. He had to my knowledge lost a considerable sum of money if he had gone sooner, and the money he has recovered he resolves to lay out in Ireland. If the wind should hinder his getting over before the next muster, I desire you will not take the severity, since his intentions are to live and die in Ireland.

As I was sealing this I had brought me Mr. Gascoigne's of the 19th, with the copy of your letters of that date to Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary, and the computation of the duties upon wines. I will study those papers well, though I believe I shall scarce have opportunity to discourse upon the subject they treat of, the aforesaid Committee engrossing all. Mr. Gascoigne informs me that Maunsell is sentenced to lose his command, but does not tell me who is to succeed him.

Ormond to Sir Cyril Wyche.

1677-8, February 27.—I presume Ellis gives you notice of his delivering to me the letters you direct to him for me, and that you [do] not think it needful that I return answers to those that are only advertisements. In your last but one came enclosed a reference upon a petition of yours to His Majesty for putting you upon the Establishment for a pension of £500 a year, as some who have been in the place you are have been, and I must confess to you I am under some difficulty what report to make. My opinion is in direct terms required, and I am to declare what I think fit should be done. If I could have thought it fit for His Majesty to increase his charge before his revenue will pay the Establishment, I should not at your parting refuse to recommend your pretension. The plain truth is, when the King named me to succeed my Lord of Essex in this Government, the first resolution I took (and it shall be the last I will break) was that, directly or indirectly, I would never advise the King to remit any part of his revenue. or to add anything in any man's case to his Establishment till his revenue should over-balance it and all that should be necessary for the safety of this kingdom. I had more reason to make, and consequently to keep myself strict to this rule than any man that could have been sent hither in my place. After this I leave it to you to judge what room is left for me to serve you on the present occasion, tho' I am very really your very affectionate servant.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, February 27. Dublin.—On Monday last all the Farmers were at the Board, called thither to declare which of them would sign and seal to an instrument prepared for them,

whereby they were to renounce any pretension to the £80,000. Sir James Shaen and his party brought in a long and intricate discourse, composed, I believe, by Sir James, yet what he said being much more material than what he writ, we have given him and his friends time till Friday to set under their hands certain things they offered, and to produce some such demonstrable arguments and calculations as may satisfy us that they are able to perform what they offer. This is the state that affair stands in for the present, but I give no account of it to my Lord Treasurer or Mr. Secretary till after Friday, though Mr. Ryder is very impatient to have the commission by which they now acted superseded, for which he supposes the King's commands are positive, as indeed they seem to be, and I think at length he will have his desire. But since the disordering of all receipts and payments may follow for ought I know, I think it reasonable to consider well before I do a thing that can be done but once. I know not how I am gotten into so much of this subject, for the principal business of this letter is to let my Lord Treasurer know that in the hot contention that was before all the Council they fell to criminate each other of breach of articles, covenants and oaths interchangeably entered into and taken to and betwixt themselves. In the dispute Sir James Shaen charged Mr. Ryder with having said in the presence of several of the Farmers that if they would permit of the disposing of £10,000 at the end of Wallingford House Gallery, he would undertake to procure an abatement of £10,000 a year of their rent, and as I remember, Richbell bore witness with Sir James. Being surprised at such an assertion, which came not very naturally upon the occasion, I took no notice of it, but let it pass as foreign to the matter in hand; yet I hold it to be agreeable to the friendship and service I profess to my Lord Treasurer by you to inform him of the passage, and to assure him that if I were able to advise him as a faithful friend and servant what would be proper for him to do or not to do in the matter, I would freely do it; but since my ignorance of circumstances renders me incapable of performing that office, he shall find me ready to pursue any directions he shall think fit to give me, if he shall judge the thing worth his taking any notice of. I shall not need to tell you that this is to be imparted only to my Lord Treasurer.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1677-8, March 1. Dublin.—I have yours of the 15th inst. containing His Majesty's directions concerning the calling of a Parliament. I am confident he will receive the fruits of his great goodness and care expressed toward his subjects of this kingdom to the uttermost of their ability, and that there will be more difficult to find what and how they shall give, than to persuade them to give. The leading bills shall be prepared with all diligence for transmission, and had been more ready than they are if His Majesty's pleasure had been sooner known.

That which is to confirm the decrees of the Court of Claims, I am told, will not be so easily drawn as was supposed. If it shall not put an end to all the fears of those in possession, and to the hopes of those that are not, it will not reach the end designed. And if it shall, many hard cases will want relief; which, if they shall endeavour to get by particular provisoes, much time will be lost, and perhaps the bill upon which that of supplies will depend. We shall therefore have tried all such as shall be offered, and do hope His Majesty may think fit to do so there.

The bill of subsidies will soon and easily be drawn, if the augmentation of the revenue must not be comprehended in it; but if it must, it may take up more time by reason of His Majesty's two most necessary cautions not to overcharge trade, nor entitle the Farmers to defalcations. How to raise the revenue to the proportion proposed, that is, upon what to impose additions, and not to obstruct trade, and how to satisfy the Parliament that they shall not be kept perpetual beggars by the exportation of the overplus of this revenue (which may by the retrenchment of the Establishment be at any time enlarged) are the most difficult parts of the work.

I am for the present humbly of opinion that it will be better to raise new companies than to fill up the old. But the latter being the more frugal way, it will be hard to resolve upon the other until the estimate I am commanded to send shall be compared with what we hope to raise in addition to the revenue. How far the remitting of old debts, forfeitures and arrears will entitle the old Farmers, or the Lord Ranelagh and his partners, to defalcations, may very well be judged of where both the bargains were made, and where all pretences to defalcations have been heard and determined. Yet the judges and the King's Counsel here shall be consulted about it, but I conceive it will be very difficult to ascertain the proportion of what will be remitted till the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners shall have fully accounted, or at least given in a list of arrears standing out, which also must be done by the old Farmers, that care may be taken that no allowance be given for desperate arrears in case of remittal.

I am humbly of opinion that it will be enough that I declare His Majesty's intention to reinforce his Army to ten thousand, and keep it so till we have some more certain prospect of what may be raised to support it, and till His Majesty shall think fit to declare and ascertain what those unavoidable debts amount to which must be paid, besides the money lent by Mr. Brydges, before that part of the new revenue can be applied to the uses mentioned in the latter end of your letter.

I conceive it is not His Majesty's intention I should make any public use of the caution he commands, concerning the arming of the Scots, the Nonconformists, or the old Militia. Any distrust of the last would be very unreasonably expressed at this time, and I think not very reasonable in itself, considering the time that may be spent in the discourse of it, and preparations towards it, the care that may be taken in the

choice of officers, and the great difficulty there is in bringing it to anything serviceable or dangerous, if more pains should be taken in it than, now I know His Majesty's pleasure, I mean to employ upon it.

I am afraid I shall not be able to satisfy Mr. Ryder by my proceedings upon His Majesty's letter of the 3rd of February, and yet my inclinations are (as far as they ought to be) for him, not because I know him better, but because I do not know him so well as some of the others. The King will have that matter once more represented to him, to receive his final determination, and care shall be in the meantime taken that his revenue shall not suffer by the delay.

Earl of Arran to Ormond

1677-8, March 2. London.—I had last night two letters from you, both dated 23rd last month, and with one of them a proclamation and propositions for this country how to avoid the fraudulent transportation of wool out of Ireland. I did intend to have discoursed at the House upon this subject with my Lord Treasurer, but he was not there this day. The first opportunity I will know his Lordship's pleasure in the matter, and have his advice whether it should be moved in the House of Commons or House of Lords first. I had some discourse with his Lordship yesterday about Ireland. He has promised to despatch with all possible speed what relates to the empowering you to proceed according to your propositions. The alarm of Ghent's being taken, and the King of France his design to besiege Ostend, occasioned a great detachment out of the King's regiment of Guards here to be sent into that place. Lord Howard, with a great number of volunteers, went up with the Duke of Monmouth, but both he and the volunteers are remanded home. What he proposed to me about having men out of the regiment is no more thought of by him, and when I asked His Majesty whether he had any intentions to send for men out of Ireland, he answered no, but he had designs of sending some there. The Duke of Monmouth desired me to write to you about Captain Chetwynd; he stays here about a week upon his occasions, and then he will go for Ireland. When the Duke of Monmouth returns I will have authentically the several stations and commands of officers in garrison and in the field.

I hear from several that Maunsell's crime was so fully proved that nothing could be said for him. I am very well pleased with the disposition you have made, as I shall be with your design if Broughton should die, my inclination being much greater for Feilding, both upon the account of friendship and that of my believing him the better officer, if you are satisfied the hardship would not be great upon Hungerford. I could have wished my ensign had been preferred to be Will Flower's lieutenant, because he parted very frankly with a lieutenant's place to be my ensign.*

* The suggestions concerning regimental promotion in this letter and in those of Feb. 19 and March 5 refer to the regiment of Irish Guards, of which Lord Arran was Colonel. See 14th Report, App. vii., vol. ii., pp. 177-247.

I very seldom see Sir Cyril Wyche, but if it be thought necessary the wool business should be brought to the Commons I will find him out and give him your instructions. I am sorry he has put so great a difficulty upon you as you mention, for I take him for a modest man.

Viscount Granard to Ormond.

1677-8, March 3. Lisburn.—This enclosed paper, signed by several of the leading Presbyterian ministers, drawn up by way of petition to your Grace, I received at my coming last to this country, which now I presume to transmit to your Grace, and if it be thought of moment to His Majesty's service I presume most, if not all, will sign it. My Lord, although all things seem still at present in Scotland, yet I find several persons of quality refuse the tendered bond, and that they and others are outlawed, which in my judgment has no quiet aspect if ever they find opportunity to stir, wherefore this declaration from those in this country may probably slacken their confidence there.

The companies quartered at several ports in this country are drawn off. I desired Sir William Flower to acquaint your Grace therewith, and that others might at least for some time be ordered to quarter in those places, for I expect that shoals of people from Scotland, and those not of the best principles, will land. For by what I can learn, multitudes of them are so plundered by the highlanders that they have left their habitations, and have not put plough in ground this year. As for the biscuit, I could not get it given out to the soldiers before their march, for their money began to fall short and I was necessitated to despatch them whilst they had any left to march with. If it may stand with your Grace's pleasure I humbly conceive if that quantity was still kept in the Castle of Carrickfergus, I think it not amiss, and when it grows stale they can sell it to merchants trading to the Indies, and so renew it from time to time. Your Grace's pleasure in these particulars shall be punctually obeyed.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, March 5. London.—I had last night yours of the 26th and 27th of last month, and will now begin to take pains to write with fewer blots, but for the ill sense, which I suppose is your meaning by ill-written letter, I can't promise to mend, having taken as much care of that in my letter of the 19th as the time would permit. The explanation I make about Captain Trelawny's business is, in short, that my Lord Blessington received three months' pay of the arrears due to Cap. Trelawny, which by contract his Lordship ought not to have done. I was the more careless in that matter because Mr. Trelawny told me his agent would inform your secretary particularly how the business stood.

I heard of the death of Major Broughton from nobody but yourself, and am not yet informed how all the vacancies are filled up; but I hope you have not forgot my Lord Charlemont's son. If he be provided for before Bromwich dies, I think there is one Mr. Dingley, who trails a pike in my company, will very well deserve his colours. I am very glad you have favoured Major Feilding with Broughton's employment, and am the more so that it was done in my absence; for I confess notwithstanding my great bias of affection for him, if I had been upon the place I should have appeared for Hungerford, especially since the account I gave you of what he said to me. I am also much against lieutenants succeeding captains in that regiment, at least against making a precedent of it.

I showed my Lord Treasurer yesterday your letter of the 23rd last month, and gave him the proclamation and proposals about wool, which he perused before me, and has kept them in order to advise with his officers upon them, and has promised an answer within a little while. He is of opinion that when the matter is agreed upon it ought to be brought before the House of Commons; but it is believed the bill now passing, prohibiting all French commodities, will in a great measure do the work you desire; for when we can have nothing in truck for our wool, we shall be forced to work it at home. Besides there is a clause in the bill that everybody shall wear cloth or a garment made of wool for five months in the year.

This afternoon I waited upon my Lord Treasurer at his house, and gave him your letter of the 27th, which he desired me to leave with him, and to return you his thanks for the favour you have done him in it, which he will do himself by letter either this night or next post. His Lordship, I believe, intends to show your letter to the King. He used me very civilly, and has invited me to come often to his house. He seems to wonder very much at this aspersion, for he told me if he had not singly opposed Mr. Ryder he had got £10 a year abated upon a contrived meeting with his Majesty at Will Chivers his house.

This night goes away with your authority for your proceedings in the Parliament as full an account of all the particulars you sent over as could be procured. I have not had a sight of the paper, and therefore can make no observations; all I know is from my Lord Ranelagh, who intends to go for Ireland next month, in order to be at the meeting of Parliament.

My Lord Burlington desired me to put you in mind to send a company again to his town of Youghal, now the party is come out of the north.

You sent me with your last letters two enclosed for the Duke, but not mentioning anything of them or the matter they contained, I was afraid you had mistaken, and that one of them might be for the King; but I delivered them both this morning to his Royal Highness, for whom it seems they were both designed.

I suppose it will be the middle of May before the Parliament can meet, therefore I design to go towards Ireland some time

next month, for it would be too soon to travel with a wife and children before that time, especially with a wife who had as lief go to Jamaica as Ireland.

The Duke declared yesterday that by the first of May he would be ready to go with our army into Flanders, and after he is gone one makes but an ill figure here.

We had this afternoon at the Committee of Privileges many long and learned speeches upon the manner of trying my Lord Pembroke for the killing one Mr. Cary; it was agreed that report should be made to the House, that during the sitting of Parliament a peer is to be tried by the whole House, and the King is to appoint a High Steward. About ten days hence matters will be ready for his trial.

The King has not yet signed my letter for the reversion, but I believe he will this night. I do not intend to enter it at the Signet Office until I am just going away.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1677-8, March 7.—I have yours of the 26th of the last, to many parts whereof you will find answers in former letters of mine if you keep them by you and will look over them. I confess all the part allowed you in the Irish affairs needs not the keeping copies of your letters, yet it will be of use to you to practise it even when you think the subject trivial; for without it you may be said to have written what you did not, and not to have written what you did, and if your letters be pretended to be lost there may be many affirmations against your single negative. Your business being now for yourself there, and but of little use to this place or to me here, you may take your own time and convenience for your return, only the sooner it is the better. I send you in a paper transcribed into a better hand my conceptions of the farm of this revenue, and of the contest betwixt the Farmers. My inclinations are really for Mr. Ryder, not because I know him more but because I know him less than some of the others; yet, as the matter stands referred to me, I do not think I shall be persuaded to revoke the commission unless Mr. Ryder shall this day give me better evidence than he has hitherto done that those that have the management of the farm in present have it in their will and power to break with advantage to themselves and loss to the King. At least I shall not venture upon a dangerous experiment till I shall have once more stated the matter, and represented my sense to the King, and this I think I am warranted to do by my instructions, by a clause in my Lord Treasurer's letter to me of the 8th of February, and in another of my Lord Ranelagh's of the 9th of the same, both which I send you transcribed; as likewise because His Majesty's of the 3rd of February, which seems positively to direct the revocation, takes no notice of mine of the 31st of December, nor of any of the objections therein made against the revocation, though that letter was written wholly upon that subject. But His Majesty's of the 3rd is only grounded upon some parts of my letters of

the 12th and 15th of January, occasionally mentioning that affair. But above all this, I think I may presume it to be the King's intention and pleasure that I should take the most probable way to prevent his loss in the revenue, and the inconveniencies that must attend it; and that, all things considered, I believe will be not to hazard the unhinging of the whole frame and method of receipts and payments, by superseding the commission upon Mr. Ryder's affirmation that that will not be the consequence of it. Possibly my letter to Mr. Secretary on this subject, to be offered to His Majesty's consideration, may be little more than a repetition of the substance of what I write to you, and possibly Mr. Ryder may this day offer that which may give me cause to alter my opinion; which I have set down, partly for your information, and partly to serve as a memorial to myself. Mr. Seymour shall not suffer for his absence at the last or this present muster if he arrives before the third; yet nothing but severity will serve to persuade many of the officers of this Army that any duty is to be done but getting off of cheques and receiving pay.

Though this letter of the 7th seems only to be intended for your own use and perusal, yet I wish you may find an opportunity to shew it to the Secretary, and let him make what use he will of it; as also of the copy of a letter from my Lord of Orrery to his friends in Kerry, which, together with his double diligence, his wonderful care of the English and fear of the Irish, had made all the English in those parts mad. But I think they begin to come to their wits, observing no appearance of those dangers he fancied. I desire you would shew the business part of my letter, and the paper about the Farmers, to Sir Robert Southwell.

Same to Earl of Arran.

1677-8, March 9. Dublin.—Before mine of the 22nd could get out of the harbour, yours of the 2nd was brought me, owning the receiving both mine of the 23rd of the last. The proposition touching wool is like to come too late for the House of Commons, a bill for that affair having proceeded for there; so that if anything I sent shall prove material, it must be offered at a committee of the Lords when the bill shall be brought thither. Where any occasion shall be fitly offered, I wish you would ask the King why he may not think it fit to send one or more regiments of Scotch and Irish out of this kingdom, which might as well be spared here as easily raised if men of their own nation might have the command of them.

It is, and always shall be, my rule to prefer men who attend their charge, and do their duty, before those that do not, whatever pretence they may have to gradual succession, which is the case betwixt Feilding and Hungerford. Chetwynd, I think, never saw his company since he bought it; yet if he come in any reasonable time, that is, before Easter, his absence till then shall not hurt him. I doubt Sir Cyril Wyche will be pleased with the return I made to him on his pretension. I

believe him a very honest gentleman, and a modest man; but his pressing me so hard for the 500*l.* a year is no argument for it, but a strong one that he loves the sum.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, March 9. London.—You have by this time His Majesty's commands upon your representation, which will put you out of any apprehension that any forces will be sent for out of Ireland. When you think it time to levy the number of men desired to make up the Army to 10,000, upon notice with my Lord Derby's interest, which he has promised to make use of in Cheshire and Lancashire, I don't doubt but they may easily be had with very little advance money. Major Feilding gave me an account this post how you have disposed of the several employments lately vacant by the death of Broughton and cashiering of Maunsell, all which I am very well pleased with, especially since Hungerford is still loitering here. I told his brother-in-law, Sir James Hayes, who came yesterday to see me, that his brother's absence was the occasion (and that justly) that he was put by this employment; what he will do now I can't tell.

Mr. Secretary Coventry, it seems, got the King's hand to the letter for the reversion of Lord Granard's employment on Tuesday night last, after I left him, and sent it away unknown to me; for I desired to have writ a letter to my Lord Granard about that matter before anything of it might become public. This enclosed is to him, which I desire may be sent him, for if he is superstitious, or thinks this matter any breach of friendship, I will waive the grant.

Colonel Vernon desires me to recommend this proviso to you, which I do if it is as reasonable as he informs me it is; for he says it grants no more than what is out of dispute. But this I know you will take good advice in for precedent's sake.

There is no necessity yet to move in the matter you mention concerning your grandchild, neither do I believe there will be any. My Lord Chamberlain is of that opinion; he will send you over the news my brother writes out of Flanders.

I went this day to dine with my Lord Treasurer, and there was the cloth laid and a great table, my Lord Saint Albans, Lord George Barkley and others, expecting my Lord's coming down to dinner; and after near an hour's expectation, the cloth was taken away and word brought us that my Lord did not dine in public, so I retrieved a dinner at my Lord Chamberlain's.

Ormond to Earl of Orrery.

1677-8, March 9.—By the hands of my Lord Chancellor I have received your Lordship's of the 22nd of the last month, and your treatise of *The Art of War*, wherein I have reason to expect great satisfaction. I hope I shall have time to profit by the reading of it before we shall be called to the practice.

I humbly thank your Lordship for the present, and for the obliging letter that accompanied it.

Our letters of the 26th of the last from London gave us great apprehensions that the quick and successful progress of the French King would have produced what he wishes and labours for with much art, and I doubt some money; namely, such a disunion and inquiry into the miscarriages which people say have so much contributed to the facility and extent of his conquests; which certainly would very unreasonably have given him opportunity to have gone far towards the completing his design. But our letters of the 2nd instant have revived us and our hopes that like such an assembly as that is, that they will first endeavour to get out of the danger the Crown and three nations are in before they fall into the examination how they came into it.

His Majesty is well pleased with the diligence used in the preparations for the fort at Rincurran, well knowing the advantage England as well as Ireland has by securing that harbour; and to the end there may be no stop in that work, I have got an assignment from the Farmers upon the collectors in those parts for the £300 a week from the 25th of this month, which I send your Lordship and desire you would send for the collector upon whom we are to depend for payment, that he may declare to you his acceptance, and undertake to comply with the assignment preferable to all other payments, and notwithstanding any further orders or revocations. By the enclosed order of Council your Lordship will see part of my reason for this caution, for if the combination (to call it by a mannerly name) betwixt the Farmers and Sir John Champante shall be proved as Mr. Ryder undertakes, there can't be too much circumspection in our dealing with them, and tho' it should not there is but so much forecast.

Anonymous Letter to Sir George Hamilton concerning Mines in Ireland

1677-8, March 12.—I do not wonder that you make no considerable advantage by your general grant of the mines of Ireland, neither can you ever expect you shall do it so long as you are not in condition to work them yourself, and that there are but few or no men in this nation so forward as to open or work them for you, this country being so much inexperienced in matters of that kind. But if you will part with your grant of the whole mines (reserving to yourself your interest in the work you now work on, and in any one or two more works where you shall think fit in Ireland, and that you let me speedily know what rate you propose to have for the said grant, I hope I may serve you in this matter to your content. And if you think fit to admit me a share in such particulars of the mines as you shall reserve (if you will part from the whole grant) I do not question but I shall serve you to advantage in the management of those parts you reserve; but if you shall not think fit to admit me any share therein, I will, however,

endeavour to serve you in the other to your content, by which you will also free yourself from the hazard of the assumption of that grant. *Anonymous.*

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1677-8, March 16. London.—I had nothing worth the troubling you last post and have very little to say now, but I choose to write rather than be thought negligent. We had a pretty long debate in our House this day upon the address that the Commons sent us up yesterday, which I take for granted will be sent you this night. Monday next is appointed for the farther debating the matter at a committee of the whole House. Lord Essex and Lord Shaftesbury touched a little upon the ministers, but not so much as to receive a debate; but perhaps they may design to proceed further the next day. Binnion, I suppose, has written to you himself what his intentions and expectations are, and therefore I hope to be freed from troubling you any more upon his account. Mrs. Gwyn sent for me the other day and desired my advice concerning money she should receive out of Ireland. Mr. Mulys, one of your servants, is her agent in the matter; but Sir Robert Howard being not in town, I am to be informed from him, when he returns, out of what funds he is to be paid, for she could not inform me, and I don't find hers nor Sir Robert Howard's name in the list of pensioners, who she says is her trustee in the business. She hopes to have your favour when you are applied to and better instructed in the matter.

Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry.

1677-8, March 17. Dublin.—I have yours of the 7th instant, containing His Majesty's directions concerning the calling of a Parliament. I am confident he will receive the fruits of his great goodness and care expressed towards his subjects of this Kingdom to the uttermost of their ability, and that there will be more difficulty to find what and how they shall give than to persuade them to give. The leading bills shall be prepared with all diligence for transmission, and had been more ready than they are if his Majesty's pleasure had been sooner known. That which is to confirm the decrees of the Court of Claims I am told will not so easily be drawn as was supposed. If it shall not put an end to all the fears of those in possession and to the hopes of those that are not, it will not reach the end designed; and if it shall, many hard cases will want relief, which if they shall endeavour to get by particular provisoes much time will be lost, and perhaps the bill upon which that of supply will depend. We shall therefore have to reject all such as shall be offered, and do hope His Majesty may think fit to do so there.

The Bill of Subsidies will soon and easily be drawn if the augmentation of the revenue must not be comprehended in it; but if it must, it may take up more time by reason of His Majesty's two most necessary cautions not to overcharge trade, nor entitle the Farmers to defalcations. How to raise the revenue to the pro-

portion proposed, that is upon what to impose additions, and not to obstruct trade, and how to satisfy the Parliament that they shall not be kept perpetual beggars by the exportation of the overplus of the revenue (which may by the retrenchment of the establishment be at any time enlarged), are the most difficult parts of the work.

I am for the present humbly of opinion that it will be better to raise new companies than to fill up the old, but the latter being the more frugal way it will be hard to resolve upon the other till the estimate I am commanded to send shall be compared with what we may hope to raise in addition to the revenue.

How far the remitting of old debts, forfeitures and arrears will entitle the old Farmers, or the Lord Ranelagh and his partners, to defalcations, may very well be judged of there, where both the bargains were made and where all pretences to defalcations have been heard and determined; yet the Judges and the King's Counsel here shall be consulted about it. But I conceive it will be very difficult to ascertain the proportion of what will be remitted till the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners shall have fully accounted or at least given in a list of arrears standing out, which also must be done by the old Farmers, that care may be taken that no allowance be given for desperate arrears in case of remittal.

I am humbly of opinion that it will be enough that I declare His Majesty's intention to reinforce his army to 10,000, and keep it so till we have some more certain prospect of what may be raised to support it, and till His Majesty shall think fit to declare and ascertain what those unavoidable debts amount to which must be paid, besides the money lent by Mr. Bridges, before that part of the new revenue can be applied to the uses mentioned in the latter end of your letter. I conceive it is not His Majesty's intention I should make any public use of the caution he commands concerning the arming of the Scots, the Nonconformists, or the old militia. Any distrust of the last would be very unseasonably expressed at this time, and I think not very reasonable in itself, considering the time that may be spent in the discourses of it and preparations towards it, the care that must be taken in the choice of officers, and the great difficulty there is in bringing it to anything serviceable or dangerous, if more pains should be taken in it than, now I know His Majesty's pleasure, I mean to employ upon it.

I am afraid I shall not be able to satisfy Mr. Ryder by my proceedings upon His Majesty's letters of the 3rd of February, and yet my inclinations are (as far as they ought to be) for him; not because I know him better, but because I do not know him so well as some of the others. The King will have that matter once more represented to him to receive his final determination, and care shall be in the meantime taken that his revenue shall not suffer by the delay.

John Baxter to Ormond.

1677-8, March 23. Kilkenny.—Your Grace's of the 18th instant I received by Mr. Wemys on Thursday last in the afternoon,

since which time I have not failed to make the inquiry commanded by your Grace, and do find that applications have been made to all the Corporations in this county for elections in Parliament, as also for Knights of the Shire (where I believe your Grace hath the most freeholders), and have used my best endeavours to persuade men to their duty, not to promise their votes to any person whatsoever without your Grace's advice who is their landlord; which I have pressed on them as reasonable from myself, to give your Grace the respect that every landlord will expect from his tenants. And I find this city very ready to take it, as also Callan, where your Grace may recommend whom you please, and I have made some progress to bring Inistioge to it, and hope shall effect it, where Mr. Harvey Morris hath made an interest. But what will be done at Knocktopher (where the same person hath made an interest) I cannot give any account, but have employed some persons among them to inform me, of which your Grace shall have an account, as also of Gowran. The manner of elections in all the Corporations are by freemen and freeholders, and for Knights of the Shire by freeholders only; where, your Grace having the most, I have advised Mr. Luke Archer (who knows them best) to speak to them, to put them in mind of the duty they owe their landlord, which he hath promised to do without delay. I told him nothing of your Grace's commands to me, but that it was very necessary to serve your Grace therein, and that what he did your Grace should have an account thereof.

Postscript:—My Lord of Strafford is not yet come hither. At his coming his Lordship shall be received according to your Grace's commands.

Memorandum of Presbyterian discontents in Scotland.

1. To desire a general indemnity to all persons, whether preachers or professors, nothing less being likely to allay the present discontent and remoter fears.

2. Upon this same account to demand a general liberty to all Presbyterian ministers, declaring all civil restraints taken off them, that so they may be capable of receiving calls to Kirks in all places in the Kingdom without exception, or to return to their own Kirks when they are vacant, or when they shall happen to rate. These favours would be granted upon the fairest and most obliging narrative may be, as that His Majesty compassionating the sufferings of his Presbyterian subjects in Scotland upon the account of the consciences, mainly because they cannot conform to the laws anent Church matters, and being confident not only of their loyalty but also of their affection to his person and government, therefore, etc. And the liberty so to be granted would carry ground of confidence that it may be a lasting favour, and would be simple and absolute, and without qualifications, restrictions or certifications, there being laws strict enough against transgressions in so far as the said laws shall be dispensed with.

3. It would be demanded that taking notice any more of meetings for worship in houses (except meetings of Papists and Quakers) be discharged, whereupon the ministers foresaid are very confident that meetings in open fields will of themselves cease, and they will use their endeavours for that effect. And since joint endeavours will be more effectual than these that are single, therefore, if for regulating themselves and the people and keeping them peaceable they shall meet together, they desire they may not incur hazard thereby, since meetings amongst themselves are necessary for the foresaid effect.

4. It would be demanded the proceedings against masters of schools and colleges, chaplains and pedagogues may cease, and that no universal oath be put to students, the aversion of the country therefrom appearing by the Lauriations this year.

5. It would be demanded that when any of the Kirks shall rate, which are at His Majesty's or Bishop's presentation, if the people shall desire to have a nonconforming minister, that way may be given thereto, and that in the meantime the supplying of Kirks now vacant may be delayed.

Endorsed :—This paper was given by some to some of the Council as it is reported.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1678, March 26. Dublin.—You may assure Mrs. Gwyn that I understand her affair here very perfectly, and that she shall be very punctually paid, whoever is not, as long as I am in this place.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, March 26.—The Earl not being altogether satisfied as to the plans proposed for the fort and batteries to be erected at Rincurran, summoned Mr. Robinson and Captain Archer to a conference on the matter, desiring them to bring the estimates prepared. The original estimate of the cost of construction of the fort being £18,800 they were of opinion that the additional amount required would not exceed £5,000, and would give a fort and defences £10,000 better than that first proposed. His Excellency's consideration of the additional works described is solicited.

Abstract.

Ormond to Earl of Danby.

1678, March 30. Dublin.—I did not think what passed relating to your Lordship in the heat of a violent dispute betwixt these Farmers worth the taking any serious notice of, and yet I thought it to be agreeable to the respect I owe your place, and the service I have professed myself ready to do your Lordship, when any opportunity shall be offered to have you informed of the passage, that you might judge what might be fit to be done for your satisfaction; which I find myself obliged to endeavour as far as

it shall be in my power, not only by your late favour to my son Ossory (which I take as done to me), but by the disposition he writes to me he left your Lordship in to accept of my service and friendship, and so afford me your kindness and favour. I must confess the advantage of such a friendship is very great, if not altogether on my side. I am very remote from the place and occasions of rendering your Lordship any service, but the Province assigned me and the state I find it in are such that the disappointment of many expectations, the calling of men to strict accounts, and the keeping of others to the performance of those duties they are well paid for, will be displeasing to them and attributed to me. This may produce enquiries into my management in the Government I am trusted with, and perhaps misconstructions and misinformations of what I intend and believe to be for my master's service. In such a conjuncture I am not ignorant how useful and obliging your interposition may be to prevent early and disadvantageous impressions, that they take no place till a fair disquisition of the matter shall be allowed, that then it may appear whether private interest or discontent or the King's service is the true ground of the information. Your Lordship in your station cannot serve His Majesty well without being subject to the like necessity of dissatisfying some pretenders; but as your precautions will be more prudent, so your being upon the place will sooner afford you means to discover and frustrate such suggestions, wherein I can offer no proportionable returns—so that unless your Lordship shall give credit to my professions, or direct me how to manifest the truth and reality of them, there may be room to suspect that it is my own interest that dictates to me the subscribing myself your lordship's, etc.

Postscript:—I had almost forgotten to send your Lordship a paper brought me by Mr. Ryder, with a desire I would transmit it to you. I can bear him witness he disowned the accusation, but more warmly afterwards than at the time the thing was said, which may be attributed to his surprise.

Earl of Anglesey to Ormond.

1678, March 30. London.—We have been so long upon doubts whether we should engage in war against France that I would not trouble your Grace with bare conjectures; but now that moneys are given for a war, and both Houses have obliged themselves to continue supplies, I shall, as occasion presents, give your Grace information of what occurs of moment. The House of Commons have pressed the Lords hard to join with them in an address to His Majesty for proclaiming, declaring, and entering into actual war against the French King, but our House hath hitherto delayed it, till our alliances be more completed; wherein the States of Holland hang back most, being unwilling to bind themselves from making peace without ours and the Confederates' consent; and we are as unwilling to engage in a war without such an obligation on them, lest instead of helping them we fling away our commerce to them and put the thorn

into our foot which we take out of theirs. But I believe in a short time matters will be so adjusted between us and the French that either they will strike first if they meet an opportunity, or we shall begin with them who have used our auxiliary forces very ill of late, and keep them upon the matter prisoners though they have suffered most of the officers to come away.

The French, expecting war from us, have quitted Messina and the rest of Sicily, and come off with all their men and ships. It is fit this should be a warning to your Grace to put things in as good a posture in Ireland as you can, for though it be not so good a country as Sicily, yet 'twill be of more use to the French to divert us, and their seeing that your Grace provides for them may disappoint any intendments that ways. I wish, now their fleet is free, Sir John Narbrough may escape them till we reinforce him.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, April 5.—The Duke of Ormond having promised, at the instance of Doctor Hall (agent to the Earl of Orrery in Dublin), to consider the question of the lapsed money and the signing of the order therein, the latter nobleman begs leave to acquaint His Excellency with the history and present condition of that affair. The lapsed lands being vested in His Majesty the King, he was pleased to grant them to the two then Secretaries of State and the Earl of Orrery, and the latter duly passed his patent for his one-third share of them. On the occasion of the marriage of his eldest son with Lord Dorset's daughter, the Earl, to provide portions for the younger children of this union, undertook to settle £600 per annum (to be raised out of the lands so granted) for that purpose after his own decease. Subsequently to smooth the passage of the Act of Explanation, the grantees above referred to consented to surrender their lands, and Lord Orrery was to receive £27,000 in lieu of his share, this compensation money to be raised by Act of Parliament. Moreover a friend of his without his leave (or knowledge even) promised a third of his third to Lord Anglesey, and this promise he had agreed to abide by. Consideration for the condition of the public revenue stayed his hand from following up his claim during some years, till Lord Dorset began to grow insistent with regard to the fulfilment of the undertaking for providing for their grandchildren. Then the matter was heard and re-heard—finally, indeed, before the King and Council, who acknowledged the justice of the claim and ordered its discharge. Lord Orrery urges that the grant was not of his seeking; that he has gained nothing by it, but has lost rather by the charges and expenses incurred in prosecuting his cause; that he stands committed to his promises to Lord Dorset and Lord Anglesey as above stated, and has no means of redeeming them if the King's order is not carried into effect; that the £27,000 he agreed to accept is £500 per annum worse than the lands originally granted; and that even the King's order has whittled down the amount of the compensation money. Therefore he asks the Lord Lieutenant to follow one of two courses—either to cause the order

to be perfected, or, should His Majesty think fit not to raise the lapsed money as provided by Act of Parliament, that his pleasure therein should be made known to him, and in the latter case that some means should be found to enable him to fulfil his promises or give him a legal discharge therefrom.

Abstract.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, April 13. Whitehall.—Since I acknowledged in a former letter the receipt of one from your Grace of the 20th of March, I have received one of the 30th which I have put into the hands of a clerk of the Council to be read there, and shall return an account of what shall be ordered upon it.

As to that of the 2nd of April I have received it by Mr. Ryder with all the papers attending it. I received it this morning and shall immediately acquaint His Majesty with it. Sir James Shaen is likewise arrived, and I suppose both will press for a hearing. As to that of the 4th instant, there is an order for a new order to be drawn up conformable to what your Grace demandeth, and indeed the Earl Ranelagh had petitioned much to the same effect. I suppose the next Council day it will be perfected.

On Monday we meet in Parliament to present our new speaker, Sir Robert Sawyer, Mr. Seymour being sick of rheumatism in the country.

Our levies go on too fast for our money, I fear, but our friends the Hollanders are not so quick as we expect them. I doubt they are not without illhumour there, What they are in Scotland you know, and what they are here I am afraid before the end of this session we shall know but too much. For all that I can see you are in the best temper in Ireland. I heartily pray yours may continue, and as heartily that ours may mend. The enclosed will give your Grace the news, and by it you will see without expecting any mediation he hath pleased to declare upon what articles he will have a peace, and if those not accepted by the 20th of May a submission will come too late. Never was so great a part of Christendom united treated to *de haut en bas* since it was Christendom, and yet the disorders and diffidencies are *everywhere* so great that I doubt he will bear it out.

I am to acquaint your Grace that though my Lord Treasurer hath returned me your letter of the 20th of March, yet he hath not given his opinion upon the main point concerning present subsidies and a constant increase of the revenue, nor any expedient how that constant revenue should be raised. I shall press the receiving a final resolution upon it. All I can say is that the acquainting your Grace with it shall not be delayed one minute after I have obtained it.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678, April 20. St. James' Square.—The King and Council begin to be very sensible of the great delays the Undertakers

have used in passing their accounts and paying several sums due from them, and therefore have quickened them by some late orders, notwithstanding the opposition my Lord Ranelagh made by petition. I was this day to Mr. Secretary's to see whether letters were prepared upon them to be sent to your Grace; and finding they were not like to be sent this night, thought it a necessary part of my duty to transmit copies of the orders in the mean time. Upon passing the accounts the Commissioners will meet with some new demands, which my Lord of Essex foreseeing, and being the best able of any man to give them a full answer, has dictated to me the substance of a paper to that effect, which your Grace will receive from himself within a post or two. The demands are for interest of such money as they have passed to uses not undertaken, or as the King has stopt; for defalcations for cheques taken off; and for damages for money not brought into the Exchequer, which, as the clause is drawn, the King has covenanted all the revenue shall be, to all which his Lordship has prepared full and satisfactory answers, and will in a little time send them over to your Grace.

Sir Stephen Fox to Henry Gascoigne.

1678, April 27. Whitehall.—The office of the groom's place of the confectionary hath had a very great change. For His Majesty being displeased with their service and taking a liking to a confectionary man's service at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, ordered that Delahay and James Frontin (who did serve by months) should be quite put out, and this other confectioner, Peter de Rains, should serve him alone, with whose service His Majesty is well pleased, and commanded me to draw a warrant to swear him; which I did, and therein making him an additional servant in that office. The King did not sign it when it was offered to him by Mr. Secretary Coventry, but called me to him at dinner next day and asked me how it came to pass that I made the said de Rains an additional servant? I said that there was no vacancy in that office, to which the King answered that "I will make vacancies by turning out the others," to which I replied that his Majesty had never hitherto turned away any sworn servant. "How so?" said His Majesty, "Can I not turn away my servants that serve me ill?" To which I said no man will presume to dispute your power, but your goodness has been hitherto such as that never any sworn servant hath been put away since your happy restoration, nor can there hardly be found a precedent in any of your predecessors' times. To which the King said, "If that be the consequence of swearing servants he would have this man serve him without being sworn." And so he continues singly to serve without being sworn, and that because the King did not think fit to sign the warrant; for the fellow, tho' a Frenchman and a Roman Catholic was very willing to be sworn upon having the oaths read to him at the Board.

JAMES LANE to ORMOND.

1678, Saturday, April 27.—Ever since the Parliament adjourned we have been expecting with impatience whether the Dutch will effectually close with us in breaking off all trade with France. Sometimes they will and other they will not; yet this day some I find have better hopes of them than hitherto, and say that our ministers and all the foreign ministers are endeavouring to conclude this day something of consequence that way. Others report that the Dutch are set upon peace, and have proposed a cessation of arms to the French King in order to peace, which, 'tis said, he has yielded to, though he is either marched or marching into Flanders about this time. Somebody out of Holland is expected by His Majesty every hour. To-night, they say, the Parliament will not be adjourned, though that has been thought of. Some think the new Speaker will be sick, and the old one come in again, whom most think fittest for the post. The *aigre* prosecutors of the war in the House of Commons are very much nettled at the Secretaries who said at the opening of the session that the alliance with Holland was absolutely made, when it appears not yet concluded; most think there will be great heats at the House's meeting on Monday. The Duke of Hamilton and the rest of his faction are not admitted to come to His Majesty yet, though the narrative of my Lord Cashel's loss by the free quarter be given in. My Lords of Athol and Perth, by asking His Majesty's pardon for acting in the business of free quarter, are become suspected by both parties, Lauderdale's looking on them as deserters, and the others as spies. Some of the faction against the Court in the House seem inclined to favour the Scotch complaining Lords, and wonder His Majesty does not let 'em be heard. Abundance more of either faction, they say, are upon their way hither. I heard from one that His Majesty should say that before the late trouble, my Lord of Montrose and the Earl of Argyle, and my Lord Lauderdale and one who is now Master of the Rolls for Scotland, did meet three women fortune tellers, whom they thought witches, and had each his fortune told—Montrose that he should be hanged on a very high tree, Argyle that he should be beheaded, and Lauderdale torn to pieces of the people, and the last that he should live to see all this come to pass. This Master of the Rolls being sick like to die sent every moment to see whether my Lord Lauderdale was well, but, after recovering my Lord Lauderdale asked him how he came to send to him so often? He reminded his Grace of the speech the witches made them and that as long as he was sure his Lordship was out of danger, he could not but hope to live. They say His Majesty should tell somebody that he believed nothing that was said of my Lord, but he thought his enemies would endeavour his ruin. I heard His Majesty say not above a day ago to an officer going into Holland (who was Lieutenant-Colonel O'Farrell, nephew to Colonel Lewis Farrell, who is in the Spanish service) that he should tell the Prince of Orange, his nephew, from him, that his brother should be with him very suddenly, in order to which I believe it is that several regiments are ready to embark for Flanders.

They say that Sir R. Strickland has taken one and sunk three Turks men-of-war, and that Captain Herbert being engaged with one who had 500 men aboard, and having fought a long while, Strickland came unto his aid, and presently laid the Turk aboard, and with the loss of thirty men took her. 'Tis said that besides these five the Algerines have but five men-of-war more that are considerable left. Captain Herbert, the King says, had like to have lost his other eye by some fireworks which the Turks are expert at, but he hopes it will only be a burn.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, May 3. Castlemartyr.—I received last night the honour of your Grace's letter of the 1st instant from Kilkenny. I have very diligently read it over and over, and I faithfully assure your Grace I entirely believe what you are pleased to write to me in it, that neither partiality or animosity did or does actuate your Grace in this affair of the lapsed money.

I have often experienced that a considering person's judgment (as well as his conscience) does govern him and not he it. And, therefore, I am satisfied that it is with reluctancy that your Grace cannot persuade yourself to be of the same mind in this unhappy affair with His Majesty, with his Privy Council of England, with his late Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, with his Judges of this his Kingdom, and with the late Commissioners of the Court of Claims. For either, by all these authorities, the grant of the lapsed money has been passed, or before these authorities this unlucky affair has been more often and more solemnly heard than possibly ever yet any particular business has been, or will be again. And since I find your Grace would, if you could, have brought your own opinion to be the same with all theirs, it might be a fault in me so much as to imagine that your Grace had not heard all that has been urged on both sides, and consequently an impertinency to trouble your Grace with a repetition of it.

Only I will beg leave to say that since your Grace could not prevail with yourself to believe the money ought to be raised, I did more than hope that your Grace might have thought fit to have moved His Majesty either to have given me some compensation for what your Grace did not think fit I should receive by your orders, or at least that I might have been legally discharged from my engagement to my Lord Dorset and his family (one of which I presumed to move your Grace in by my last letter on this affair). For certainly, my Lord, after those renewed assurances of your Grace's favour to me, and the renewed assurances of my respects and service to your Grace, I could not well think that it was decent in me, or proportionate to the duty I pay your Grace, to solicit His Majesty to send your Grace new orders (for the orders already sent are not to my Lord Essex only, but to the chief governor or governors for the time being) to do that which your Grace yourself has written to me your obedience only, and not your judgment, can engage you to execute. Now, my Lord, after that declaration, in my belief it more behoves the trust

and sincerity of my professions to your Grace to do what methinks is expected from me. I will rather never myself appear again in the lapsed money business, and lose any share of it and all the expenses I have been at in prosecuting it, than reproach myself that I have put a hardship upon one to whom I have solemnly and truly professed faithfulness and service, and if I may use a word which is to me most significant, friendship also. And I assure your Grace this is not only my own intention, but I shall also endeavour to persuade my Lord Dorset and his family to the like compliance and enjoin it to my son.

And if by the spending of so much time, so much money, and undergoing so much trouble, I can convince your Grace that I am in your opinion what I am in my own heart, I shall not at all repent what I have undergone, and what I and my grandchildren are disappointed of. Such is the value I have for your Grace and such the desire I have to be esteemed as without disguise, etc.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678, May 7. Kilkenny.—I received yours from Breda in eleven days here, which is as quick as can be expected. I do not look you should write Gazettes to me, but let your Secretary give us what he thinks more true or important than Gazettes are usually furnished with. I could not till now in eight months get so much spare time as to see this place. It begins now to look very pleasantly as your mother has ordered it, and will be little inferior to any you will see abroad, if we can compass the making of a house in some degree proportionable to the seat and what is doing abroad. I am glad my Lord Treasurer is pleased with the letter I sent him, but I have not yet known so much from himself. From him and others you will receive what passes in England as soon as I can have it here. The opening of the last meeting looks not very auspiciously. It will, I hope, mend and help the ill state the Prince of Orange's affairs are said to be in if he can get all the English to his assistance. I should think it a great misfortune to be depressed by any party in Holland. Whatever happens, I resolve to steer my old course for the few years I can expect to live in any vigour, of which, I thank God, I yet feel no great decay. But one year after the age I am at brings more than three before; and I have neither the folly to hope nor much appetite to wish I should be exempt from the rules of nature. I hope the Prince you serve at present will not measure my zeal to his service, or my gratitude on your behalf, by ceremonial applications which is not my talent, if I have any. I desire you would take all occasions to assure him of my real affection to his person and interest, which shall be manifested whenever he shall honour me with his commands. I think your mother will tell you herself that she is well, and finds this place agrees better with her than Dublin.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1678, May 7. Kilkenny.—I received yours of the 30th of the last here yesterday, having gotten, I think, a spare time to be

absent from Dublin, where the Council are hammering at a Bill of Confirmation, with which it is fit they should take time and good care to satisfy themselves, since the Bill of Supplies will not stay for it or depend upon it. I believe to be back in Dublin on the 11th of this month. I wish Captain Chetwynd should know that he must not expect that he will be allowed much time to find a chapman for his company, but that the next muster he will be checked, and the next after that his company will be disposed of. Binnion I have heard nothing from, but must take it for granted he thinks no more of Ireland, since what is proposed to him does not like him. What Hungerford said was very fair, but he appears not; and Captain Hale keeps not his word no more than Captain Ashburnham, who would not be forborne but for his uncle's sake, and so much I wish old Will should know. I do not like the complexion of affairs there, and therefore wish you here as soon as you can get off.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, May 7.—I this evening received the honour of your Grace's of yesterday's date. I presume your Grace's stay until Saturday will put but little obstructions to any proceedings here, though I expect very little to be done effectually without the authority of your presence. But I shall not trouble your Grace with any particulars until your return.

Your Grace proved very fortunate in taking those infamous villanies; your brisqueness upon them will doubtless clear all that county from being infested with such rascals, and give a very great encouragement to the poor inhabitants of that country to proceed in their husbandry.

I wonder much Sir William Talbot should make such a representation as your Grace apprehends. It was certainly a very disingenuous act, but I shall not make any observations upon it, though it gives a rise to very many, nor shall I pass the patent till I receive your Grace's farther commands.

I wish my son Richard might live to a capacity of serving your Grace, but in what condition soever he is I shall look upon him as a much greater villain than he yet can be if he adds ingratitude to his other demerits. But whatever the so many prove his father ever was and ever will be your Grace's, etc.

Postscript:—I doubt your Grace will not be well pleased with my Lord of Orrery's letters—not only for their length but for something else. But most men have their blind sides, and his Lordship is not without his. I shall reserve my Lord Ranelagh's letter for your Grace till your coming to Dublin. That nobleman is much to be applauded for his ingenuity, that he knows how to time his behaviour; he understands perfectly just when to seem pleased and when to do otherwise. He will not prejudice himself by indulging an unreasonable humour.

Earl of Burlington to Ormond.

1678, May 11. London.—I did fully intend before the end of the last month to have paid my duty unto your Grace in Ireland,

in order whereunto I did obtain a command for the *Garland* for my transportation; but she having been engaged to make two voyages into Flanders with soldiers, I missed that conveniency, and the Parliament continuing to sit here longer than was expected, and that in Ireland being not likely to meet so soon as it was believed it would, I have put off for some time the making of that journey, which I shall be ready to undertake when your Grace's commands shall call upon me to do it, and would now have laid aside all other considerations if the Parliament had been to have met in June or July as it was believed it would. But some unexpected and important business lately befalling me which requires my attention, I am engaged for some time to look after it, and do hope that your Grace will be pleased to give me leave to do so. The weather grows very hot here and the humours of some keeps temper with the season. I doubt the Louvestein party in Holland grows very powerful, and will have a peace though upon very unreasonable terms. Our House have ordered those members of theirs who have not given their proxies by the King's permission to attend if they be not at a remote distance; and this day the Commons have ordered that those of their House who leave the town shall be fetched back by their Serjeant at Arms. At their committee room yesterday there happened a quarrel between my Lord O'Brien and Sir Thomas Chicheley which came to blows, and occasioned the confinement of them both to the Serjeant at Arms.

Ormond to Earl of Burlington.

1678, May 21. Dublin.—I am very sorry any public or private occasion should deprive me of the pleasure and advantage of your conversation. Your attendance in Parliament there must, I think, be very short or very long. I hope the latter, because it cannot be without a better correspondence betwixt His Majesty and the House of Commons than their last address, and the mention made of it by the King in the House of Peers, do seem to promise. Your Lordship and I (if you will allow me to rank myself near you when age is in question) cannot possibly live over again so many ill years as we have done, nor did I believe you were very fond of eating champignons at Caen. I am sure a thatched house in Ireland or a grave anywhere will please me better than the Louvre or Palais Royal. Our Parliament here depends much on your nephew Ranelagh and his partner's accounts, and they are of themselves, or are designedly made, so intricate that it is not easy to guess when we shall have one. I am sure it cannot be so soon as the King's service will require assistance. Yet I must confess nothing can be more just, reasonable or dutiful to the King, or more fair and compassionate towards the country, than the letters I receive from my Lord Ranelagh upon the subject; and I have done him the justice to send copies of them to Mr. Secretary, that if we meet with unreasonable demands or affected delays it may appear his Lordship is not to be accountable for them, but that those who are may be found out and brought to

reason. Whenever your Lordship shall be at liberty and in a disposition to give us your company here, order shall be given for what manner of transportation you shall choose.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1678, May 25. London.—I have yours, part of the 14th and part written of the 18th. My Lord Chesterfield about two or three months since had so given himself over to melancholy that I was afraid it would distemper him, but I am informed that now of late he admits of company and has been prevailed upon to walk abroad, which he had not done since the death of his lady. I shall not fail to wait upon him before I go over and give you an account of his daughter, who has invited me down in a letter she writ to Mrs. Mason.

Same to Same.

1678, May 28.—I am sorry to tell you that I am afraid what I writ last to you concerning my Lord Chesterfield was not grounded upon so good information as what I have to tell you now to the contrary is. My Lord Wotton told me yesterday that one Mr. Lane, who lives within a very few miles of Bath, informed him that he is very much distempered, and that he makes his cousin William Stanhope lie in the room with him, and that he often starts from his bed and takes his sword or a pistol to defend himself against Woolly whose ghost he fancies comes to him. I am desired not to make public these particulars, for this happening only in the night it may be kept secret, but I intend to write a letter to Will Stanhope, who, I believe, will inform me of the truth.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—Our Primate* has from great health fallen into the jaundice and laboured under it for some days, and I am now told he falls into frequent fainting fits, insomuch that his friends are in great fear for him. It is in many respects of great importance to His Majesty to have in that place a man of activity and courage, which have not been such qualifications in the present Primate as his gentleness and piety. If His Majesty would make it his own choice to send the Bishop of Rochester† to us, I think he would fit the place well and discharge it with great ability, and so he would the place of Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor if the present Archbishop would change both for the Primacy, and I think he should be offered his choice. If this cannot be effected the next best choice His Majesty can make in this Kingdom is of the Archbishop of Tuam,‡ for whom I will

* James Margetson (1660-1678), Archbishop of Dublin 1661-1663; Archbishop of Armagh 1663-1678. He came to Ireland in 1663 as chaplain to Strafford.

† John Dolben, Bishop of Rochester 1666-1683; Archbishop of York 1683-1688.

‡ John Parker, Bishop of Elphin 1661-1667; Archbishop of Tuam 1667-78; Archbishop of Dublin 1678-1681.

write to Mr. Secretary and desire this proposition may now be taken notice of. If His Majesty approve of the thing he will give you leave to move it to the Bishop of Rochester as from himself, or employ any other he thinks fitter. But let me know what His Majesty's pleasure is in case the Primate should die.

Same to Same.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—You will receive other letters from me of this day's date by a gentleman of mine who goes to London and thence to see little James in France. I am much troubled at the condition my Lord of Chesterfield is said to be in, but am still hopeful the particulars are but discourses raised upon his retirement, because they could hardly be known unless Stanhope has talked of them, and that I think he would not do. But whatever the cause of his being in that manner is, it is equally prejudicial to his daughter at the age she is come to, and not for the advantage of his other children, for whom my Lord of Essex* is or ought to be enough concerned to enquire after them; so that if you can fall unaffectedly into any discourse with him of my Lord of Chesterfield and his children, you may perhaps find something of him and them. I think it will be found that it is not in the purpose or power of those employed in my Lord of Ranelagh's accounts to give any reasonable man satisfaction that they are just or final, for I find they are more intent to contrive delays than to prepare for accounting; but till the time limited shall be expired no representation can fairly be made of their tricks. I have yet no new application made to me in what relates to the Sarsfields; when I have I shall remember what you write of the Duke of Monmouth's declaration. I believe I shall find it necessary to make a journey into the north, especially to Londonderry, about three weeks hence, unless something from England divert me. By that time I hope some Bills may be transmitted in order to a Parliament here in October; at least it shall be put into the King's power to have one about that time if he pleases. I write at Chapel Izod, though I date from Dublin, and have left yours of the 28th, wherein if there be anything to answer you must expect till the next post.

Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—Yours of the 28th of the last came so wet that it was hard to read some parts of it, and so torn that it was easy for anybody else to read it as well as I; yet I think I have found out the mislaid letters and papers you suspect my Lord of Longford for—I mean the copies of them which you will herewith receive, by which you may find how desirous my Lord of Ranelagh is that all things relating to his and his partners' accounts should be fairly and speedily despatched, and that if there be any delay or other ill practice it is to be imputed to his

* Lady Essex was the sister of Lord Chesterfield's first wife, Lady Anne Percy, daughter of the 10th Duke of Northumberland.

partners and not to him, if his proceedings shall not be answerable to his professions. The time limited by His Majesty's order in Council, fortified by a letter undersigned by you, draws near, and yet I do not find that those accounts are in the readiness they ought to be, but till the time shall be fully expired it may not be just to forespeak them.

I know little of the affairs of Scotland, but many of that nation find themselves so uneasy in their own country that they come over hither in whole families, and seem to have a mind to settle here if they could find land to take. There is a post, but no correspondence settled betwixt this place and Edinburgh, at least not betwixt the Government there and here. If there were it is possible that criminal persons who fly hither might be found and, if desired, returned to answer for their crimes where they committed them.

Our Lord Primate, from almost a miraculous state of health and strength, considering his age of near eighty, is lately fallen into the jaundice, and it is to be feared he will hardly recover. It much imports His Majesty in case the good man should die to provide him an able and active successor, that Province being inhabited by the greatest and most united body of Nonconformists. The fittest man I can recommend to His Majesty in this kingdom for such a charge is the Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Parker, a man of prudence, piety and courage, of which last qualification he has given good proof—having been my chaplain all the time of the war. If the Lord Chancellor would change that and his Archbishopric to be Primate no man could be fitter for it, nor would he, I think, be a loser by it. But I doubt His Majesty would, because it will be hard to find a churchman fit to be Chancellor, and the Chancellor's place alone is so ill provided for that it is almost become necessary that the Archbishop of Dublin should be Chancellor unless one could be found that has a private fortune which he would be content to employ to support the dignity of the place. You will be pleased to move His Majesty to have it in his thoughts beforehand, for that Province ought not to be long without an Archbishop. I will no longer interrupt your divertisements at Westminster.

Postscript:—You will find by the blots I wrote in some haste. The truth is the hounds stay for me.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—You will by this bearer, Barrington, receive this despatch, which I was not willing to venture by the post, not that I am afraid of owning it anywhere, but because I do not know how it may suit with the King's desire or service that I should. If what we hear out of Scotland be true, that Kingdom is not in the posture I wish it, and I am much afraid the King will not find that all that pretend zeal to his service there will abide a day of trial. However, I am confident a good party of sure men in the north of Ireland will have no ill effect in Scotland, and that can not be well spared from hence without we have

recruits, for Tories begin to grow bold and numerous, and may in a short time, if they are let alone, arrive at the dignity of rebels, and I am assured many families and some preachers come daily out of Scotland, and you may be sure they are not the well affected. What these and their numerous brethren already planted here may do when the flower of the army is transported into Scotland may well be apprehended, and possibly the Council of Scotland may look again for the same countenance from hence which they called for the last year. This is not the only argument for His Majesty reinforcing his army here. The rest, as my Lord Chancellor said in his speech, is fitter for contemplation than discourse. I would have you to take a fit time to beg an audience of His Majesty and to show him my other letter and the proposition for recruits, and then attend his pleasure for what he will command to be returned.

SAME to SAME.

1678, June 4. Dublin.—Upon the best information I have of the state of affairs abroad and at home, and upon the best judgment I can make of them, I conclude that if His Majesty shall disband his army in England or any part of it, it will be for his service to inforce this here. It is not my part, considering the distance I am at, to enter upon a particular enumeration of the advantages that may accrue to the King and all his dominions and good subjects by having as considerable an army here as can be maintained, nor do I think long discourses on the subject very proper or seasonable. But I think it is my duty to let His Majesty know that it will exceedingly contribute to the peace and happiness of Ireland and to the safety of a Protestant English interest, and I am hopeful that I shall be able to provide for the subsistence of such recruits as shall be sent over, let them come as soon as His Majesty pleases. I am sure all my industry, credit and fortune shall be employed towards it. I choose to acquaint His Majesty with my conceptions this way by you rather than by a formal letter to Mr. Secretary, that it may be in His Majesty's choice to let the proposition fall, or to consult who he pleases in it, as the conjuncture shall direct to either; and I have put my opinion of the manner of reinforcing this army in a paper by itself, that if His Majesty shall so think fit the whole matter may appear to be the result of his own thoughts and not of mine.

Paper referred to in the foregoing letter.

That His Majesty would cause five hundred common foot soldiers to be transported into this Kingdom to be distributed into the regiments of guards and army in place of so many unserviceable men.

That he would send twenty complete well-officered companies of foot with their arms unregimented by reason of the charge of field and staff officers, unless those officers will be content to serve six months without pay.

That ten of these companies may be landed at Dublin, Drogheda, or anywhere north of Dublin, and the other ten at Waterford, Youghal, Cork, or Kinsale.

That the charge may be borne till the men shall be landed in Ireland.

That I may have notice of His Majesty's pleasure as long as it is possible before the disbanding, that I may send officers to receive and conduct the five hundred common soldiers (unless they may conveniently be joined to the complete companies and transported with them), and that I may have time to provide quarters and subsistence for them all.

Copy.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, June 10. Castlemartyr.—This letter, which gives a detailed account of the fortification works at Rincurran, Kinsale, has been printed in full in Hist. Comm., Sixth Report, Appendix, p. 732.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1678, June 15. London.—I rather choose to write another letter of the same date than intermix any other business with what I have in command from His Majesty or by his orders to say to you, lest it may hereafter be thought necessary to produce my letter. At the same time that I attended the King about your proposal, I spoke to him concerning that of the vacancy now like to happen, and His Majesty gave me leave to sound the B of R,* but before I did I acquainted His Royal Highness with it, who approved of it, and withal said he would speak to him himself about it; but the Bishop excuses himself upon the account of his bodily infirmity, having been lately very sick, and being at present indisposed. He told me he had formerly some discourse with you upon this subject, and owns himself infinitely obliged to you for the favour you designed him, and with a great deal of a Speaker of the House of Commons' modesty protested he was not fit for so great a trust, and desired me to tell you (though I did not own I had anything in charge from you) that you might find a thousand persons properer than he for so great a charge; so that you must pitch upon some other, though the King was of opinion he would have accepted of it when I said it was worth £4,000 per annum, for he believed most Bishops would think that gain is great godliness. I don't doubt but whomsoever you please to recommend will have the place if the other should die.

Mr. Stanhope is lately come to town, and he assures me that all the reports concerning my Lord of Chesterfield's great disquiet of mind are false, and that although he is very much troubled yet for the loss of his lady, he goes abroad and intends to come to London at Michaelmas. But at best I am afraid that way of living will do no small prejudice to his daughter, who has nobody to converse with but his young children.

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* Bishop of Rochester, see p. 145 *note, supra.*

I was desired by an old friend and acquaintance of yours to know of you whether you would part with your employment here. His proposal is to give you so much a year (and good land security) as you shall agree upon. I would not refuse the giving you his proposal, but I shall be far from encouraging or giving you my advice that you should part with it in this conjuncture.

My Lord Carbery desired me to write in his favour that he may have his creation money paid him.

My brother being lately come over I showed him your letters and acquainted him with the resolutions upon them, and would have gone along with him to the Duke, but he left it to me.

Same to Same.

1678, June 15. London.—On Tuesday night last Mr. Barrington brought me your despatch, in which I had four letters from you all dated the 4th of this month. The next morning I waited upon His Majesty with the proposal for reinforcing the army of Ireland, and showed him your two letters which had relation to it, with which His Majesty was exceeding well satisfied, and commanded me to carry them to the Duke, which I immediately did, and His Royal Highness did also very much approve of the design; and the whole matter being left to him he commanded me to attend this day for an answer, which he gave me at the House this morning in presence of my Lord Treasurer. He commanded me to tell you that twenty companies shall be very soon sent over and that you need take no further care in the matter, for they shall be transported and sent to the places you mention with their officers, who will be contented to be without pay for the time you mention, and he has promised me to choose such officers whose dependance here shall not make them desire often licence to be absent from their commands. His Highness has your proposals in his hand, and when the men are ready to move you shall have timely notice, that you may dispose them into such garrisons as you shall think fittest for the work you design them; and for the recruits, you will also be furnished as you desire with 500 men of the best that shall be disbanded, which may be conducted by some of the officers that command the other companies, and save the trouble of sending an officer out of Ireland to command them. This is the sum of what I have in charge from His Majesty by his Royal Highness.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, June 18. Whitehall.—Since my last of the 15th instant to your Grace His Majesty hath had a debate at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and the resolution was that your Grace should make all the preparations for a Parliament. I objected the not finishing the Earl of Ranelagh's accounts, which was not only urged as an impediment necessary to be removed by you but confessed so by himself. It was answered that need not hinder your preparation, for all possible diligence should be used to expedite that; but yet I find some great ones more inclined to give him time than they lately were. To-morrow it will be

debated in the Council, but I doubt the Parliament will not rise time enough for me to have a share.

I acquainted them with your opinion how difficult the Act of Indemnity would prove, which is still left to your Grace to consider further of. *The King is much more desirous of a revenue than subsidies, and would have your chief application be to improve that to £300,000 a year, and he hath commanded me to tell your Grace you may assure them it shall all be spent in the Kingdom, and none sent over hither.* We have had a day full of debate in Parliament, wherein we of the Court have not been so successful as usually, neither do I know well how we shall thrive to-morrow, but it is like to prove a day of debate enough, and this is all the hunting I have been able to enjoy this summer. We and the weather both grow hot, and what that will produce both in our body and affairs may be very reasonably apprehended. I am very weary and so would your Grace should I write longer.

Postscript:—My most humble service to my Lady Duchess.

Order in Council, 14th June, 1678, for the Prosecuting of Lord Ranelagh and his Partners.

1678, June 14. At the Court at Whitehall. Present:—The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.—Whereas His Majesty, by his order at this Board of the 13th of May last, was pleased to appoint the 10th of this instant June as the utmost day for bringing in the accounts, pretences and demands relating to the contract of the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners—And whereas it appears by a letter from His Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and His Majesty's Council of that Kingdom, dated the 31st of May last, this day read at the Board, that they had called before them the persons employed by the said Earl and Partners in this affair and enquired of them when they would be ready to bring in their said accounts, and that they made answer that they could not assign any certain day for the same. Now in regard the bringing in of the said accounts hath been long delayed to the prejudice of His Majesty's service, it was this day ordered by His Majesty in Council, and it is hereby ordered accordingly, that His Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, do forthwith cause process to issue forth in that Kingdom against the said Earl of Ranelagh and his partners for not perfecting their said accounts upon their contract with His Majesty. And likewise that the Right Honourable the Earl of Danby, Lord High Treasurer of England, do give order for their prosecution from the Exchequer here.

Endorsed:—Lord Ranelagh and his partners to be prosecuted on their contract.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1678, June 22. London.—Since my last to your Grace I have received your Grace's of the 12th instant, and shall make no use of the historical part of it, if I find not a proper occasion for it. I suppose by Tuesday's packet both Dr. Topham's and Sir Theophilus Jones' business will be despatched, for Mr. Bertie

told me this day he believed my Lord Treasurer had spoken to His Majesty about them, having had my memorial for that purpose in the top of his bundle. On Thursday a message was sent from the Lords for a present conference grounded upon a letter His Majesty received that morning from Sir Lionel Jenkins acquainting His Majesty that the French Ambassador at Nimeguen had declared that his master was resolved not to deliver up any of the towns in Flanders he had formerly proposed to restore, till the King of Denmark and Marquis of Brandenburgh made restitution to the King of Sweden (his ally) of Pomerania, etc. This was imparted to the Lords by commands from His Majesty by my Lord Treasurer, with the asking their advice whether they thought it fit in so critical a conjuncture the new raised forces should be disbanded till the peace were better secured. This message the Commons had not leisure to receive that morning; but the matter being delivered to them yesterday at a conference, after two hours debate upon it, they resolved not to stop the disbanding of the army, and therefore by a message desired the Lords to proceed upon and despatch the Bill for disbanding the army. Their reasons for it were that since the States-General, after a league offensive and defensive made with them, had so unhandsomely left us in the lurch as to make a peace with the French King without making any provision for us in it, and since the Spaniard had used us no better by concurring with the States in the peace, after His Majesty had so generously put his forces into the towns to defend them against the French, into whose hands they had otherwise inevitably fallen, our keeping up our army would have no other effect than to awe the King of France and to force him to give better conditions to the Spaniard and the States, and consequently draw the war upon ourselves, by which means the Hollanders then would grasp all the trade of Europe. Upon which considerations they concluded they could not give a good account to their country for putting them to any further charge in keeping up the army, since they had already been at the expense of a million of money for only the talk of a war. Yesterday we voted £414,000 to be raised (besides the Poll Bill) for the discharging the extraordinary expenses of the fleet, the reimbursing His Majesty that £200,000 which he had borrowed (upon their credit) for the preparations for the war, and for paying £40,000, the Princess of Orange's portion. But they have not yet agreed upon the manner of raising it, for which several projects have been offered but none approved of, so that 'tis thought we shall at last have recourse to a land tax. This morning the Lords sent us down the Bill for disbanding, etc., to which they agreed with three amendments, which I send your Grace enclosed. They added further that the penalties being very severe upon the officers if they did not disband at the time mentioned in the Act, and it being impossible for them now to comply with that time in regard so much of it had been spent in the passing the Bill, for remedy of which they proposed their said amendments, to which they desired the concurrence of the Commons. This took up three hours debate, not but that we thought it very reasonable what the Lords proposed, but we found great difficulty

to comply with them, in regard if we did it, we did thereby tacitly let the Lords into the giving of money, which the Commons have always affected to be their essential privilege, and therefore not to be departed from. For this reason we disagreed with the amendments their Lordships sent us; and yet, that we may not lose so advantageous a Bill, we appointed a Committee to draw up reasons to be offered at a conference why we did not agree with them, and search into precedents and find an expedient how we may accommodate the difference, which it is thought will be a short explanatory Bill, to commence with us, for the enlarging the time as the Lords have proposed it. Thus, my Lord, I have in short given your Grace an account of our proceedings since my last, and though I have reason to believe your Grace sufficiently by this time tired, I must crave leave herein to repeat a request I desired my brother Cuffe to make for me to your Grace in my last to him, viz., that your Grace would please to give me as favourable a recommendation to His Majesty for my creation money as Earl (£20 per annum) as you were pleased to give my Lord Lanesborough, which, having met with good success, I am thereby encouraged to beg the like favour from you; which if your Grace please to grant, I shall furnish Mr. Secretary Coventry with the draft of a letter, as I also shall for making Granard a borough town to choose two members to sit in Parliament, if your Grace pleases to recommend that also to him. In the last place I am desired by Captain Edward Brabazon to beg your Grace's favour to recommend him to His Majesty for a troop of horse, in case any horse be sent from hence to increase the army in Ireland. Your Grace knows how he has suffered, and I doubt not but your Grace as well knows his devotion to yourself and family, and if there be room for your Grace to show him favour I hope you will not think him the less fitter object of it because he is recommended to you by your Grace's, etc.

Postscript:—If Will Ashburncham happen now to die His Majesty and His Royal Highness have done their parts to get my Lord Ranelagh chosen in his place. I suppose Mr. Secretary Coventry will acquaint your Grace that my Lord Essex is on Wednesday next appointed in Council to speak his knowledge of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts and his vast demand of arrears.

Ormond to Earl of Burlington.

1678, June 22. Dublin.—Professing and intending as I do to give all the despatch I can to whatever comes properly before me, your Lordship has reason to expect I will be careful, more than in common cases, to expedite what may concern you; and if my Lord of Ranelagh, or those who act for him and his partners here, had come to me for liberty to make payment to your Lordship of anything payable by them in virtue of their undertaking, I had certainly immediately done, it and in that disposition they shall always find me. But none of them have yet come to me upon that account, and to deal freely with your Lordship (as I wish they would) I do not expect to hear from them for that purpose, because that in a list they brought me of payments

they desired leave to make, I do not remember your Lordship was mentioned; and of those that were, and who had warrants from me for payment, I have not heard of any that have been paid. I am sure many have not, so that I suspect (I ask their pardon if I do it wrongfully) that when they proposed to me to restrain any other payments than those I should give order for, it was not with a purpose to pay any, but designed for a temporary shift to answer the many persons that had demands upon them, for I have hitherto refused none, and I think they have hitherto paid none. I have given your Lordship the more trouble in stating this matter, as I take it to be that you may have more effectual orders for your satisfaction than I doubt you yet have, and that if you miss of it I may stand acquitted, being as I am most ready to serve you.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1678, June 22. Dublin.—I have yours of the 15th instant and shall lose no time to provide for the twenty companies. His Majesty knows that his revenue is fully charged by the establishment and will from thence conclude that the present pay of these new men must be by making the old stay something the longer for theirs, which I do not doubt but I shall persuade them to. One reason that moved me to propose the sending over of these men was that His Majesty, having resolved to reinforce his army here, it could not be done with better officers, better men, or those better armed and furnished than out of those who are to be disbanded, and have been for some time under discipline. But for the constant future support of them and the old army I depend upon these particulars:—

1. That His Majesty holds his resolution to call a Parliament here and to comply with their reasonable expectations in relation to the securing of their estates and to the improvement of the Kingdom, as also to give them no just ground to suspect that what they shall give will be diverted from the support of the Government and the security of this Kingdom.

2. That His Majesty will not charge the revenue here beyond the present establishment with any new addition.

3. That according to His Majesty's declared purpose the overplus of the revenue (after Mr. Bridges and his partners shall be repaid the money advanced by them) may be applied to the payment of the establishment, whereunto the pay of the twenty new companies is to be added.

Without His Majesty shall approve of and resolve to command the observation of these things, the sending of these men will but the sooner bring his affairs here into disorder; but in the observation of them I do not doubt but he may plentifully provide for the old and new men and for a further increase of his army, and there appears to me little difficulty in them, unless it may be in the application of the surplus after the payment of Bridges, which fund was intimated to stand charged with something else, but if that be not much it will not much disappoint the thing designed. It is fit you lose no time in acquainting the King, the Duke and my Lord Treasurer with this letter, that His Majesty's sense of it and pleasure upon it may be known.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1678, June 22. London.—The two thousand men intended for Ireland with their officers and the recruits were named and once ordered to march, but that order is countermanded for a time upon the French King's refusing the peace with Holland unless the places taken from the King of Swedland be restored. I dined this day with my Lord Chamberlain, who desired me to excuse his not writing this post, being a little troubled with the gout in his writing hand, and to tell you from him that the public news will inform you all that is necessary for you to know since his last letter, only that he believes we shall have a war with France yet, if the Dutch will join, and not otherwise.

My Lord Essex is appointed on Thursday next to be heard against my Lord Ranelagh, at a committee appointed for that purpose, and this post or the next you will have a letter concerning Mr. Ryder and Sir James Shaen, etc., referring the whole matter in difference to you, as Mr. Ryder informs me.

My Lord Chamberlain informed me that Sir John Duncoms' pension is stopped, though he had it granted with a clause that no suspension should be upon it.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678. June 22. Dublin.—My answer to a former letter of yours upon the same subject of that of the 15th from London gives you my sense of your affairs in reference to Holland and is comformable to what you have hitherto done, for certainly there being no action in prospect, and there being some doubt whether the troops you command will stand or be cashiered, the best place you can attend the event is where your duty calls you. I am yet of opinion that if a considerable body of the King's subjects shall be kept on foot it may be proper enough for you to accept the command of them, His Majesty and the Duke approving of it; that is if your so doing do not engage you in expense beyond what the employment will leave. But no full judgment can be made till you see what is done and what you may expect in Holland. Your brother has informed you of what relates to the affairs of this place, which now are taken notice of at the Council Board, and therefore you should do well to be frequently there. I am sorry Sir Robert Carr is fallen into the King's displeasure because I think him a worthy gentleman, and that it cannot but trouble my Lord Chamberlain, to whom I have nothing to say, and am therefore not willing to trouble him with empty letters.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1678, June 22. Dublin.—As long as the matter of sending men to reinforce the army here shall be in agitation, it is like you will receive two letters a post from me on the same subject. My other letter of this date you will soon find is to be offered to His Majesty, the Duke and my Lord Treasurer. If it should be

looked upon as a retractation because I seem to add conditions not contained in my first proposition, it will easily occur to you to answer that though they were not expressed they must necessarily have been supposed; for nothing can be expected from a Parliament that shall not be satisfied that they shall be safe in their properties, encouraged to improve, and in some measure assured that what they give is like to be spent amongst them and to keep them in peace. But if any great sum be charged on the overplus after the payment of Bridges, it will exceedingly dishearten and discompose all here, and therefore, though it be fit to know the worst, yet I am afraid to ask how it stands or to press to know it, having once written to Mr. Secretary Coventry about it and had no answer.

Earl of Danby to Ormond.

1678, June 25. Treasury Chambers, Whitehall.—His Majesty upon hearing what was offered by Sir James Shaen and Mr. Ryder at the Treasury Chambers before him the 17th of the last month, did think it convenient for the security of his revenue and safety of those who are most concerned in this present farm to change the hands by *taking advantage of the forfeiture which they had made of their grant*, and so be rid of these men and all their unjust pretences, provided it might be done without any loss to His Majesty. In order thereunto Mr. Ryder was directed to deliver in an account of the advance money as it now stands and see whether good men could not be found to undertake the same. *In the meanwhile direction was given by His Majesty that no money should be drawn out but for payment of His Majesty's rent and real charges of the management*, for notwithstanding your Grace had taken care to secure the revenue that it might not be diverted from the uses designed by the grant, yet it was alleged that the Farmers did on pretence of salaries, interest and poundage draw out and dispose of several sums of money, though in truth there is but little of the interest money due to them, who have now got the disposal of the whole in their hands.

On Saturday last His Majesty did again take this matter under consideration, and the proposals that were offered by one Mr. Heron, in order to a new farm (a copy whereof you have here inclosed). *But your Grace's letter produced by Secretary Coventry did in a great measure hinder His Majesty from proceeding thereon, because you therein seem to not doubt the Farmers' performance for the time to come*, and by the certificate which they procured from the Pells they make it appear that they have paid their rent for the time past, which certificate is dated the 28th of May and takes in only April rent, when in two days (their utmost days of grace allowed them) there is twenty thousand pounds more to pay; with which Mr. Ryder being acquainted does say that it is usual with them to make up their rent by assignments, *though the collectors have at that time no money on their hands*, but are forced to pay the same out of the growing revenue; to prevent which for the time to come direction is given that the Vice-Treasurer should call for the assignments, so that they may become

payments within their days of grace. And that had they paid in the whole proceeds of the revenue they might by that time have paid not only April but within three thousand pounds of May rent, and yet must run in arrear before the last of September above forty four thousand pounds; to prove which he offered a computation of their monthly receipts and payments taken from the last year's produce, from which though no certain account can be made, yet may the first three months thereof be compared with the real produce of this quarter ending the 24th of this month, to see whether it exceeds or falls short thereof, and from that and the last year's produce make a near guess at the rest. And it is further alleged by Mr. Ryder that in case they have been forced to make use of the produce of May month to pay April rent, *as by that certificate appears*, they are twenty thousand pounds worse than he imagined, and must by the last of September owe (instead of £44,000) sixty four thousand pounds, for which and the month's rent allowed them for days of grace His Majesty has in advance money but thirty eight thousand seven hundred and forty eight pounds, twelve shillings, eight pence security, the rest being paid out of his own revenue. If this be so it will be high time for His Majesty to look about him and prevent that loss which he must then sustain by their failure.

Wherefore His Majesty does desire that your Grace would fully inform yourself in this matter and inquire from the Commissioners of Inspection a true state of the Farmers' condition, viz., what solvent arrear there is standing out in the country to answer the three months allowed them in the beginning of their farm? What rent they have actually paid in money and assignments, and what remains unpaid to the last of their works? And what cash there is in their collector's hands (over and above the running assignment) to answer the same, which may be taken out of the collectors for the present quarter? This being done it will be no hard matter to make a near guess what the revenue these summer months will fall short of the rent. And then upon the whole matter His Majesty desires your Grace's opinion whether you think it best for him to continue the present grant or accept of the new proposals. And, if His Majesty should think fit to continue the present grant, whether you think Sir James Shaen and his party, or Mr. Ryder and his friends, the best security and safest hands for His Majesty to entrust with his revenue; *for it is concluded on all hands that this commission is contrary to the whole body of His Majesty's grant, as well as the law of that land, and that no officer in the Kingdom has a legal authority to act by.*

It is certainly high time that this matter were settled one way or other, for while this difference lasts the revenue must suffer for want of management. Wherefore His Majesty desires your Grace's speedy answer and opinion to what is now remitted to you.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1678, June 27. Dublin.—I had none from you with the letters of the 18th; others had notice in theirs of the twenty companies to

be sent hither—particularly Stradling's Lieut.-Coll. tells Jeffreys he is to be one. Mr. Secretary Coventry writes nothing to me of it, so that I suppose it was not spoken of at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, or perhaps the warmth of debates in the House of Commons puts it out of his head; we are in great expectation, and not without apprehension of the conclusion of those heats and of the counsels that will be taken upon them.

I cannot imagine what old friend and acquaintance of mine it was that desired you to make the proposition you mentioned in your last—if you mean by old an aged man, I can think of none but one that sold a place some few years since.* The proposition may perhaps meet well enough with the conjuncture and with my conveniency, but I can say nothing to it till I know the person, therefore if the caution be necessary let me have his name in cipher.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1678, June 29. London.—I had yesterday your two letters of the 22nd instant, but the King and the Duke were gone to Windsor, and this day they had a review upon Hounslo' Heath of a great part of the new raised men. They made up, with two squadrons and two battalions of the guards, about 10,000 men. They were all very well clad and most of them very promising men. The dragoons and grenadiers were but indifferently horsed; the rest of the horsemen were very well mounted. The King will come back so late that I shall not have an opportunity to show him your letter this night; but on Monday at the House, I believe I may find the Duke, His Majesty and Lord Treasurer together, and that will be in my opinion the properest time to show him your letter, and I don't doubt but I shall give you a satisfactory answer; for I ventured, knowing how the revenue is charged already, to inform His Majesty before I received these letters that I believed you depended upon what the Parliament would give and the overplus money, when Bridges his contract is satisfied, for the subsistence of the forces you desired should be sent over, and told the same thing to His Royal Highness. I never knew before that anything was charged upon the overplus fund, and I confess I went very much alarmed immediately to the Secretary's to know how that matter stood, but he was gone to his lodge; for I took it for granted by some letters I had formerly from you that the King had granted that fund entirely for this or the like use.

The army is not to be disbanded here at soonest until the latter end of next month, as you will find by the proceedings of Parliament, so that your charge will not come so soon upon you as you expected; and if the news now rife in town be true you are not like to have any of these forces, for they say a war with France is not to be doubted of.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, June 29. Whitehall.—I am debtor to your Grace for three letters received all by this post of the 22nd of June, and

* See p. 150 *supra*.

with them the reference accompts and abstract of them as delivered by my Lord Ranelagh's partners to the Commissioners and from them to your Grace. I wish I had had them a few days sooner. My Lord Ranelagh and Sir James Hayes appeared before a Committee of the Council—there they averred the having delivered in their account and, as we understood them, complete.

I, urging the want of vouchers, my Lord Ranelagh made answer they should be ready at the day appointed, or that they ought reasonably to suffer as wrong accountants. He acknowledged moreover that he was obliged to acquit himself of having paid the military and the civil list so far as the £172,000 extended, according to his abstract, without mingling any other accounts to cross that. That for the debts owing him he was willing that your Grace should prefix a day for it. His Majesty was not at Council this last Friday, so nothing was done in it; but on Wednesday I suppose some resolution will be taken, and then I shall have occasion to show the accounts I received by the last. I have likewise received the papers you sent me concerning the officers of the Exchequer, and shall not fail to acquaint His Majesty with your Grace's opinion as to the vacating of the office of Controller General of his Revenue.

We are much alarmed here upon the likelihood of a war breaking out again in Flanders, of which the first entrance will be the loss of the town of Monts, [Mons] wherein the Dutch have at least five or six thousand men, and no provisions but from day to day by M. de Luxemburgh's leave. This will stop the recruits you expect from hence, five regiments being already commanded for Flanders, and it is not unlikely the rest may follow, so the war is likely to be revived. God grant the inclination and confidence in the Parliament may be so, but in my poor opinion if the F[rench] King should publish his design to conquer Christendom under his hand, he could not reveal it better than by this last proceeding.

Mr. Thynne sent you an Order of Council last week, I being gone to my lodge, and it came after my departure. I believe it containeth as much as the sense of the last Committee was.

Postscript:—My most humble service presented to my Lady Duchess.

Captain Frederick Hamilton to Sir John Davys.*

1678, June 30.—About a fortnight since I received an order from his Grace to send a serjeant and three files of men to Lysneske, [Lisnaskea] which is within ten miles of my quarters, there to prosecute Tories. That the business might be the speedier effected, I went myself to hunt after them, took two of their party and pursued the rest so close that were it not for the cots, by which they get from island to island in Lough Erne where they chiefly reside, I had certainly before this taken them all. But the chief of the Tories, one James MacManus, finding I gave him little rest, has written to me to desire to speak with me, and to let me know he would very

* Sir John Davys was Clerk of the Irish Privy Council.

willingly come in and bring all his party with him. I know he would surrender on any terms, either of transportation or what else his Grace would think fitting, so he may have his pardon. Neither he nor any of his party has committed any murder, have been but a little time out, and have done no great robberies. But I have not spoken with him, nor will not till you do me the favour to wait on his Grace and let me know his pleasure whether I may treat with him or not. If I must continue open war, pray let me beg the Tories may be proclaimed, and that I may have liberty to destroy the cots that are on this Lough, and I will quickly make the country as peaceable as ever. Sir, your answer to this by the first post (if you think fitting) will be a most singular favour.

Postscript:—Pray my most humble duty to my lady.

Sir William Temple to Ormond.

1678, July 2. London.—The account I gave your Grace by my brother of my not writing was so true that though I was very sorry I had it for so long together, yet I know your Grace was so just as to receive it. I will not presume to say 'tis now at an end, because that God Almighty can only tell; but yet thus much is certain that I am just now going aboard for Holland, and upon such measures as His Majesty seems more resolved to pursue than ever I thought to see him. In case the States will be prevailed with to fall into them, he will be sure to have all the help the Prince can give him, who seems to have recovered a new soul upon this incident from France, which has given at least the appearance and overture of new measures in the world. The truth is the refusal to restore the Spanish and Dutch towns till the restitution of Sweden has been so plain language that it has at present opened many eyes both here and in Holland, which have long been shut to all our cost; but whether they are proof against all charms I will not venture to determine. I can only assure your Grace that the Duke has been the most constant that can be imagined in his opinions of the French designs and intentions to His Majesty ever since my Lord Feversham's return, and declared himself the plainest that ever I heard yesterday at the Foreign Committee that nothing could be more evident than that France intended an universal monarchy, and nothing but England could hinder them, and that without it the King would endanger his crown. And for His Majesty I have some particular reasons (which I cannot entertain your Grace with at this distance) to believe that he is perfectly cured of ever hoping anything real from France, and past the danger of being cajoled by any future offers from thence, so that I see nothing left to shake his present resolutions but the fear of being well seconded in them at home or in Holland. The last I shall soon be able to give His Majesty an account of, but the first I must leave to others that are better acquainted with the scene where that game must play. I am of opinion both that must be played ill, and the war managed ill, to fail (if we go into it); but I have no reason to believe but both those may very well befall us. All that is to be said is that all

men agree the present measures are of absolute necessity, since no *penchant* to a peace can bring it about if another will have a war, and if it must be at one time or other, though this may be a worse time than any past, yet it is a better than any is like to come.

This is all I can say worth your Grace's trouble, at least if this itself be so, for I am sure nothing can be so unnecessary as to repeat any of those professions I have so long made and so justly of my being ever and with as much passion as I am sure it is with reason and truth, my Lord, etc.

Earl of Longford to Duke of Ormond.

1678, July 2. London.—The Bill for raising the supply to disband the army is like to be lost. For at a free conference this morning (at the desire of the Commons) when the managers for the Commons would have entered upon the argument for asserting the privileges of the Commons their Lordships waived it wholly, and by my Lord Privy Seal intimated that their Lordships having adhered to their amendments could not receive the Bill again; upon which the managers for the Commons telling their Lordships they had orders to leave the Bill with them, they accordingly left it before their Lordships upon the table, where it remained after the conference was ended, and for aught I know it remains there still. My Lord Privy Seal further told them that the Lords had power to make alterations in a Money Bill, but confessed the Commons had the privilege of beginning the granting of money. Upon the report from the conference the Commons have ordered a Committee to search into former precedents and the method of granting of money, and resolve to assert upon their books their own privileges for granting of money. And because they will not altogether lose the benefit of having the army disbanded they intend to add the £206,000 (which in this Bill was intended for the disbanding the army) to the £414,000 which they have voted for the discharging of the fleet, etc., and will appropriate both sums accordingly. In the meantime we talk high of war, an account whereof I doubt not but your Grace will have from better hands than mine. I presume to renew to your Grace the request I formerly made to your Grace of recommending to Mr. Secretary Coventry the making of Granard a borough town to choose burgesses to sit in Parliament, which your Grace was pleased to promise me before I left Ireland, but Mr. Secretary Coventry tells me your Grace has not yet mentioned anything of it to him, which I hope your Grace will remember to do in your next, it being no more than what my Lord of Essex did for my Lord Granard in favour of Mullingar, and I also hope your Grace will not omit my creation money, for both which I shall furnish Mr. Secretary with drafts of letters suitable to the precedents of my Lord Granard and Lord Lanesborough.*

* By a Charter of this year Granard was given the privilege of returning two members of Parliament, and this representation continued until the Act of Union. The Charter of Charles II. to Mullingar did not confer the privilege of representation for the first time. Mullingar appears to have been continuously represented by two members from 1559 to the Union.

This morning I overheard Mr. Speaker telling Mr. Progers that that my Lord Ranelagh was to be baited this afternoon, but by whom or upon what subject he would not tell me.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1678, July 2. London.—I have shown yours of the 22nd of last month as I was directed, though the men you expect are to be sent for Flanders. I have authority from the King to tell you that he consents to the three particulars; neither has he (that I can find) either by Mr. Secretary, my Lord Ranelagh, or my Lord Treasurer himself, charged anything upon the overplus found, and you are safe for the future, because there is a standing order of Council that no grant shall pass concerning any part of His Majesty's revenue in Ireland without a reference first to the chief governor. The Duke would not have you take any other measures yet for reinforcing the army of Ireland, for three weeks or a month's time will show whether a war or no war—and this is what he has given me as his Majesty's pleasure in that particular. The King has commanded me to recommend to you George Wilde for a command in Ireland, and it was upon the solicitation of my Lord Bath.

You know that my Lady Portsmouth has a grant from the King for placing deficiencies, and that an Act of Confirmation will cut off that protection, therefore I desire to be informed what you propose for her satisfaction; the first particular of your letter mentioning that all the money given by the Parliament should be employed for the security and support of that Kingdom. I forgot to tell you in my last that my Lord Athol is paid his money, and when the writings come over your bond shall be cancelled.

Postscript:—Yours of the 27th of last month was brought me after I had made up this letter. You have guessed right at the person that made the proposition to you about the place, and though his name is not your cipher, if I had liked the thing, or thought it proper for your to deal for your place in this conjuncture, I had made the matter more clear to you, but that business may stay until we meet.*

Ormond to the Earl of Arran.

1678, July 6.—I have just now received yours of the 29th of the last. I am now sorry I wrote those letters to you of the 22nd of June—lest that now the sending over the twenty companies is at least deferred it should be thought all my propositions are unnecessary; but so quick a turn in affairs abroad could not in reason have been expected, and I am sure the things I mentioned are still needful. We have with great difficulty and wrangling yesterday past the Bill of Confirmation at Council, but were fain to sit morning and evening at it. It cannot be expected but that many will be displeased at it, especially the

* See p. 158 *supra*.

unrestored nominees and others, for whom no proportionable provision could be made; but the King must have a Parliament and considerable supplies if he will put his Kingdom into any tolerable condition of safety or usefulness, and you know who are like to be the major part in the House of Commons, and must consequently be satisfied, at least not put out of humour. The other Bills of Subsidy and addition to the revenue will pass more easily, so that I hope in ten days there may be a transmission and a day named for the meeting of the Parliament. I wish you here in order to prepare for good elections where you have interest.

I am sorry we are like to have no recruits, for the regiment wants them extremely, what with old unserviceable married men and townsmen, and there is no less need for the army. The truth is I am ashamed the King should pay so well and be so ill served, but know not how to help it till we are able to send for men out of England. I cannot yet bring the officers to think it their duty to stay at their garrisons. Not long since there happened a difference betwixt the townsmen and soldiers at Londonderry, where there were then seven companies in garrison, and yet the best officer in town was an ensign. Such neglects must be severely punished, and I am resolved they shall be for the future.

Ormond to Earl of Danby.

1678, July 6. Dublin.—Before my last coming to this Government there arose a question betwixt the Farmers and the brewers of this city about the measure by which the Excise was to be taken, the Farmers alleging that the law warranted their taking it by a measure more beneficial to them by about a fifth part than had been taken by the former Farmers or by any other since it became a duty. A complaint was brought by the brewers to the Council Table and was there heard and dismissed, and the Farmers, taking advantage thereof, have ever since taken that duty accordingly, but not without several attempts on the brewers' part to bring the matter in question again in the Courts of Justice, to which they are the more encouraged by reason that the Judges who are of the Council declared their opinion in favour of the brewers, and if application shall be made to the Parliament in the case it is to be feared that the Farmers will find few friends there; and though the Parliament should not take upon them to judge it, yet it is very probable they may declare it to be proper for the determination of the ordinary Courts of Justice, which would not only be as bad in the particular case of beer and ale, but introduce the same way of trial upon disputes concerning other branches of the revenue which are frequent, and wherein the Farmers can expect little indifferency from juries.

Upon consideration of the damage His Majesty would sustain in his revenue if controversies concerning it should be brought to such trials, I have caused some of the principal brewers and other merchants to be treated with and have brought the matter to this conclusion if His Majesty shall approve of it: These

brewers and merchants undertake that if an additional Excise shall be imposed by a Bill upon beer, ale, and aquavitæ to the proportion they advise, they will prevail with the brewers to suffer it to pass quietly, by which means His Majesty will gain an indisputable title to about £25,000 a year more than it yielded to the former Farmers, in consideration whereof and of the other services they promise to do His Majesty in the Parliament, (of which they are like to be members) they desire to farm those additional duties on beer, ale and aquavitæ for seven years at the yearly rent of fifteen thousand pounds. If this should not be granted to them I am not sure but they may turn their endeavours another way, and obstruct the most considerable and certain part of the addition I expect to His Majesty's Revenue. I have therefore been advised to promise to recommend them to his Majesty for such a farm, which I humbly do by your Lordship, and beseech you as soon as you can to procure me the signification of his pleasure upon it, and that in the meantime the proposition may be kept secret lest the knowledge of it should lessen the credit and interest of the proposers with those they are to prevail upon.

Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry* to Ormond.

1678, July 8. Londonderry.—In your Grace's absence my brave *aerie* of hawks forsook their black rock of Magillegan; and this year they have (auspiciously with your Grace) made their return, so that if duty and gratitude did not oblige the present this good omen would do it. Be pleased then to accept a cast, being a falcon and a tassell, the gallantest (I am assured by the skilled in falconry) which are in Ireland. And by this right they must be your Grace's too, for to whom shall I make the best present but to the best personage, by the influence of whose favour I do enjoy the manor of which this famous rock is a part and the *aerie* of hawks a royalty.†

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, July 9.—Sir William King, Deputy Governor of Limerick, wrote to the Earl of Orrery with regard to a dispute there arisen between Captains Fane and Honiton as to whose colours should take precedence. The latter alleged that he had been captain for thirty-two years, but could not produce his commission, which he said was taken from him when he was made prisoner in the West of England during the Civil War. Captain Fane had his commission which "bears a much elder date than Captain Honiton's late commission." There was another dispute as to whether a captain of horse should give orders before a captain of foot, the Deputy Governor being absent.

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* Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry, 1666-1679.

† It is not clear whether the Bishop uses the adjective 'famous' in reference to the hawks, which have always abounded at Point Magillegan, or to the more ecclesiastical circumstance that the place was the site of one of St. Columba's monasteries.

Ensign Rontinge, having become a lunatic, it is proposed that a son of Sir Ralph Wilson should get his place, as being in every way well qualified for the post, and being moreover willing to pay a sum of money to the ensign's widow to support herself and seven little children. These are dependent entirely on her husband's pay for their subsistence at present, and all the officers and Corporation of Limerick join in their advocacy of the unfortunate officer's claim to consideration—he having served eighteen years, and being most zealous for the King's restoration in 1660.

As Mr. Robinson is proposing to close the crown work at Rincorran fort on the north side with sod, Lord Orrery wishes this to be done by means of a "good lime sand and stone wall."

His Excellency's pleasure on all these matters is requested—especially on the last, in order that the contractors may have sufficient time to provide materials necessary for the stone wall before the season is too far advanced.

Abstract.

Ormond to Earl of Danby.

1678, July 10. Dublin Castle.—Though I have no sooner given your Lordship an account of my having received yours of the 25th of the last, yet I lose no time in causing the contents of it to be put into the properest way of examination in order to execution. Some of the matters to be inquired into will require time, and the more for that the Farmers themselves have not accounted among themselves, nor taken the accounts of their collectors, so often or so regularly as they ought to have done, and as I suppose they would have done if they could have agreed better than they have.

I find it is here at least a question whether by the covenants the farm can be seized for any other reason than the nonpayment of their rent within the uttermost days of grace, which are seventy, and to this they must be heard and judged before a seizure; but it seems to be no question but that the illegality of the commission they act by will not forfeit the farm. It may put it into His Majesty's power to supersede the commission and grant another, but then it is by the covenants to be to all the Farmers or to such other persons as the greater number of them shall, desire; and then those who have the majority now in the execution of the present commission are like to hold it when they shall come to desire another. Upon the whole matter (as far as I understand it) it will be most for His Majesty's service not to make any new bargain for this revenue till it shall be seen how far the Parliament will augment or make any alteration in it, but that in the meantime those that act in the managing the revenue be as narrowly watched as is possible, that they misapply no part of it, and that if upon further enquiry it can be found they have given His Majesty any advantage to determine their grant, it may be reserved to be made use of when it shall be most for his service. If His Majesty shall approve of this course I suppose I shall not need

to give my opinion whether his revenue will be safest in the hands it is in, or in Mr. Ryder's and his party's. Nor could I well answer the question unless I knew who were with him in the undertaking and what stock they will bring into it, for the King hath already not only Mr. Ryder and those who now manage the farm for his security, but other good estates in this Kingdom; so as if they bring no additional stock nor security, but pay only what they receive out of the revenue, I conceive (as care is taken) those in possession must do as much; and it was that care taken to observe their proceeding and payments which gave me ground to write what I did of their performance, which yet was far from expressing any confidence I had that they would or could be punctual in their payments out of the proper months. But on the contrary I said it was doubted they would make use of the income of subsequent months to make payments for those that were past. As soon as any returns come to me from the Commissioners of Inspection to the accounts they are required to give they shall be transmitted.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1678, July 11.—I know not whether it will more become me to excuse the confidence of making an address at this time or the forbearance thereof hitherto. It has been frequently in my thoughts that your Excellence ought to have an account of what passes in this place, which has the honour to be under your patronage; but there having nothing of moment occurred I was still diverted in expectation of somewhat of more considerable importance. The little difficulty given by our neighbours of the city to our Proctors in their night walk will, I presume, find of itself an effectual remedy besides that other of a legal determination. Our omission of an Act at this season, when we have soldiers quartered among us, is no more than what the present condition of affairs made necessary. But whereas your Excellence was pleased to direct my Lord Arran to enquire of me concerning the learning and other qualifications of Mr. Old, a student of this house, in reference to the government of your College at Dublin, in case there happened a vacancy there, and I accordingly rendered such an account to his Lordship as I thought myself bound in justice to give; yet it since happens that Mr. Old being fallen under encumbrances of the law in pursuit of a temporal estate that will require his attendance here, I conceive it requisite to signify this to your Excellence, to prevent your being disappointed by a dependance upon his being in readiness to make a supply. And upon the same ground I take leave to inform your Excellence that we have here another qualified in all respects for that employment, being a man of learning, virtue, gravity and diligence—one already under your particular patronage—being principal of Alban Hall in this University, by whose care the society does very much flourish, which is no ill proof that he may be as successful in a larger

province if ever it be entrusted to him. I the rather make this mention of Mr. Marsh,* the principal of Alban Hall, as considering both the importance of having a fit man for that weighty charge and the difficulty of finding such a one; withal remembering that when your Excellence was last in this place you mentioned a desire to prefer a person to a Hall when it should be vacant, which may be done if this person approve himself to your Excellence. I am further to render an account of my Lord Courcy whom you were pleased to entrust to me, and can assure your Excellence that he does very well in all respects, so that I hope he will grow up to be a man of sufficiency and honour, and one who will be sensible of the great obligations he has to your Excellence. I have to add the tender of my duty and to beg leave that I may be continued in the honour of being your Excellence's most humble and faithfully devoted servant.

Ormond to Sir William Temple.

1678, July 12. Dublin.—Among the arguments of our real deliverance from the delusions of France which have too long prevailed upon us, it is not to me the least that your Excellence is again returned to your post. It is neither civil nor well-natured to reproach those who have been deceived when they have found it themselves and are ready to remedy and revenge the loss and scorn. But it is little below madness for the Parliament of England and the States and people of Holland, for fear of losing some part of their privileges to expose them all, and that so apparently, to a foreign Prince; so that I cannot look upon any man of moderate sense in either of the countries that is against arming and vigorous acting but as upon a man bewitched or corrupted, and if the States who have undergone the burden of so long, so chargeable, and so successless a war will continue it longer in conjunction with us, who may come full and fresh into it, I know not what can be said for our excuse if we refuse it. I hope to find the Parliament here, when it shall meet, so sensible of their duty and interest that they will give four times more in proportion than is required or necessary for England to give; for I think nothing but the fear of the misapplication of what they shall give, or having nothing more to give, will limit their liberality on this occasion; and I hope the King will find some expedient to remove their misapprehension of misapplication, and then I do not doubt but within the compass of a year I shall bring his army to 10,000, and his revenue to about £300,000 a year. Your brother gives us very usefully very much of his pains, and I think must afford us more in the quality of Speaker;† if there were greater choice I could think no man so fit for it. I hope my opinion will carry it against his own.

* Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713), Principal of Alban Hall 1673-1678), appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, January 1678-9, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin 1683-1691, Archbishop of Cashel 1691-4, Archbishop of Dublin 1694-1703, Archbishop of Armagh 1703-1713.

† Sir John Temple had acted temporarily as Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1661, in the absence of Sir Audley Mervyn.

I do not know whether my son Ossory be gone to his charge under the Prince or no, nor will inquire upon what terms he is to be there. If the Prince and he are satisfied with it I will content myself as long as the war shall last; I am sure I shall approve the more of it whilst he may have the advantage of your advice in his conduct. You will not need to give yourself the trouble of letters to your brother and me in what relates to the public; one despatch of that nature will serve us both.

Duchess of Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678, July 13.—I was doubtful of your being at London until I received your letter of the 2nd of this month, as I hope you have done a late letter of mine, which I sent you so soon as I heard of your arrival in England. I take very kindly your intendment to have made my Lord and me a visit if there had been peace; which, it being now taken for granted will be otherwise, I cannot reasonably expect, nor will desire until you may be at more liberty to afford me the satisfaction of seeing you in this country. The meantime I shall pray for your safety and happy success in all your undertakings. Mr. de Lange, your son's governor, gives me great hopes of his perfect recovery, which I am the apter to believe by reason I hear he is much grown and looks well, so that as soon as Barrington returns it will be then convenient to consider of removing him where he may be put to learn his exercises, and receive such other advantages as will be fit for one of his quality, which I suppose cannot be in any place so well taught as at Paris, and therefore I wish I knew your opinion whether you approve of putting him into an academy there or otherwise, since there shall be nothing wanting towards his education and maintenance that shall be requisite, nor any course taken therein (with my consent) but with your approbation; therefore I pray consider well of it, and let my Lord know what your desires are in this particular.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, July 16.—Having visited Rincorran Fort Orrery proceeds to lay his views before Ormond. The crown work needs considerable additions to make it defensible even when fort would be finished. According to plan presented to His Excellency the crown work can receive but little defence owing to the great descent from certain points specified. Having viewed ground round the work by land and water he explains what has been done. The whole wall work is to the sight the best and handsomest he ever saw, and all assure him the inside is close and well wrought on a foundation of rock. The platforms finished are well laid, etc. The point L (on diagram) is so far advanced southwards and sunk that the east side of the Light House hill will rake all along from L to I H; as remedy he proposes to carry lines on arches over gullies of sea and continue platform. At small charge a battery

for eight guns can be made between E—A on S.W. of the lower batteries (between K and G, which can only fire at ships entering. The one he presses for will take ships on the broadside after they pass line of the tenailles E—D, and there the channel is narrowest. When all these are finished no harbour will be so well defended. Next follows some adverse criticism on the crown work, and then an account of money expended from last of February to 13th inst. —total of advanced money, £425; to Mr. Chidly for 65 bodies of carriages, £165; wheels and axletrees, £160 (this sent to Dublin); to Smyth and Armisted (the two undertakers), £100; advanced and paid in all to undertakers' labourers, £1,677 19s. 4d.; in all advanced and paid off, £2,102 18s. 4d. Nearly 5,000 perches of wall work are finished. Mr. Chidly made substantial carriage bodies; had they wheels and axletrees, fourteen guns could be mounted, and daily embrasures, etc., are made, for more crown work can hardly be made strong of itself, but by extending a capital line eastwards from thence, a half bastion running along east side northward which, well ramparted and raised high, would cover all platforms from L to K now exposed to east side of Light House hill as is also the curtain I H. The half bastion near L and a whole bastion at M with a ravelin without the groff on the east side will make said side very defensible.

For west side between A and N the like fortifications it as to the north between N and M. At N a full bastion to be erected, at M the like bastion, etc. If these command the glen running eastwards from "Somer his cove" no more will be needed, otherwise instead of the ravelin a horn work should be run out from counterscarp of curtain and carried as far as two half bastions if it and the curtain between them may fully overlook said glen. Hereby the crown work may be made very defensible and without the fort being erected, and it will cost at least half less and take less men to defend the fortifications and secure the harbour. Should this not be done the fort according to present plan cannot be made defensible, for if fort and crown work were finished and a fleet to be protected in the harbour an enemy that had men enough could land them, and they marching past the fortifications could plant guns on shore behind the works and destroy the fleet in the harbour.

This was why, in 1667, he gathered by His Excellency's leave a good party of horse and foot, for the Dutch having 5,000 land men could have ruined their fleet as pointed out. All which inclines him to believe that the crown works alone will be sufficient. If the fort is to be gone on with, the fortifications of the crown work must be designed accordingly. He thinks the north side should not be closed up with sod work but with a substantial stone wall, no suitable sods being at hand, and it would cost more to carry them from afar, and besides sod work on such a height and so exposed would soon moulder.

There are many other points too tedious for a letter, and he would not have troubled His Excellency so much only that it is for His Majesty's service and to discharge his duty to his Excellency. *Abstract.*

JOHN EYRE* to JAMES CLARK.†

1678, July 16. Eyrecourt.—On my parting Dublin His Grace was pleased to command me to make an inquiry into the value of that part of the Manor of Aghrim now in the possession of the Countess of Fingall and to return his Grace an account thereof, which I knew not how to do by any hand more proper than yours, being a stranger to all others about the Castle. What her Ladyship enjoys is about 531 acres of land with the town and mills, for which her Ladyship pays his Grace £6 per annum, and about £5 10s. per annum quit rent. Her Ladyship's yearly profit is £50 ultra reprises from one Mr. Dowdall, her tenant, who lives in the castle, and hath suffered a part of what is standing to lie uncovered and running to ruin. I presume about £100 well disposed of would repair the castle and raise a good wall near it that would render it defensible against running parties, and if a good tenant were in it it would be an encouragement to the Protestants living in the other parts of that Manor; the place is improvable were it in good hands, which I humbly submit to his Grace's consideration.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1678, July 20. London.—I had never a letter from you since the 6th, which I wonder at, especially now I hear by this packet that my good friend Sir James Cuffe is dead, with whom I left the management of all my affairs in that country. I writ to him a good while ago to take Mr. Ware's house for me for a twelvemonth, but have had no account; therefore I desire you would employ somebody to take it, for I am resolved to leave this place soon enough to have it in my power to take the advantage of next full moon. I was much surprised at this news for I never heard that he was sick, as you may see by the enclosed letter I writ to him this afternoon. The troops desired for Flanders are eighteen.

My Lady Arlington desires to desire my mother to send her marble for two chimney-pieces. I was with my Lady Richmond since I wrote the enclosed, and I never saw anybody take on so much, but I left her in better temper than she has been in since her husband lay languishing. When I had written thus far I went to Court to see who was to succeed Sir James Cuffe in his Commissioner's place;‡ the Duke spoke for George Binnion, but the King told him he was engaged to Sir Robert Hamilton, who it seems outrid the post, and brought the news to the King last night. The King has promised the next that falls to Binnion. I have just now yours of the 14th, but I have not time to answer it and overtake the post.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1678, July 23. London.—I was on Sunday last with my wife at the Wells near Tunbridge, where about five in the afternoon

* Col. the Right Hon. John Eyre, M.P. for Galway.

† James Clark was subsequently comptroller of the Customs' Warehouse at Dublin, 1682-1702.

‡ Sir James Cuffe had been one of the Commissioners of the Customs in Ireland.

I had the honour to receive your Grace's of the 14th instant, and in it the sad account of Sir James Cuffe's death, with which though I was not a little surprised, however I made a shift immediately to get on horseback, and with very hard riding came to this place that night, and had not been long here before I found the effects of your Grace's generous recommendation of Sir James's son to Sir Thomas Chicheley, who very frankly concurred with your Grace, and that day had acquainted the King and the Duke with his resolution of making Sir James's son his successor, who both approved of it, making mention of my brother with kindness and expressing their sorrow for the loss of so useful a servant. Both the share the father has in His Majesty's esteem and the success the son has to be his successor must be acknowledged to be the effects only of your Grace's great goodness and noble favour towards them, by which as you have been pleased in a great measure to preserve a sinking family, so I assure your Grace neither they nor I can ever forget the obligation which we must while we breathe pay your Grace and your family, by all the grateful and faithful services within our power. What part I have in the loss of so dear a friend your Grace can very well judge; and though by the severe blow my family has lately received in the death of my brother in India I might have been inured to have entertained this last misfortune with patience, yet I confess these alarms come so thick upon me that I am almost weary of the world, where now my greatest comfort is the hope that I may live to serve your Grace, and by my faithfulness demonstrate the grateful sense I have of your favours to myself and family. This morning I presented my nephew to Sir Thomas Chicheley, who received him with great kindness, and gave order for his commission which he is to receive to-morrow, and on Friday he intends to take post for Ireland, that by his diligence to attend your Grace and receive your commands he may give your Grace some taste of that zeal with which he is resolved to serve you. Sir Robert Hamilton made such haste hither that he outrode the packet some hours before it arrived here, and by that means and the assistance of my Lord Ranelagh with my Lord Treasurer had obtained a grant from His Majesty of being Commissioner of Inspection, an order being given to Mr. Secretary Williamson to prepare a warrant for that purpose, he intending to pass his patent here. But as soon as my Lord Arran received his letters and understood by them that your Grace had made choice of Dr. Topham he immediately went to the King, the Duke, and my Lord Treasurer, and represented to them the hardship it would be upon your Grace to turn out one of your own putting into employment to make room for another who had so undecently passed by you and got the advantage of the first application by riding post so well; upon which they all three declined our nimble knight, stopped the warrant, and approved of your Grace's choice. Since which Sir Robert has taken great pains to excuse to my Lord Arran his unmannerly deportment towards your Grace. And now he is at liberty to ride back at his leisure and prepare himself

for the raillery he will encounter at his return for his disappointment.*

The pulse here seems to beat still towards a war, only we wait for my Lord Feversham's return from Holland before we declare. In the meantime three troops out of my Lord of Oxford's regiment and as many out of each of the four new raised regiments of horse are ordered to be ready to embark by the last of this month, and 'tis said that five regiments more of the new foot regiments shall accompany them. Sir John Lanier, lieutenant-colonel to the Duke of Monmouth, is to command the horse. Last night my Lord Treasurer, the French Ambassador and young Monsieur Ruvigny were so closely locked up for above two hours in his Lordship's closet that his Lordship was denied to all whatsoever that came to speak with him, and after, they three went together to Court, where the Ambassador and Ruvigny attended as long in the antechamber to the bedchamber, whilst His Majesty, the Duke and my Lord Treasurer were in His Majesty's closet. After His Majesty and the Duke came out the Ambassador and Ruvigny had discourse with my Lord Treasurer in the bedchamber. When the Ambassador and Ruvigny went away they were observed to have dissatisfied countenances, and this morning early Ruvigny is gone for France. Your Grace having encouraged me to propose something that may be for the advantage of my brother Cuffe's family, from thence I presume to acquaint your Grace that my brother's pension upon the present establishment was granted to him and his son and the survivor of them, and my humble suit to your Grace is that by your favour that pension may be continued to his son upon the establishment, out of which they who pretend to be brought upon the establishment in succession will, I fear, jostle him if he have not the support of your Grace's protection. I most humbly thank your Grace for your letter of recommendation to Mr. Secretary Coventry of my creation money and the making of Granard a borough. I shall by my nephew send His Majesty's letters for both, and beg your Grace's farther favour in the passing patents for them.

Ormond to [Earl of Ossory.]

1678, July 23. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 22nd from Hounster Dyke and the post before one from my Lord Chamberlain with the Prince of Orange his letter to you, which certainly justifies the haste you made over. I will say nothing by way of conjecture of the state of our affairs at home or abroad as they relate to war or peace; you will certainly know what we can but guess at. I may tell you that this week all necessary preparations towards a Parliament here will be sent into England and that I do not doubt but I shall do the King and this kingdom, good service in it. My Lord of Ranelagh and his partners are so close hunted that their doubles begin to be discovered; he has reason to be glad of Sir James Cuffe's death, for he was a sore

* Sir Robert Hamilton's ride was not entirely in vain. A month later he was appointed an additional Commissioner at a fee of £300 per annum.

pursuer, but as it is he will have much ado to escape foul discoveries. I believe I shall shortly send you over one Toby Purcell, but as a very valuable present, for he is as honest a creature as lives, very brave and well experienced. I wish him near you on all occasions; if a place fit for him shall fall here I will keep it for him. I am confident he would make an excellent captain, major or adjutant; he has something of all the languages there in use, and is a Protestant by conviction and not for interest.

Toby Purcell served Ormond + f of Irwan in subsequent years.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, July 23. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 15th instant I have received, and was extremely sorry to find the ill news of Sir James Cuffe's death in it. Sir Robert Hamilton outrid the post and brought the news before your letter was delivered me. He had, by his friends, solicited the King to have been made successor to Sir James Cuffe, but upon shewing His Majesty your Grace's letter, and your having disposed of it to Doctor Topham and the necessity of making one, there being but one upon Sir James Cuffe's death left to officiate in Ireland, His Majesty replied he would not think of altering what you had done, and accordingly by His Majesty's commands I acquaint your Grace with his approbation of the choice you have made. Here is one Colonel Wanklyn, lately a member of Parliament, who had a letter a year since at least for a reversion. I could give him no other answer than that there were so many of the Commissioners that resided in England your Grace was necessitated to choose one upon the place that the King's business might not receive a disappointment.

I am glad your Bills for the Parliament are in that readiness. I can yet say nothing determinately concerning war or peace. Sir W. Temple hath signed a treaty with the States General, which is to take effect if by $\frac{1}{11}$ of August the most Christian King does not consent to evacuate the places mentioned in the late treaty. His Most Christian Majesty sheweth a particular respect to your nation, for though he hath broken the Duke of Monmouth's and Earl of Dumbarton's regiments, he retaineth the Irish still. The Earl of Feversham and the Marquis of Borgomene are gone to together to Flanders to concert matters with the Prince of Orange and the Duke de V. Hermosa, but the effects of all those councils will depend upon the most Christian King's answer concerning his evacuating the towns. Some action there hath been betwixt the Duke of Lorraine and Monsieur Créquy; the former hath by an extraordinary march with a detachment of 6,000 horse and dragoons prevented a design the latter had upon Offenburgh, but not without the loss of some men, though we have not the particulars as yet nor the news, but from the French Court.

Monsieur Ruvigny went hence yesterday morning, but Monsieur Barillon remaineth. There is great talk of the Prince of Orange his attempting to succour Mons; but I doubt it is hardly practicable, and the loss of it will be a fatal blow towards the entire loss of Flanders.

Sir William Temple to Ormond.

1678, August 2, S.N. Hague.—Since my arrival here I have had the hardest pinch of business that ever befell me in my life. I have concluded and signed a treaty between His Majesty and the States, by which he is obliged to enter into the war and they to continue it and not make peace without much greater conditions, if France does not agree to those the States accepted about a month since by the 11th of this month. The Prince would not stir till this treaty was signed, believing all his own interests and the greatest of the Crown of England to depend upon it. After it was done he went away immediately to the army, a great Prince in all others' opinions and a happy one in his own, which he had been far from in both for some months past. The French have used all the artifices imaginable to hinder these measures between us, and to take them separately with this state in our exclusion and even that of the Prince of Orange; their last was two days since by a memorial of their Ambassador at Nimeguen offering that the King of France would advance himself as far as Saint Quentin to meet any deputies the States would send thither, and treat with them in person. The States having yesterday consulted with me upon it have refused the offer, desired a positive answer upon evacuating the places in Flanders, and let the French Ambassadors know they should not be many days *en leur entier* to receive it. This is a strange change of style in the world, and the King is once more at the head of the affairs of Christendom. What use we shall make of this conjuncture is in the stars. Your Grace and I will not venture to guess, considering how well we know our Court; but I am sure we shall join in our wishes, and mine shall ever be for all the good health and good fortunes that your Grace can propose to yourself, since no man can be with greater passion nor truth than I am and shall be ever, etc.

Ormond to Earl of Longford.

1678, August 2. Dublin.—Mr. Cuffe made such diligence that he came with the letters of the 23rd and 27th of the last. Your Lordship's of those dates require little to answer. Your nephew will find all the encouragement to pursue the steps of his father that I can give him whilst I am in this Government, and when I am not all the friendship I can express. I am very highly obliged to His Majesty for the support of his own authority exercised by me in the disappointment of the affront Sir Robert Hamilton's confidence and hard riding would have put upon it; to complete the injury he would have done me it is certain he could not be ignorant of the disposition of the place designed by me, and had but just then himself and a little before by Sir Hans Hamilton, his father-in-law, made great professions of his respect to me and of his resolution to rest upon me in all the pretensions he should have. What credit to give to the like hereafter he has taught me. The Bills are ready to pass over with the next opportunity. Some are endeavouring to give the English ill

impressions of them; but I hope that, if it take, will last no longer than till they come to be more truly expounded and better understood. My Lord of Ranelagh's accounts are come to a period for the present, and the state they yet appear to be in will shortly be represented, though I observe not that warmth in the prosecution of them as at first. I do not write to my Lord of Arran, because if he holds his purpose he will not be at London when these letters are like to arrive there; if he chance to be there be pleased to let him know. I expect these south winds will bring the yacht from Bristol and then she shall be sent to Chester water, but I wonder he should think a fifth rate frigate should draw too much water when the *Montague* stayed for me and transported me from Beaumaris, and my Lord of Strafford means to go to Liverpool in her.

As to the pension for which Mr. Cuffe's life was with his father's I can do no otherwise or more than I am or shall be warranted. My Lord Lanesborough and Cary Dillon pretend to succeed. Mr. Cuffe's friends are of opinion the Auditor has sufficient warrant by the patent to insert Cuffe into the Establishment. The question lies referred before Mr. Attorney.

Ormond to Earl of Danby.

1678, August 5. Dublin.—Though the Bills in order to the calling of a Parliament here went off yesterday, yet I believe this letter by the post may get to London before them. The principal are that for the Settlement of Estates and those for His Majesty's supply. I never thought it possible that the first could be so drawn, but that many would find fault with it; men's interests are so opposite and their expectations various. I have written my thoughts of those Bills at large to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and my humble opinion that it will not be for the King's service to admit of any private provisoes and much less of any public debates upon them. Your Lordship well knows the need there is of as speedy supplies as this kingdom can furnish to put it in a state of safety and usefulness in all events; and therefore I cannot doubt but you will use your endeavours to hasten the return of the Bills; after which there must be forty days allowed for the return of the Writs, and it will be necessary that the Bills of Supplies should pass before Christmas, several of the additions to the constant revenue being then to commence. My Lord Conway arrived here this morning and is but just now gone from me. I promise myself much assistance from his advice and interest.

Earl of Anglesey to Ormond.

1678, August 5. London.—Having in concert with my Lord Chamberlain fully considered of what moment it may be to all the King's dominions and to our common safety and advantage that the design of planting of hemp and flax and making of cordage and sailcloth may be improved in Ireland and encouraged by the King receiving some of his revenue and duties in those species,

your Grace will receive from Sir Peter Pett, a person long versed in the study and examination of that affair, such measures thereof as may incline your Grace to give a rise to the work by the transmission of some Bill from thence in this concern, wherein by a subsidy of sailcloth and linen yarn His Majesty may be invited to expend the value thereof in money employed to purchase Eastland hempseed and flaxseed to send into Ireland to stock that country therewith, and artificers for this trade from Flanders and Germany and other parts, with their engines and looms and tools: and to be discharged of the penalties already incurred the people will be the willinger to such a subsidy. I do now only introduce my thoughts to your Grace in this affair; if it relish with you I shall second it with further notions for the promoting of it and obviating objections, as becomes your Grace's most humble and affectionate servant.

Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry.

1678, August 5. Dublin.—Now that the Bills and the Report of the Commissioners who are to take the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners' accounts are transmitted, those of the Council here have taken themselves to be at liberty and are gone to their country houses, so that if I should stay longer I should be in danger to carry the King's sword to church myself or stay with it at home. I therefore begin my journey to-morrow towards Kilkenny, and when I have stayed a few days there I purpose to go to Kinsale to see how the work goes on there and to give His Majesty the best account I can of it. I take my going thither to be the more necessary because there seems to be some difference in opinion betwixt my Lord of Orrery and our engineers, Mr. Robinson and Captain Archer, which I confess I cannot apprehend, much less determine without seeing the place. I wish I may be able to do it well then.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, August 10. Whitehall.—I have this day received three from your Grace, one of 1st of August by Colonel Fitzpatrick, one by Sir John Bellew, and a third of the 31st of July with the Bills for Parliament. I acquainted His Majesty that I had such a letter from you and the Bills, but the consideration of it is put off till to-morrow.

We conceived the peace betwixt France, Spain, and Holland concluded, it having been signed by the first and last, and we were made believe would be so by Spain; but here is this day come news that there hath been an engagement betwixt the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Luxemburgh, which hath been very sharp and lasted long. My Lord Ossory is said to be taken prisoner, but there is no certainty of it. The French acknowledge great loss of officers and many men, and that Monsieur de Luxemburgh was retired nigher Mons, and that they expected the Prince would attack them again the next day, unless he were

stopped by orders from the Hague, which orders our last letters told us were sent away then, but it seems came too late to stop the beginning, whatsoever they might do the perfecting of this attack. What influence this may have upon the peace in general I know not, but it discomposeth our measures here very much. The particulars are not as yet come of this action, neither do we know whether Mons be relieved or no. The wind hath been contrary, so that at present we have neither Holland nor Flanders letters; we hope by to-morrow we shall. His Majesty hath sent to command Colonel Hamilton's regiment out of France, but I hear not that the most Christian King is willing to part with them. Those of Monmouth and Douglas he hath disbanded. Monsieur Crequy hath taken the forts and burnt the bridge at Strasburgh. We are in great impatience to learn the particulars of the late action in Flanders. Our Parliament is put off till the first of October.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1678, August 10.—Since the writing the enclosed by Mr. Secretary we have received letters from the Prince of Orange, and several others from his army, which assure us that my Lord of Ossory is safe without any hurt, and the news of his being taken prisoner absolutely false. The English under his command did extraordinary good service, having beaten the French from a post they had taken. The Prince it seems had received the news of the peace being signed that night, after the engagement; which it is thought will hinder his attacking the enemy again the next day. His Majesty intends to spend the remaining part of this summer at Windsor unless news from abroad make him alter his resolutions.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1678, August 13. London.—By Saturday's packet your Grace had an account from several hands of the engagement the Prince of Orange had on Sunday was sennight with the Duke of Luxemburgh, and the resolution he had taken of attacking him the next day within his line. The account we have this day is that the Prince, having the next morning received advice from the States General that both they and the French plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen, had signed the peace, immediately communicated the contents of the letter to the Duke of Luxemburgh, and desired him to let him know how they were to live together for the future. When the Duke of Luxemburgh received this letter he stormed and ranted, saying the Prince of Orange was guilty of all the blood was shed, and it being impossible but he should have intimation of the signing of the peace it was a very great injury to his master that he should assault his army in the manner he did the day before. When he had thus vented his passion he wrote a letter to the Prince acknowledging he had the day before received intimation of the signing of the peace; but since His Highness had begun the hostility by falling upon His Majesty's

army he desired five days' time to consult his master and receive his orders. In the meantime he propounded a cessation of arms, which being consented to by the Prince, within that time he received orders from France to permit the Prince to put in what relief of men or provisions he thought fit into Mons and to treat for a cessation of arms of five weeks from Saturday last; which being signified to the Prince together with a condition that the Baron of Quincy should remain in those parts to fortify their posts they had made about the town, the Prince absolutely refused the condition, saying he would have the town left free and that both armies should at the same time march out of the field which way they pleased; which latter proposition of the Prince's being not consented unto nor absolutely denied, I leave your Grace to your more authentic correspondences for the better information in the point. But it is most certain that Mons is relieved, and that five weeks' time of truce from Saturday last is consented to by both sides in order to the ratification of the peace, which has yet been denied by the Hollanders, because the Spaniards have not yet signed the Articles. And the truth is they have no reason to do it, for there is no mention of the King of France's evacuating the towns in the Articles, the Ambassador of France only promising that within six weeks the towns should be evacuated, for which it is said Van Beuning, the Holland Ambassador, is much censured at home and like to be in disgrace for his thus hastily huddling up the peace to the disadvantage of his masters and their allies. The Duke of Monmouth is upon his journey for England, and when he arrives we shall have a more particular account of all this last action. In the meantime, for your Grace's satisfaction, I must tell you that I was this morning in the park with His Majesty when Monsieur St. Gile, the Duke of Monmouth's servant, (who was sent express from his master) came to His Majesty and gave him an account that, passing through the French army, he met with the Duke of Luxemburgh, who made great professions of service to the Duke his master, extolled his courage, and said he was sorry it was his own misfortune to be enemy to so brave a man; and then asking for the Earl of Ossory and enquiring how he did. Monsieur St. Gile replying he was very well, the Duke replied he was heartily glad of it, and the rather because the day before he had found him so brave an enemy. The whole of this gallant action was performed by the Prince's guards led by himself, and the King's subjects led by my Lord Ossory; the last of which were forced to quit the second post they had gained from the French by the cowardice of two German regiments, who, being to second him and finding that the French with eight battalions came on briskly to attack them who were but four battalions, their hearts so failed them that they retired, which my Lord Ossory was forced also to do, being not able to withstand so great a force, being deserted by the Germans, and therefore retired to the first post he had gained from the French, which he maintained and justified till night parted them against all the power they brought against him. And it is observable that the execution upon his party was very severe, there being not any

officer in those battalions of His Majesty's subjects that escaped wounding or killing, and the common soldiers were not much better treated. My Lord himself had his share of the danger, having received a shot in his headpiece and breast, but (God be thanked) without any hurt. We do not yet know whether we shall have peace or war; but let the issue be what it will this action has gained the Prince immortal honour, and it has given him so great reputation at home that those of his countrymen who before railed at him now highly applaud him; and the States themselves approve of what he has done. And now he is gone to the Hague. If he can govern the Councils there with the same success he conducted this engagement with the French it is hoped the war may yet continue. This engagement was so unexpected to the French that when Sir Leolin Jenkins told Monsieur L'Estrade at Nimeguen that the Prince was marched to the relief of Mons, he said it was impossible he could accomplish it; affirming he knew the country so well, and the Duke of Luxemburgh was so strongly posted, that if he had but 10,000 men and the Prince 50,000 it was impossible for the Prince to drive him out of his post. And when the Duke of Luxemburgh, being at dinner at a convent near the place where the engagement was, heard the Prince's great guns and was told that the Prince was making his attack, some of his officers that then dined with him rising up to go to their charge he bade them sit still and dine for he would answer for that affair. Some think we shall have peace, this cessation being thought to be a preluding to it, but others believe there will be more likelihood of war, because they conclude the reputation the Prince has got by this action will give him new power among the States to make them ashamed of the infamous peace they have been contriving in his absence. The more accurate politicians say that the French are very dexterous in avoiding a second engagement after they were baffled, and that by gaining time to hearten their men again they have got a considerable point; since by avoiding to fight now upon a disadvantage they will be at more leisure to complete their conquests in the winter by the strength of their great provisions and magazines when the Confederate army will be dispersed in their winter quarters and not able to keep the field in that cold season for want of necessary provisions in case the war continues. But what have I to do with the politics? I shall now hasten to give your Grace an account of your commands mentioned in yours of the 27th of July and 2nd instant which I received on Saturday. On Sunday I had a fair opportunity of speaking with His Majesty, which I so well improved that I got him at leisure to read both your Grace's letters, as also the copy of your Grace's to my Lord Orrery which you sent me enclosed. To the last he says that he so well approves of Mr. Robinson's draught of the fort that he finds no cause of exception than what I formerly wrote to your Grace and Mr. Robinson, and therefore would have your Grace pursue your first design with that addition only I wrote to your Grace of the new battery His Majesty proposed, whereof I wrote at large to Mr. Robinson. As to my nephew Cuffe's pension

His Majesty is graciously pleased to signify his pleasure to your Grace that he thinks fit to have it continued upon the Establishment, which I hope your Grace will think warrant sufficient to shew him all the favour you can therein, notwithstanding my Lord Lanesborough's pretensions, who would have jostled out the father as his Lordship endeavours now to do the son, if your Grace had not then protected him. And when your Grace considers the deplorable condition in which Sir James Cuffe has left his family in case they enjoy not his pension, I hope your Grace will allow them to be objects of your charity as well as justice, for my Lord Lanesborough's condition can bear with a little patience that which will ruin them. My Lord Ranelagh the last week told His Majesty that he understood the Commissioners of his accounts in Ireland had made a report in which there were several grave mistakes, and therefore besought His Majesty that he would please to appoint a Committee to examine them and hear his answer to the Commissioner's objections and make report upon the whole to His Majesty. The King answered dryly, telling him he should not have time to examine that matter till his return from Windsor, and then he must send for my Lord Essex who was out of town. This day his Lordship and Sir James Shaen have been close locked up in consultation to prepare against the day of battle. When His Majesty read the first part of your Grace's letter to me, wherein mention was made of Sir Robert Hamilton, he excused Sir Robert and said he had carried himself towards your Grace with great respect; but when I desired him to read on he said not one word more in his justification. There is one Epinetus Cross,* of the County of Cork, who has those three months past been endeavouring at Court to procure a grant for his life of Sheriff of that County, and offered £500 to those that would procure it for him; which temptation begot him several advocates who persecuted Mr. Secretary Coventry about it but with no success. At last he engaged a great fair lady in it (who does not use to be refused anything she asks) who sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry about it, as the King's pleasure it should be done; upon which Mr. Secretary spoke to his Majesty about it, demonstrating to him how insignificant things of this kind would render the Government, how unprecedented it was, and how impossible it would be for the Chief Governor there to give an account of that government wherein Sheriffs had so great a share of the *Posse Comitatus* and the receiving of the King's money. [The remainder of this letter is wanting.]

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, August 13. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 30th of July, together with that from your Grace and the Council, I have this day shewn His Majesty at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, where, after a long debate, after having advanced the reasons in your letter with all the arguments I could, yet I

* Epinetus Cross was Sheriff of Co. Cork for the year 1679.

could not prevail but that His Majesty hath commanded me to press you afresh to think of some expedient how the revenue may be raised to the complete sum of £300,000 a year. Our next consideration was about what time the Parliament should be assembled, and after diversity of opinions and reasoning, His Majesty, before he would take any resolution, resolved that I should write to you to know your opinion of the time, in respect our Parliament beginneth in October and when it will rise it is hard to prognostic. There is no fixed resolution when we shall enter upon consideration of these bills. We complain that you sent not copies of them, which [it is said] was always the custom, so I am enjoined to take care of getting them copied, all but that of settling estates, which we are more tender of. My Lord Chamberlain and Lord Treasurer both said they would write you their minds. His Royal Highness declared his opinion for the Act of Settlement, and to be very well satisfied in it. Our news from abroad mendeth, and our particular apprehensions for my Lord of Ossory disappeared, who is neither hurt nor prisoner, but safe, and with much honour. Mons is relieved by consent, and it is universally acknowledged the greatest one day's action hath been done this war; but whether it will cause a peace or war I cannot tell. We are sending over more forces, and whether we shall please the Parliament as much if we had done it sooner I know not, but I dare aver we have angered the King of France as much.

His Majesty goeth to-morrow to Windsor, and intendeth to stay there the best part of September. I shall follow him within a day or two. Mr. Hyde is gone over to the Hague to look, together with Sir W. Temple, to our concerns in this critical conjuncture; and possibly the ugly treaty the States have signed may not find a ratification at the Hague so soon as it hath done at Paris, whither the treaty being brought in the morning, the ratification was sent back that evening. The Prince, upon the cessation agreed, is gone from his Army to the Hague, where I hope he will be as victorious, it being both his and our concern that he should. I suppose this will meet your Grace upon your journey. It concerneth you to look to your sea coast, for I am confident there are intrigues laying in all three nations, and I pray God all be as still water in Scotland as it is reported.

A Brief Account of the Conspiracy to place the Duke of York on the Throne.

The conspirators are chiefly the Jesuits, priests, politicians, lay brethren and votaries, formed into a congregation, which they call *de propaganda fide*, in confederacy with the Benedictines, as is since made apparent.

1. Their heads and directors are the Pope, the French King and his confessor, Lessius, the General of the Jesuits and Provincials appointed by him from three years to three years in England, Flanders, Ireland, Spain, etc.: The Archbishops

of Dublin* and Tuam, in Ireland, the Rectors of the Societies and Colleges at St. Omer, Watton, London, etc.

2. Their votaries, contributories, whom they principally boast of are the Lord Powis, Lord Peters [Petre], whom yet they pretend to have a great love to the King's person, and to be ignorant of what concerns his death———Witter gentleman, Lassels of the North. From one Worsley, a tobacconist, at Wild House, they promise to themselves £30,000 or £40,000, and from two other virgin sisters, £20,000.

3. Their Agents and Instruments:—

1. Assassins: 4 unknown Irish ruffians gone to Windsor. Comers and Anderson monks set out Augut 23rd thither, but returned Friday night and seen in Gray's Inn walks. Honest William, alias John Graves, Pickering, servant to the Monks at Savoy, 4 Jesuits in Ireland, to kill the Duke of Ormond.
2. Poisoners: Dr. Fogarty, Coleman, Sr. George Wakeman.
3. Incendiaries: Blundell and his workmen.
4. Trained and disciplined leaders and commanders, of which they boast to have 2,800 in readiness, to head their cutthroats, sufficient to massacre 100,000 Protestants in London only.

5. Missionaries: English, 400 drawn out of all their foreign seminaries, which are left almost empty; of these sent:—

1. To Scotland, nine.
2. To Ireland, several at several times.
3. The rest into several counties and places in England.

6. Banker: Worsley, the goldsmith in the city; another of that name in Covent Garden prepared the silver bullets for Honest William and Pickering.

7. Many traders, tobacconists, goldsmiths, merchants, etc., by whom managing their stock they make great improvement of them.

8. Trustees, by whom their houses in London, lands and inheritances are secured, Sir Henry or Sir Roger Martyn and others.

Their whole yearly revenue they boast to be £70,000, besides £100,000 in ready money, and £15,000 promised to G. W., and £1,500 to Pickering.

1. The general design of these confederates is to reform, that is, in their sense, to reduce by the sword (all other ways being found ineffectual) all people of His Majesty's dominions to the Romish religion and obedience, without giving any toleration at all, as they have practised in Bohemia and other hereditary countries of the Emperor with desired success to their great enrichment.

2. To effect this the family of the Stuarts are (by the sentence of this Society) condemned to be cut off root and branch, and namely the King, Duke of York, and Prince of Orange, because they have not answered their expectations,

* Peter Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin 1669-1680.

nor given them any hopes that any of them will comply with this, their design. Henry III. of France, though always a Papist, and Henry IV., though he turned to them, were both assassinated on this very reason.

3. They design in the first place with all speed to remove the King's person, and if they cannot take him from his kingdom, to take his kingdom from him, as they boast they did from his father.

4. The Duke of York they intend to put to further trial, and notwithstanding his sincerity to their religion and affection to them, of whose body Bennyfield his confessor is, if he comply not effectually; and to this design they will remove him also, after they have made use of him and his title as far as they can to raise massacres and rebellion thereupon, to destroy the Protestants and introduce foreign force to support and complete their design in Ireland and England.

5. They have sent twelve missionaries to practice against the Prince of Orange, his person and affairs.

6. The conquest and subduing His Majesty's dominions.

I. Ireland to be subdued to the tyranny of the Pope.

1. By a general rebellion and massacre as formerly.
2. By commissions from the Pope and his general and arms already given out.
3. By a Popish Nuncio already there.
4. By assassinating the Duke of Ormond.
5. By betraying the Irish garrisons.
6. By the assistance of the French King, to whom the Pope hath given that kingdom for his son or brother.
7. By money sent and promised to be sent, to

II. England and Scotland:—

1. By opposing them mutually to themselves; I mean each to other.

2. By opposing them to foreign force when distracted and weakened by civil war and rebellion, which they seek to raise by:—

a. Questioning and denying most impudently the King's legitimation, and so his title, styling his brother King James in his lifetime.

b. Confuting the oath of allegiance, forcing their novices to renounce it as odious, heretical, etc., assassinating their own friends that write for it, to deter all from favouring or defending it.

c. By disaffecting as much as they can the King's friends and best subjects against his person and government, by

1. Charging him with tyranny and designs to oppress and govern them by the sword, exposing his best and most valiant subjects to be needlessly wasted and slain in the service of the French King or against him.
2. Exposing, deriding, aspersing, and declaiming against his person, actions, Parliament and Councils, and especially scoffing at his security and confidence in them etc.

d. By discovering and disclosing His Majesty's counsels.

e. By misreporting affairs and raising false news.

f. By disaffecting His Majesty's allies, Holland, Spain, the German Emperor and Princes.

g. By disturbing and destroying our trade.

Endorsed:—A general brief account of the conspirators and conspiracy, extracted for the most part out of the papers of August 13th, 1678.

. . . .

Ormond to Earl of Anglesey.

1678, August 14. Kilkenny.—Yours of the 5th inst. found me here removed from all who are skilful in things relating to trade, so that Sir P. Pett's proposals concerning the planting of hemp and flax and sailcloth and introducing a trade of those commodities into this kingdom must rest till my return to Dublin; only in preparation to it I have sent the papers to my Lord Chancellor, who is nearer Dublin and can consult men of understanding in such things. I am very much pleased with the notion and hope to be satisfied that it is practicable. This I beseech your Lordship to say to my Lord Chamberlain and Sir P. Pett.

I hope your Lordship is satisfied by my Lord Ranelagh and his partners, because I have not of late heard either from those that act here for them or from your agent about it. You will see by the account transmitted how they say your business stands. If there be anything for me to do to serve you I shall be found most ready.

Ormond to Lord Chancellor Boyle.

1678, August 14. Kilkenny.—I do not doubt but your Grace has all that the last letters out of England could say. There is matter enough for reflections upon the separate peace made by Holland with France; God send us to make the right ones and to act accordingly. I sent your Grace a large packet, the work of Sir Peter Pett; some part of the despatch I have kept by me. I am better satisfied with the notion than I am yet able to comprehend how it will be reduced to practice. To a man of my talent in things of that nature it seems very dangerous to change a settled revenue to which the people are used to another that must be experimented, at least without the full concurrence [of] the Farmers. But whatever can be done in this must be by transmission, and so we shall have time to advise with the skilful.

Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry.

1678, August 16. Kilkenny.—You will have little to observe in this letter but the diligence and good fortune of the post that brought me yours of the 10th yesterday just I as had dined. We, of this family, you will believe, are as impatient as you were

to know what becomes of Mons, but something more of them that attempted to relieve it. I cannot hope that there could be any more done about the Bills on Sunday last than the putting them into the hands of the King's Counsel-at-Law to consider of them with the help and direction of my Lord Chancellor, and then to report them to His Majesty at the Board; and if this be done it is well. The King's supplies will depend on the return of them, and I can see nothing that should slacken our endeavours to put ourselves into another condition of defence than we are in this kingdom or can be without supplies.

The regiment raised here for Colonel Dungan want nothing but arms and an enemy, and it is pity they should want either; for they are proper men and live in better order than I have observed any that have not been in action or regular garrisons; but if they come to be disbanded here I fear we shall soon hear of them in the mountains and highways, and here of all places they cannot be kept as part of the army. The Lieutenant-Colonel Dempsey has carried himself and governed the levy and the men since the levy as prudently as it was possible, and I believe him to be in all regards a very good officer.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, August 17. Blessington.—I must beg your Grace's pardon that I forgot in my letter of this day's date to give your Grace intimation that Sir Maurice Eustace being lately here, he took occasion to ask me whether I had sent any order about putting Sir Richard Bulkeley out of the Commission of the Peace, according to your Grace's directions. I told him that I had, to which he replied that he doubted your Grace had been misinformed concerning him, for he had inquired into the matter, and he found that Sir Richard Bulkeley went to his parish Church, as well as to the Conventicles, and he did believe that if your Grace knew so much you could not deal more severely with him in that particular than you would do with many others. I made him no return, but diverted the discourse to another subject. Now that affair stands thus:—I sent a warrant to the Hanaper to prepare a writ for the Seal to supersede Sir Richard Bulkeley; that warrant was returned me the same day that Sir Maurice spoke to me; but I have since forborne to put the seal to it, until I know your Grace's further pleasure therein; for I suppose your Grace's discourse to me concerning Sir Richard Bulkeley had been upon something that Sir Maurice had informed you.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, August 17. Blessington.—I have received the honour of your Grace's of the 14th instant, and I have read over all Sir Peter Pett's papers upon the project of hemp and flax. I am thus far of Sir Peter Pett's opinion that by a prudent management of the Act of Parliament, which we have already in this kingdom upon that account, a very considerable benefit may arise thereby

both to the King and kingdom; but Sir Peter Pett hath certainly very much mistaken his measures in making his computations according to the proportion of acres within this kingdom, wherein it is very well known what a vast number of acres we have of bog and mountain and of such a sort of land (viz., boggish and mountainous) which may pass for profitable land and yet will not bear hemp or flax. Nothing in my poor opinion hath given a greater discouragement to the linen manufacture than Colonel Lawrence's failure in his works at Chapel Izod. Either he must not have understood the trade or else he must be a gross hypocrite, for from his failure the argument is thus drawn to the disadvantage of that manufacture. If Colonel Lawrence could not support that small undertaking with all the advance that he had of money from the Government and the continual help of taking of his linen in very great proportions for the use of the army, how can it be expected that any great or considerable benefit may be raised by that manufacture. But notwithstanding the force of this objection I must yet believe that exceeding much more may be made by the linen trade in this kingdom than yet hath been done, and very considerable advantage by the cordage of the hemp; but I cannot as yet approve his proposition of shattering any settled established branch of the King's revenue for what is yet only in prospect and imagination. But as your Grace observes there will be time enough to consider all these difficulties before the second transmission. What your Grace's observer makes upon the state of the Farmers' accounts I shall, according to your Grace's directions, remit to Sir Charles Meredith and unto Dr. Topham; but I shall not presume to interpose between them, for I must confess my unskilfulness in figures.

This last packet will carry your Grace an account of a sharp engagement for the relief of Mons; but I find by letters from Whitehall that they have not as yet any true relation of that matter, and it is written doubtfully whether Mons be relieved or no. But by all letters I find that my Lord of Ossory had a large hand in that day's business, and it is said that he is come off very safe; but others write that he was taken prisoner but released, and I do not in the least doubt but he found the danger if there were any. I pray God in heaven bless him and protect him. What disadvantages this discourse of peace may bring us I shall not presume to foresee, but this certain advantage it hath, I hope, brought unto your Grace—that you have secured a son by it. Dublin hath very little news but what is brought by packet, and your Grace have all that to the full; it would be rude to repeat it. Our Lord Primate continues much as he was, rather worse than better. I hear nothing of the Dean of Armagh,* so that I presume your Grace may have some time to consider upon those matters. The Bishop of Kildare hath been ill †; he is now gone to Dublin for physic. I doubt he is not long lived; he is an honest gentleman. My Lord Conway and my Lord Granard are gone

* James Downhame, Dean of Armagh, 1667-1681.

† Ambrose Jones, Bishop of Kildare, 1667-1678. He died a few months after the date of this letter, on December 15, 1678.

together to the North as I do hear, for I saw neither of them. I most heartily pray for your Grace's health and happiness.

Postscript:—I find that your Grace has changed the journey of your progress. By letters which I this day received I am advertised that my Lord of Orrery hath a sharp fit of the gout in his hand and elbow.

Ormond to Mr. Ayre.

1678, August 19. Kilkenny.—I have seen yours to your son concerning the meeting that is shortly intended in the county of Leitrim for the choosing of officers among the regulars to govern them and would be glad they would choose such (since some they will have) as are best affected to quiet and to the government. But the truth is there has been such a change of that sort of people since I was last in this station that I know few or none of the active Friars, not having any of that religion near me that can assist me, those about me minding either divertisement or other kind of business. So that you will oblige me much in endeavouring to improve the interest you have gained in some of them towards a good election, or at least to get as true a character as you can of those that shall be chosen.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1678, August 24. London.—I had the honour of receiving your Grace's of the 14th and 16th instant this day, and though I have not half so much to write as I am sure your Grace will have from more authentic hands, yet I think myself obliged in the first place to pay your Grace my most humble and hearty acknowledgments for your favour in the despatch of my small concerns, your Grace's generosity and friendship even in those particulars giving me a demonstration of your inclination to oblige me in greater, and therefore my sense of it carries the proportion it ought to so noble a disposition. As for the Bills sent from thence, I doubt not but your Grace has from Mr. Secretary an account of their arrival. And though there are several persons whe came from thence with resolution to oppose that for the General Settlement, yet His Majesty has been so dexterous in his disposition of it that they are all mistaken in their measures, and to that degree that I am confident they will have no opportunity to make use of their design. For His Majesty has with great secresy put it into the hands of my Lord Chancellor (as the person best acquainted with the former settlement), who in this season of retirement into the country has called to his assistance Sir Edward Deering* and they both only have the perusal of it, while our countrymen grope in the dark and rail against the Bill, which they have never yet seen, with open mouth wherever they come. The fate of that Bill here is like to depend upon my Lord Chancellor's report to His Majesty, who will not be much concerned what success it has

* Sir Edward Deering was at this time a Commissioner of Customs for England and Wales.

there. For since it is intended for a General Settlement His Majesty seems contented with whatever resolutions the Parliament there shall take upon it. But we shall be much disappointed here if the Bills for the increase of the revenue do not pass; the addition which they shall make when passed being much short of the expectation they had; for if I am not misinformed they will not amount to above £37,000 per annum, where it was hoped they would arrive to £60,000 per annum. What is granted in subsidies will be looked upon as granted to the kingdom and not to the King, because the design of it is only to be spent there and to put that kingdom into a posture of defence, for we value not what comes not into our own coffers. As for my Lord Orrery's and Dr. Gorges' dissatisfaction with the intended Bill of Settlement, I suppose your Grace will be the less troubled at it when I tell your Grace that the reason of their dissatisfaction is thoroughly understood here, and consequently will not weigh much; though I confess they are very industrious in employing several instruments of several interests to exclaim against it.

I hope ere this your Grace has received His Majesty's letter for inserting my nephew Cuffe in the Establishment for the enjoyment of his father's pension; wherein as I do not doubt of your Grace's justice and kindness, notwithstanding my Lord of Lanesborough's interposition, yet I am as confident your Grace would exercise your charity too, if you were fully informed of the ill condition in which my brother Cuffe left his family and of the impossibility my nephew is in of subsisting without your Grace's favour to him in the continuing of this pension; the history whereof being too large for a letter, I leave it to my nephew to tell his own tale. The Holland and Flanders letters which arrived this day tell us that the Spaniards also lately refuse to ratify the peace upon the terms the Dutch have signed the Articles, because they are not only excluded from assisting the Emperor and the Confederates, but also from paying him the subsidies due before the Articles were signed by the States. Besides the King of France demands the countries of Beaumont and Bovines, to which the Spaniard say they will never agree; and though the States offer to make such provision in the wording of the peace that they shall not be obliged to a neutrality with France against the Emperor and their Allies, yet they say plainly they have been so ill treated by Holland, in their precipitation of the peace without their privity, that they dare not trust them. And I wish they had more confidence in us. This has caused so great a division in Holland that all but Amsterdam have declared against the peace; and they would do so too but that they are jealous there is a private treaty on foot between France and Spain, whereby they fear (by their own example) Spain will be taught to make a separate peace and give up all Flanders into the hands of France, taking in exchange for it Rossillion, Franche Comté and Perpignan. The apprehensions whereof give the Amsterdamers no small alarm lest Antwerp be made again the place of staple trade in Flanders. While thus each party are playing their game, the Duke of Luxemburgh is reinforcing his army (from whence no

detachment is sent to Mareschal Créquy, though the *Gazette* has mentioned it) and will certainly be too strong for the Prince and the Confederates if we do not send over a new supply of men, of which we have talked this week past, and orders have been issued to both horse, dragoons and foot to be in a readiness to embark this next week. And it is also said that there is a new treaty or league offensive and defensive agreed on between us and the States General for five years, but in the last I dare not be positive. It is also said that the French have not prosecuted the siege of Strasburgh, but have removed from thence three leagues to oppose the Duke of Lorraine's passing the Rhine, and have offered to forbear further hostility to the town and grant them the free use of their bridge again in case they will remove the Imperial Garrison they have among them, and admit the French officers into their town to buy of them such necessaries as they want; which they flatly refuse, renouncing any further confidence in France who has so barbarously violated their neutrality, and affirming their resolution of living and dying with the Emperor and his allies, with whom they have made a league offensive and defensive to which they will adhere.

The Duke of Lorraine being marched to pass the Rhine at Philipsburgh to enlarge his winter quarters on that side of Germany, it is expected we shall hear soon of an engagement between him and Créquy.

In my last I acquainted your Grace with the commands I had received from His Majesty to be present here at the next meeting of the Parliament, by which means I shall not be so soon in Ireland as I intended; but yet I hope to wait upon your Grace there soon enough to do my duty in Parliament, where and upon all occasions your Grace may be most assured that I will not fail in my devotion to your Grace. This day my Lord of Arran went for Windsor, where I intend to meet him on Tuesday next, whence I shall give your Grace such further account of affairs as I am capable of collecting.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, August 24. Castlemartyr.—The previous afternoon Mr. Robinson, Captain Archer and Orrery spent the time in agreeing on a model for fortifying Rincorran that might best answer His Excellency's two main ends, viz., the defence of the harbour by the lower batteries and the securing those batteries by fortifications that might resist such forces as an enemy's fleet might be able to land. After Robinson's departure on Sunday, Orrery was thinking on those particulars, and having resolved on what he thought best he called his son Harry, explained it, and told him if Mr. Robinson and Captain Archer did not propose something very like it and Orrery's distemper prevented him entertaining them thereon, he should do it for him. He was glad that on their arrival the lessening of his pain permitted him to discourse so long, and that what they propounded was like the plan he had resolved on. Having propounded some particulars which they

were satisfied were requisite if they could be compassed, they have come to a unanimous resolution of a plan to offer to His Excellency. He hopes it may be to His Excellency's satisfaction and thinks it all the ground already designed is capable of. In little more than the compass first designed for the crown work itself there will be the noblest batteries in the world, a good fortification landward, a citadel on the heights of the fortification commanding the lower batteries should an enemy enter, and a place of arms for eight hundred men that no ground around can look into, besides houses for arsenals, magazines, officers, soldiers, gunners, etc., all at near half the expense of first works designed and manned with half the men.

There are three more particulars to trouble His Excellency about at present, the pentagon fort having been laid aside.

(1) That the two small platt bastions to be erected in the middle of the Longsides of first intended crown work and the two half bastions at H and L may be enlarged proportionately to the two full bastions at M and N, for symmetry is not only graceful but here essential, since the said platt bastions and half bastions will thus be more capacious for planting cannon and receiving soldiers, and therefore Archer and Robinson assured him they will endeavour it and send him a rough plan on Monday and prepare a fair one for Ormond against Thursday.

(2) Had not the wall work of the two long sides of the intended crown work been already raised the citadel on north end of the fortifications might have been made stronger and more capacious than now it will be, for when the pentagon was intended it was necessary to draw inward the sides of the crown work to be defended by the faces of the King and Queen's bastion of the pentagon.

(3) The three believe that the lower batteries with their breast-works, etc., and the whole surround of the wall work of the fortifications ten foot high may be completed by the last of November if the work be pursued vigorously and the undertakers commanded to have hands and material sufficient.

Orrery hopes for his Excellency's approval of the plan. He wishes when the plan is drawn up, etc., and approved of by His Excellency, Mr. Robinson be sent with it to His Majesty to explain every particular. Mr. Robinson is the best for this and can answer any objections of His Majesty or his engineers. The violence of his pain is somewhat abated, but he cannot write his own name and begs Ormond's pardon for using another's hand to give this account, etc. *Abstract.*

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, August. Dublin.—I made a step hither yesterday to visit my Lord Primate, whom I find so extremely ill that I doubt he will scarce survive many days. I here meet Mr. Whitfield, who is within these two days returned out of England, discoursing with him about those Bills which were sent over. He told me that the King had laid by that Bill which was for the

Confirmation of the Estates of the Irish. I asked him what Bill that was, and whether the Irish Agents had presented any draught of such a Bill unto the King: he told me no, but that which we sent over from this Board. By this discourse of his it was easy to guess what a character he had fixed upon that Bill and under what notice he and his friends were used to represent it, so that I doubt they are making parties against it in all places. But yet I find that the gentleman is much deceived in his intelligence as concerning that Bill, for I am informed out of England that it is privately referred to the Lord Chancellor and to Sir Edward Deering to consider of it, because they are most versed in the former Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and that this is kept secret to avoid the troublesome applications unto the King about it.

My letters likewise tell me that although my Lord Ranelagh seems to undervalue the late observations upon his accounts, yet that in earnest he is under much trouble and that he intends to visit France before Ireland. Mr. Wilde is lately landed and was this day upon his duty with the Commissioners, which doubtless will be a great ease and assistance to Sir Charles Meredith and Dr. Topham.

I was yesterday told a pleasant story concerning Sir Richard Bulkeley, who being asked why he was put out of the Commission for the Peace, he made answer that he knew no other reason but that he denied your Grace a pack of hounds which you desired of him. I find that the gentleman is much laughed at for his wit and little pitied for his expulsion, for they now report that he used his authority somewhat tyrannically and influenced others in judgment besides himself. The world speaks very loudly to the honour of my Lord Ossory in the engagement at Mons. That attempt hath made a great change in the face of affairs; the Confederates begin now to think the French are not invincible, and it is now supposed that the French King will court that peace which formerly he would almost disdain to hearken to.

Postscript:—I have made some short return unto Sir Peter Pett, and likewise to my Lord Anglesey, about the proposal of hemp and flax, but withal I acquainted them both that nothing could be said particularly unto the proposal until your Grace's return, who I was very certain would very heartily advance any endeavours that might be for the advantage of the King's revenue and the benefit of this poor country when once you could be satisfied in any indifferent measure of the expediency of the thing.

Endorsed:—Received August 26th, 1678.

Ormond to Lord Chancellor Boyle.

1678, August 26. Clonmel.—Tho' I do not know how this letter will get to your Grace sooner than by the Wednesday's post, yet since I am to be in motion every day till I get to Kinsale I take this morning to own my having received yours from Dublin, I suppose written on Saturday last. Mr. Whitfield having gotten to himself a new faith and a new practice in religion I do not wonder he should give the Bill of Confirmation a new title, and by his favour a false one, as he restrains and appropriates it to

the security of the Irish, of whom yet many are honester men than himself; that Bill is disposed of as your Grace is informed.

In a former letter of your Grace's you mention the dissatisfaction of the Treasurer and Vice-Treasurer because they are not nominated to be Commissioners of Defective Titles [and tru]ly I think they have just cause; all that I have to say in excuse is that neither of them were upon the place or had a brother here to put [us] in mind of them as the Master of the Rolls* had; if they can get themselves put in in England I shall be glad of it, tho' I think theirs is not the hardest case in that Bill.

Since I came hither I was shewn part of a letter from Sir Richard Bulkeley to Harry Birne about his being put out of the Commission of Peace, wherein he owns the knowing of another reason for it than his refusing me a pack of hounds, and makes deep protestations, I think imprecations, against his having ever been at a Conventicle in his life; perhaps I shall send your Grace herewith a copy of that part of his letter. I confess I was never told he was but in the coach by Sir Maurice Eustace the day I came to Blessington, at which time I told Sir Maurice I would order his putting out of the Commission, and so that matter shall rest till I return to Kilkenny or Dublin. Then perhaps I shall call upon Sir Maurice to justify his information, which a Privy Councillor should not lightly give a Chief Governor and put him upon the disobliging any gentleman without infallible ground.

It is very possible my Lord of Ranelagh may think the air of France fitter for his constitution than that of Ireland at this time, for he has lately desired and had a new Licence of Absence, yet that may be that he may attend his accounts in England. My cousin Butler, the Tory, is at this instant on his trial, so three of the five will be despatched. I am not without fear that if the Primate should die very soon the King may be importuned for somebody not so fit to succeed him as the Archbishop of Tuam, who I have recommended, and have the King's promise for him by Secretary Coventry; at least if I should send no despatch for his promotion it is possible that of Tuam may fall into other hands than we wish, so that the surest way will be at one time to send letters for all the translations, and therefore I much desire to speak with your Grace as soon after the good man shall be dead as may stand with your conveniency.

Anonymous Letter.

1678, August 31st. Whitehall.—From the northern quarters we have an account of the new treaty concluded between the King of Danemark, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Bishop of Munster, for the carrying on the war against Sweden; by which it seems those Prince's thoughts are wholly set upon continuing the war on that side, although there should be a peace made on

* Sir William Temple was Master of the Rolls in Ireland 1677–1689. He succeeded his father in that office, having had a grant of the reversion in 1664. His brother, Sir John Temple, was Solicitor-General for Ireland. See note at p. 71 *supra*.

this. And at Nimeguen upon the proposal that was made there of a general cessation of arms, the Brandenburg minister said he was willing to consent to it with relation to France, but for what concerned Sweden in it he had no orders. On Thursday come sevennight the returns for the exchanging the ratifications of the late treaty between France and Holland expires, and hitherto the States have not given any orders in it on their part, but on the contrary seem resolved, and have so declared to the French Ambassadors at Nimeguen, that they cannot proceed to ratify till Spain have likewise concluded their treaty, which is only hindered by the new demands of the French, seeing without that they should miss their main aim, which was to make the barrier in Flanders by the restitution of those places to Spain; and as for the offer of the French to put those places in the meantime into the hands of the States, they have absolutely refused it. The States have finally with the good liking of the Prince of Orange resolved to reform 25 companies of foot and 25 troops of horse, and when that is done they will have left 60,000 men in their pay. This reduction will only affect the officers, for the common soldiers will be taken into such other companies as are defective. The ill posture of the Emperor's affairs as well in Hungary as the Empire makes the Princes of the latter extremely desirous of a peace and to press the Emperor very much in this point.

On Thursday the Parliament was prorogued by commission till the first of October. On Wednesday the Earl of Feversham parted hence for Flanders to command the King's forces, the Lord Howard of Escrick who had that trust being dead at Brussels and is very much lamented. This morning we have our Dutch letters of Tuesday last; they tell us that some of those differences that hindered the conclusion of the Treaty between Spain and France have been removed, the French having quitted the demand they made of Bovines and Argemont, and that the difficulties which remained concerned Beaumont, the Chastellnie of Aeth and the comprehending in the Treaty the Messinesses that are fled their country, which is stiffly insisted upon by the French and as stiffly refused by the Spaniards. But after all these are points which it's believed will not be looked upon by the parties of so great importance as to hinder the peace, which seems to be not only very much desired by the Dutch, but even by the Spaniards, whose affairs are certainly in the worst condition in the world. The letters we have this day from Germany say that the M. de Créquy had caused a manifesto to be published declaring war against the City of Strasburg, and thus he continued the $\frac{19}{29}$ instant at Werdt; the Imperial cavalry had passed the Rhine near Phillipsburg and the infantry was following. The northern letters say that the King of Denmark was highly offended at the loss of Christianstadt, the fault of which was laid upon his general Arensdorfe, who was put out of his command and would be tried by a Council of War. The Swedes army, which is stronger than the Danes, was advanced within two leagues of Landseroon, with design, as is believed, to attack the Danes

who are encamped near that place. Mr. Knight, the King's surgeon, and others to assist him are gone for Flanders to take care of the English that are sick there. The battalion of Monmouth embarked yesterday. *Endorsed* Anonymous.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, August 31. Dublin.—I received yesterday the honour of your Grace's of the 26th instant. What protestations Sir Richard Bulkeley hath made to Captain Birne of his never being at a Conventicle I cannot say, but doubtless Sir Maurice Eustace would not inform your Grace of an absolute untruth; but I cannot tell how Sir Richard should know that he was put out upon that accompt, or by your Grace's orders, for I never yet heard from him, neither did any of his friends make any application to me to understand the cause thereof. Perhaps he thinks himself above that; I wish he had as much innocence as he hath assurance.

I find by a letter which I received from my Lord Orrery that the engineers and contrivers of the Fort of Rincurran are at length agreed that they will go on with their crown work and let the great work alone till some better season. It seems somewhat strange to me that they ever differed upon that point, for they were your Grace's repeated directions that they should advance and perfect that crown work to secure the harbour and leave the other alone, for you did not design to make that fort a security for the kingdom, but for the shipping. I am glad they are at last come to a right understanding of your Grace's intentions. My Lord Primate was buried last night at Christ Church. I came hither to attend his funeral. I believe the successions which may depend upon this vacancy, if they be soon despatched, may prevent the imposing of any person out of England. I shall endeavour to wait upon your Grace at Kilkenny within few days after your Grace's return thither, but I am apt to believe that if the Primacy be secured there will be no great contest for any other Bishop, especially by that gentleman who is reported to be intended for the Primacy. I suppose he will scarce leave his preferment in England for anything in Ireland except the Primacy.

This last packet brings us no news; we are still where we were as to peace or war, and the resolve of that point depends (as my letters say) upon Mr. Hyde's return. The Duke of Bucks his withdrawing himself into France at this time seems somewhat mysterious; but I find that it is the opinion of some wise men that he is not in France, but is retired into some privacy for the cure of an ill distemper which the skilful say useth to be very troublesome about this season of the year.

I have nothing farther to trouble your Grace at present; all things here are very well, little or no company in town, and by consequence little business.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1678, September 8. Hatchlands.—Your Grace's of the 21st of August from Carrick I received four days since after my return

from Windsor, else I had communicated these your Grace's commands to Mr. Secretary Coventry, to supply which on Friday I wrote thither to my Lord Arran and desired him to do it; and while I was waiting upon His Royal Highness on Thursday last a hunting I read to him that part of your Grace's letter, to which he replied that Mr. Secretary Coventry could not give your Grace any account of the Bills, because my Lord Chancellor has them still under his consideration and has made no report of them to the King. By last Tuesday's packet your Grace will receive from Mr. Secretary Coventry a signification of His Majesty's pleasure concerning my affairs in law before my Lord Chancellor, to whom also His Majesty has been pleased to write himself about it. All I desire is that because my Lady Donegall has protested against her undertaking the further solicitation of them, being resolved not to leave Belfast till the next summer, that I may not be a sufferer by obeying His Majesty's commands during my attendance this next Sessions of Parliament; for the next day after I will take post for Ireland, and if I cannot be in Ireland before the end of the next term I will infallibly (God willing) be there before the term following, so that all I beg is a respite of the Judges' giving in their opinion and my Lord Chancellor giving judgment till the beginning of Hilary term. And I humbly beg your Grace's interposition in procuring me this favour, pursuant to His Majesty's signification of his pleasure to you by Mr. Secretary Coventry; which may fairly and legally be done, since this delay is occasioned by His Majesty's commands in staying me here, where I suffer also considerably in my other affairs in Ireland, and am also not a little mortified that I cannot be there to assist in the elections; but I hope, however, to be there time enough to promote the passing of the Bills. George Legge has a great mind to wait upon your Grace in Ireland, and desired me to acquaint your Grace that if you will please to favour him in procuring his being elected a member of the next Parliament he will infallibly be there and serve your Grace with his best skill.

Yesterday while I waited upon His Royal Highness at Guildford after his hunting, he was pleased to tell me that the peace between France, Spain and the States-General was absolutely resolved on but not signed, the Spaniards having left all matters in disputation on their side to be transacted by the States' Ministers at Nimeguen. He said further that the King of France was very angry with the King and waited now only for a fair opportunity to shew his indignation to purpose, and that he did believe we in Ireland should find the first effects of it. Upon this I took the liberty of beseeching His Highness to interpose his endeavours that the meeting of the Parliament there might not be delayed, that being the only means of putting us into a posture of being able to defend ourselves, being at present without money, arms, ammunition and ordnance. He promised he would do his part, and on Tuesday I shall wait upon him again and make bold to remind him of his promise, and shall also know of Mr. Secretary what progress is made, for I am to dine with him then at George Legge's

lodge in Hampshire, and by Saturday's packet your Grace shall have full information of all I can collect among them. When my Lord Arran waits upon your Grace he can tell you how dexterous of late Colonel Fitzpatrick has been to prevent any underhand intrigues against you here, for he has the full history of it, and will acquaint you with the good foundation the Colonel has laid. I suppose we shall now very soon hear of my Lord Ossory's return. When your Grace shall be pleased to communicate to me the result of Mr. Robinson's and Captain Archer's meeting with my Lord Orrery I shall further discourse upon that subject with His Majesty.

ORMOND to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678, September 11. Kilkenny.—About the time I was at Cork I had notice of our Primate's death; but having written to you concerning a successor when a vacancy was first believed to be near, I thought I might take some time to offer His Majesty my thoughts of the removes and promotions which I conceive may be for his service and the good of the Church upon this occasion. I remember I then mentioned the Archbishop of Tuam as the fittest person I could recommend, but it was upon a supposition that either the Archbishop of Dublin would not change his station or that there was, if not an incompatibility, yet much incongruity that a Primate should be Chancellor.* I have since not only considered further of it, but upon inquiry I find that both offices have heretofore been several times in one person, and I will presume to say there could be no time wherein it could be more allowable and necessary than now. Yet I am so far from retracting any part of the character I then gave of the Archbishop of Tuam that, in case His Majesty shall please to make my Lord Chancellor Primate (which I think it will be highly for his service and the Church's to do), I humbly propose that the Archbishop of Tuam may be removed to Dublin; which is a considerable promotion, and I have reason to believe will content him, because I gave him no expectation of any advancement. I do not conceive that in what I now propose I have changed my opinion, or, if I seem to have changed it, that it will be convenient to give my reasons for it. If His Majesty shall think fit thus to dispose of those two Archbishops, I then further humbly offer the Bishop of Limerick as very fit for the Archbishop of Tuam and Dr. Digby, now Dean of Kildare, for that of Limerick; they are both young men compared with other bishops, but elder by some years than the canon requires. The signification of the King's pleasure upon the whole matter requires the more haste, for that whatever should come to His Majesty by the vacancy of the Primacy will by contract fall to the Farmers of the Revenue, and it will be fit there should be a Primate as soon as is possible. The forms of letters for all these removes will be sent to Mr. Thynne lest they may not be readily found there.

* The most recent instance of the union of these great positions in one individual prior to Boyle's appointment to the primacy was that of Primate Loftus, in the reign of Elizabeth. Under Henry VIII. Primate Cromer held both offices concurrently.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1678, September 14. London.—I am just now come from Mr. Secretary Coventry's lodge, where, with all the formalities requisite, we have celebrated the day of Holyrood; yet amongst the crowd of glasses we did neither forget your Grace nor your business. I suppose ere this your Grace has received my Lord Chancellor's Apostiles (as he is pleased to call his objections) upon the Bills, which you are to look upon as my Lord Ranelagh's notions; for ever since the Bills have been lodged in my Lord Chancellor's hands his Lordship has been every day at Kensington, where he has been as assiduous to influence (as in other places) all he can against the Bills. Mr. Secretary is of opinion it had been necessary (as he thinks it still) that Mr. Solicitor-General, or some other person well acquainted with the Bills, had been sent over to justify them and answer all objections that are made against them; for then they had not been carried in hugger mugger, and His Majesty could not have received those impressions against them that are now laboured by many hands in private. He tells me he has sometime since given your Grace his opinion in this particular, as he had done also this day, had not the crowd of his neighbours whom he treated prevented him. All the discourse is now of peace, which I wish we may have our share of; but yet I cannot hope we shall long enjoy it, because the King of France is very angry with us, which we shall have the less reason to regard if we are unanimous amongst ourselves the next Session of Parliament, in the success whereof much depends. Sir Humphrey Ferrers, my Lady Arran's brother, was lately drowned and has left never a son, which gives my Lord Arran a fair prospect of a title to that estate;* whether this accident will retard his journey into Ireland I suppose your Grace will know from himself by this packet. My Lord Ossory arrived here this day and went immediately for Windsor.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1678, September 14. London.—My wife is returned from Windsor and finds herself much better for the few days change of air she has had there. She has taken her leave at Court, but because the doctors find the diet of asses milk agrees so well with her she must continue it some few days longer. I came from thence but last night, and met then with the news of Sir Humphrey Ferrers his unfortunate end, occasioned by a runaway horse that carried him into the Trent, where he was drowned before any of his servants could come in to help him. He left only two daughters behind him, which does very much afflict his father, for he has now none of his name left that have any relation to him. About Wednesday next I intend to take my leave of the King, and will then move him about the business Mr. Ferrers

* This is the "sickly young man" referred to by the Duchess of Ormond, in a letter dated May 13th, 1672, as the only obstacle to her daughter-in-law's inheritance of £3,000 a year. See Vol. III. of this series, page 452.

has so long desired, which, if granted, may be of future advantage to me. I hear the yacht is in Chester water, and I have written to the captain of her to remain there until I come, being informed that the dogger and the frigate are returned. My brother and my Lord Ambassador Hyde are just now gone in my coach to Windsor.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, September 20. Castlemartyr.—Encloses a letter brought by Mr. Robinson from Captain Hamond. Above twenty-five cannon are mounted on the platforms at Rincorran. A guard is necessary, and without a guardhouse, fire and candle the duty cannot be done, and the men in that bleak place will suffer much. Orrery hopes £8 or £10 will provide fire and candle for the winter though another company be added, which seems necessary. He suggests that a guardhouse be speedily erected in one of the places; it must stand when the fortress is finished; this will answer the present need and put His Majesty to no needless expense.

By letters from Limerick the writer is assured the late firing of the cannon in the King's Castle there has so shaken the tiles of the storehouse, the forge for fixing arms and some portholes, that it will need £10 to repair them, and cost more if not repaired before winter, as well as prejudice the arsenal there, of which he still took good care, and hopes his Excellency found it not ill looked to.

Orrery humbly begs Ormond's pleasure in those two particulars, and that what money is ordered for Rincorran, fire and candle may be given to Captain Hamon, and that for the Castle to Captain Barry Foulks (who commands under him there) or to Sir William King, Deputy Governor, to lay it out and account for it.

Abstract.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, September 20. Blessington.—Your Grace's of the 14th instant with my Lord of Orrery's enclosed came so late to my hands here at Blessington that I had not time to acknowledge the honour of the receipt thereof by the return of the same post. I shall not entertain your Grace with any observations upon the particulars of that large letter; your Grace's strokes take notice of the most considerable places. Doubtless his Lordship writes very rationally upon those grounds he sets himself to write you, viz.: That the Acts of Settlement and Explanation are their Magna Charta, and that nothing in either of them is to be touched upon. But I find nothing insinuated in the whole letter as to that which ought to be a proper question—whether it be not high time, and very reasonable and conscientious, that some provision should be made for the Innocents in Connaught, and for those nominees who were intended to be provided for by those same Acts, and (if I mistake not) were assured to His Majesty that they should be so, and who were prevented of all their just expectations to make the first room for adventurers and soldiers, especially when

the adventurers and soldiers have been so graciously and so liberally provided for as they have been, and where there is nothing remaining to supply those long expectants, but only the refuse part of the whole stock of forfeitures. I do not find the least consideration of this *quaere* debated in that letter, which his Lordship must needs know doth lie as an obligation upon the King, and hangs like a comet over the whole settlement. But interest too frequently darkens and overcomes all other considerations, and I am humbly of the opinion that, had some few deficiencies been provided for, this had been the best and most reasonable Bill that could have been offered to a Parliament, but I shall trouble your Grace no farther upon this subject. I do not find by those last letters out of England that our Bills there have made any farther progress towards a despatch than what they formerly had done, and I am apt to believe by their slow motion that the King is not willing to have a Parliament summoned in Ireland until he finds the temper and effect of their meeting in England. I pray heartily it may tend to His Majesty's and the Kingdom's advantage; but I understand by some letters that the absence of the Duke of Buckingham at that juncture of time, and his present favour and allowance to have his lodgings in Madam Nelly's house, doth not a little contribute to the jealousies and dissatisfactions of the people. I wish the King doth not find some ill consequence thereof at the next sitting of the House, but I must beg your Grace's pardon for guessing at those matters which concern me not.

Ormond to Lord Chancellor Boyle.

1678, September 21. Kilkenny.—Mr. Robinson going to Dublin to prepare himself for England to give His Majesty an account of the work at Kinsale and receive his final pleasure for the finishing of it, I have desired him to take Blessington in his way to inform your Grace what he is to shew and propose.

Yesterday I had a packet out of England; the letters bore the date 10th and 14th of this month. By those of the 14th I am told my Lord Chancellor had prepared objections or doubts which he calls Apostiles upon the Bill of Confirmation, and the letter which was from my Lord of Longford supposes they were sent to me, but I have not yet received them. I have reason to believe that my Lord of Orrery has furnished the materials, and that my Lord of Ranelagh and he, however they may differ in other things, agree in finding faults in the Bill, tho' for differing reasons, and I am morally certain my Lord of Orrery has transmitted his objections to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Speaker, the latter having told my Lord of Castlehaven that the Bill of Confirmation, tho' petitioned against by the Irish, would destroy the English interest in Ireland if it should pass; which he said not of his own knowledge, having, as he confessed, never seen the Bill, but by the character given him of it by others. Mr. Secretary Coventry, hearing so much discourse of this nature, wished in a letter of his that we had sent over Mr. Solicitor or some [other] person capable

of answering objections when the Bills were sent, and my Lord of Longford says he seems still to be of the same opinion. Upon this latter intimation I have thought it necessary to give Mr. Secretary some reasons why such a person was not nor like to be sent. I send your Grace a copy of my letter upon that occasion, that if anything in it agree with your sense you may improve what I have said, if you find reason to write upon the subject to any correspondent of yours. Our last letters say my son Ossory was gotten to Court; if he stays there we shall have all the assistance he can give us. But methinks we should not much need it when our intentions were to discharge our duty faithfully towards the King and his people, as I do not doubt but will appear clearly by that Bill when it shall come to [be] considered. [ ] is some argument of our good purpose towards the English that we could not think to obtrude upon a Parliament which must most consist of English and Protestants what is so destructive to them as this Bill is supposed to be, at least it is not probable we could design it. I am at this time under a slight indisposition which makes writing unpleasant to me.

Copy.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, September 21. Windsor.—I have four of your Grace's now before me of the 3rd, two of the 7th and one of the 11th instant. I have these five days been prisoner to my chamber upon suspicion of the gout, and so have not had the opportunity to discourse with His Majesty upon them, but I have had your letters shewn to him by Mr. Thynne, and as for matter of the companies His Majesty approveth of the advancement of Captain Hamilton; and for the proceeding with such as had promises in order, His Majesty judgeth it the most equitable way; but I do not think him so positive in it, but that it may upon good considerations receive sometimes an interruption. For the admission of the Earls Burlington and Ranelagh into the Commission His Majesty judgeth it reasonable, and the Earl of Roscommon telleth me he hath likewise a promise. Your bills are now in the hands of Mr. Attorney, and my Lord Chancellor told me he would himself write you his observation upon them. I am still of opinion that some able lawyer that had been witness to the reason of the compiling them would have been very necessary to the expediting of them. For the matter of Sir Theophilus Jones his son I have not my page by me here to enable me to speak fully to His Majesty upon it, but I go to London upon Monday where His Majesty will be upon Wednesday, and then I shall discourse it fuller with His Majesty; in the meantime you may continue the suspension of the letter till His Majesty have determined it. But if your Grace when you send your desires upon such matters would order the parties concerned to get letters drawn upon it the thing would be quickly despatched and be out of danger of being interrupted. For the letter you wrote to my Lord Longford concerning the other affair of Sir Theophilus Jones, there is a reference made to my Lord Treasurer, and my Lord Longford hath it; the like is done

in the business of the quit-rents to be disposed by your Grace. The business of the Bishops the King will determine it to-morrow, and I shall give your Grace accompt of it. Mr. Fanshaw hath been with me and if nobody give him worse counsel than I shall I do believe he will not contest with your Grace. I believe the Parliament will be adjourned till the ratification of Spain come and the towns evacuated, but this not having been declared in Council I cannot write it as certain. The marriage of the Earl of Plymouth with the Lord Treasurer's daughter is now consummated. The business in Scotland seemeth to take some heat, a captain of the King's having been lately killed by a party of Walsh his men and a gentleman on their side. I am to reiterate to your Grace what Mr. Thynne wrote you the last post, that His Majesty would have Dean Murray* preferred to some good deanery upon the first occasion—I suppose it is at the intercession of the Duke of Lauderdale. I shall not longer detain your Grace, but wish you a happy return to Dublin and continuance of health and prosperity.

Sir William Temple to Ormond.

1678, September 23, N.S. Hague.—Since my last to your Grace nothing has passed here but what you will have foreseen by that account which ended with Mr. Hyde's proposition here from His Majesty. The States excused themselves from any formal answer to it for some time, not knowing how the difficulties between France and Spain were like to determine. The French Ambassadors at Nimeguen seemed peremptory in their demands, especially of Beaumont and the Chastellenie of Aeth, but at length submitted them to the arbitrage of this State, as the Spaniards had late to His Majesty, and then Monsieur d' Avaux came post hither from Nimeguen to support his master's right upon this arbitrage, which was to be despatched in five days, so as to make way for signing the peace with Spain before the last day left for the ratifications with this State, which was the 21st current. But before they had been two days here a courier came to him with news that the King of France had generously remitted both points to the Spaniards without any arbitrage, so as the peace was to be signed on Saturday last the 17th. This was done, and the States on Monday resolved to exchange their ratifications with France, but at the same time to declare that it was upon the condition of their performing the Treaty with Spain; if not, this between them and France to be void. Before this they likewise resolved to give Mr. Hyde and me their formal answer to His Majesty's last proposition:—That though France had signed the Treaty with Spain, and theirs with France would thereupon be ratified, yet they declared to His Majesty it was with this resolution that, if France either refused to ratify their Treaty with Spain or to perform afterwards the conditions of it, this State should hold *le cas du dernier traité avec Sa Majesté pour escheu*

* Alexander Murray, Dean of Killala 1674–1701. He does not appear to have received further promotion.

and should be ready to perform the conditions of it. This was all the Prince himself proposed to bring it to here, since the game had gone too far to be recovered in any other manner, and the town of Amsterdam was against this itself. Upon the exchange of ratifications made at Nimeguen between France and this State on Wednesday, in pursuance of this answer from the States, Mr. Hyde em[barked] yesterday morning for England, and with him my Lord of Ossory, resolved to see your Grace in Ireland before any thoughts of returning hither. All that is now left to be done is to enter into guarantees with this State for what remains of Flanders, and to try if the progress of France upon the Rhine may be prevented by any steps towards a general peace; the first whereof, and which the Prince is much concerned in, has been made already by His Majesty's proposition at Nimeguen for a general suspension of arms, which France yet refuses to come to, upon the score of Sweden as they give out, but as others believe upon their own. I beg your Grace's pardon for this trouble.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, September 24. Castlemartyr.—Acknowledges the receipt of Ormond's letter of the 22nd instant, and reports that the commands contained therein relative to various works to be carried out at Limerick and Rincorran have been duly transmitted.

This letter deals mainly with the necessity of keeping a garrison on foot at Bantry fort to safeguard the Protestant interest in that region. The removal of this garrison had been decided on by the Earl of Essex in 1673, but on the consequences of such a step being represented to him he had countermanded his order. At the time of writing there were four files of Captain Hilliard's company occupying the fort, and one course would be to retain those and have the rest of the company march through Kinsale to Rincorran fort to strengthen the troops there. Or else one file might be drawn from each company at Cork (with an ensign and sergeant in charge of each) and these files might relieve Captain Hilliard's company at Bantry, the full strength of which latter would then be available for Rincorran, where a good number of sentinels were constantly required. Ormond's approval of one of these, or of any other proposal Orrery might deem advisable, is requested.

Abstract.

Ormond to Lord Chancellor Boyle.

1678, September 25. Kilkenny Castle.—I have your Grace's written, I suppose, the 23rd, though dated the 13th of this month. At the same time I received two papers of observations from my Lord Chancellor of England, the one made by himself, the other he knows not by whom. I gave them last night to be copied, together with his letter to me, that I might send them to your Grace this morning. I have yet only read the letter which your Grace will find to be very reasonable and civil; that and the

observations you may be pleased to impart to Mr. Solicitor, on whom we must rely to help us to make a fitting return to all; and I think no time ought to be lost, for I know not yet why a Parliament may not meet here time enough to pass Bills before Christmas, if the Bill of Confirmation be returned any way, and this I shall write as my opinion by the next post with some reasons to support it; but some others—as important in my judgment—I will reserve. I have had some discourse with my cousin Robert Fitzgerald concerning that Bill of Confirmation, and have found it the shortest way to convince a man of my own level of understanding in such matters to tell him that when the Bill shall be offered to the House of Commons they may refuse or address for alterations and amendments without offence, so they will not be so angry at the offer of it as to neglect the means of their own preservation by refusing the King supplies, and so we are for the present agreed. I have undertaken they shall have Christian liberty concerning the Bill, and he says they are villains that will stick at supplies. I find him principally offended at what Mr. Solicitor* and his brother, the Master of the Rolls,* will get by patents, which he computes at above twenty thousand pounds, and he will needs suppose the Bill and Commission in it to be calculated for that end. When I tell him no man is obliged to pass patents he is ready with the Munster replies of what your Grace's and my example will do and all the rest. This with other observations are without doubt transmitted and given for a reason why Mr. Solicitor was not so careful as he should be of the English interest. But still the liberty of taking or leaving the Bill answers most objections.

Copy.

LORD CHANCELLOR BOYLE to ORMOND.

1678, September 27. Blessington.—As soon as I received from your Grace that book of objections against the Bill which came to me at Kilkenny and had perused them, I desired Mr. Solicitor to give me his observations upon them, which he hath done in the enclosed paper. I presume to send them to your Grace, and with them the objections themselves; not but that I remember your Grace hath a copy of them (for your Grace was pleased to give me notice thereof), but because the observations refer to some particulars as they are marked in the enclosed original letter. Your Grace may reserve the observations by you, for they are a copy; and you may be pleased if your Grace think fit to return me the objections because you have a copy of them already. I have said nothing of these observations to my Lord of Orrery, nor do I intend to do it until I know the result of the Bill in England.

This evening about five of the clock I received the honour of your Grace's of the 25th instant with a copy of the Lord Chancellor of England's letter to your Grace with two papers of observations upon that misinterpreted Bill. The letter is very civil and obliging, and the objections are somewhat modest; I wish it may meet with none more severe than those whensoever it is

* Sir John Temple and Sir William Temple.

brought upon debate, which I doubt from my Chancellor's letter that it is yet intended. I shall send them to-morrow morning to Mr. Solicitor; I presume they will take no long time to consider; but doubtless it will remain a difficulty not to be answered on this side the water that provision should be made for the innocent and, nominees, and yet that the deficient adventurers and soldiers and forty-nine officers should have their full pretensions according to their Magna Charta, as they term those Acts. It is the King's pleasure only that can determine that point, but certainly there are not materials enough in this country to satisfy them all. Your Grace has made a fair proffer, and if the King approves it not, there it must rest. The Chancellor's putting remainders and reversions into possession in a summary way was that which was easily foreseen by your Grace and by many of your servants would be subjected to great objections; but this was so vehemently insisted on by the Roman Catholic party that your Grace had no other way of avoiding their importunity and a seeming partiality but by making that clause extensive as well to the English as to the Irish; but this is easily remedied in England, if His Majesty shall think fit. But I engage too far and too suddenly upon a work which I doubt not will, upon further consideration, come better prepared for your Grace's judgment. I hear nothing of your Grace's intentions to return suddenly to Dublin, and therefore I purpose to remove thither some time this next week, as soon as I can, that I may have the better opportunity of discoursing with Mr. Solicitor upon this subject, and of observing your Grace's commands whensoever you shall think me worthy of receiving them.

By a letter from my cousin Fitzpatrick of the 17th instant he tells me that he is not likely to succeed in his business about the quit-rents, that the Lord Treasurer did once promise him very fairly and gave him great expectations of obtaining them for him or something else equivalent; but he is now of another opinion, and hath no great dependence upon his promise, and therefore desires to be at liberty to leave London as soon as he shall find it convenient, if your Grace have no service to continue him there this winter. That London is a chargeable place, and I doubt that Jack Fitzpatrick is none of the most provident husbands in the world.

I hear by letters that both the King and Duke are observed to to be very civil to the Duke of Bucks; very few pretend to understand the meaning of it, but very many raise strange conjectures upon it. Jealousies and fears have ever been the great disturbers of the peace and quiet of these kingdoms.

I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for the terrible length of my late epistles. I assure your Grace I do not naturally affect that kind of rudeness; I find no pleasure in it, but I do not know how to shorten them upon these late occasions.

Ormond to Earl of Danby.

1678, September 27. Kilkenny.—The work for securing the harbour of Kinsale being shortly to rest till the next spring, I have

sent Mr. Robinson, our engineer, to give His Majesty an account of what is done and further intended, and I have directed him to wait on your Lordship to inform you also of all that concerns that place. That fortification was begun by the King's command and for the advantage of the navigation of England as well as Ireland. But it was well understood that to carry it on to perfection the revenue of this kingdom would not suffice, and our confidence that His Majesty would call a Parliament here before Christmas was my greatest encouragement, not doubting but that Parliament would grant what would not only finish that fort but repair and fit many other stores and magazines that are empty and ruinous, as has been often represented. The Bills in order to the calling of a Parliament were transmitted the latter end of July, and though I suppose some time has been lost that might have been saved, yet I know not why it may not be possible to return them so that still a Parliament may be called in November to sit before Christmas. I know there are many faults found with the Bill for Confirmation and Settlement of Estates, and I know why some are more particularly concerned to find and aggravate them; the design and scope of it agrees not with their interest. Yet I am so far from thinking myself concerned in the defence of every part of it that I really profess that I do not understand it, but did and do rely so far upon the honesty and ability of the King's learned Counsel and Judges—all Protestants, and I think all concerned in some new interest—that I do not believe they would draw a Bill for the destruction of it. If they have, I am sure it will soon be discovered in the House of Commons, where there will sit many more Protestants than Papists—I think ten for one—and there it will be seen whether the general name of English be assumed to support private concerns or no. I use not this argument as if I thought it fit the Bills should be returned with any gross and evident partialities to any person or party, but to show there can be no danger that an English interest will be subjected to in such a Parliament, and that I conceive as the case seems to stand with us at home and abroad it will be better to hasten the return of all the Bills, though with some faults, than to delay it—because that even those who have been prevailed upon to mislike the Bill of Confirmation upon trust before they could understand it, do yet profess that whether they accept of it or no they will vote for His Majesty's supply, and because they may address for a retransmission of that Bill with such alterations as may better please them, and expect a gracious return from His Majesty, who aims at nothing but their quiet and just satisfaction by the Bill. I do not presume to judge of the inconveniency of a Parliament sitting in England and here at the same time, yet I should think that in five or six weeks which must pass before a Parliament can meet here, the Parliament there will have done much of their business or will be in a quiet way of doing it, or there will be a recess; in either case the Parliament here may sit or be separated without, I hope, any worse consequences than will follow the having of none.

I have chosen to offer His Majesty my humble opinion in this particular by your Lordship's means and favour, because you best

know the ill condition the revenue of this kingdom will be in, and how far it will come short of answering what must necessarily be done for the safety of it without supplies from Parliament.

Copy.

SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON to ORMOND.

1678, September 28. Whitehall.—His Majesty receiving daily informations of the growing insolencies of Walsh, the Scotch rebel, and his accomplices in all parts of the borders towards England, to the infinite scandal of the Government and to the danger of the public peace, if not timely suppressed, His Majesty has thought fit to give order for the effectual dispersing all those seditious meetings, to seize and apprehend the principal heads and ring-leaders of them, and in case of flight to pursue them even into England or Scotland respectively, as they shall happen to endeavour to save themselves. And because His Majesty suspects that being thus pressed they will at the last build upon a retreat into Ireland by the north-west of Scotland, his Majesty thinks fit your Grace should have this notice given you of the resolution he has taken in this matter, to the end your Grace may please forthwith to give order for a strict guard to be kept on all those passages between the north of Ireland and Scotland, for the apprehending any suspected persons, that upon the strict pursuit His Majesty resolves shall be everywhere made as well on the English as the Scotch side, if this Walsh and his accomplices shall attempt to escape into Ireland. I have called to my Lord Duke Lauderdale for a particular description of the person of Walsh, which I will endeavour to send your Grace with this if it come time enough.

ADVERTISEMENTS OF THE PLOT IN ENGLAND.

1678, October 1.—On Saturday night the Council sat until 12 of the clock upon the conspiracy against His Majesty, and did that night issue their warrants for apprehending of seven men said to be conspirators and their papers, and on Sunday letters were sent to the officers of the several ports for the stopping of one Conyers, the principal agent, who was said to fly. On Sunday, in the afternoon, the papers that were taken were looked over, and the most material ones reserved; and on Monday there was a full Council who, perusing some of the papers, found matter enough to ground warrants upon for apprehending others.

The prisoners taken were also examined before the Board, but whether they confessed or not is secret; yet they are detained prisoners, and their accusers which were of the conspiracy do not doubt making their charge against them appear. The discoverers are called Tonge and Oates, the latter whereof was in Venners Bussell, in Cheapside, and the former a country curate, but for the preservation of the King and country did among the rest counterfeit a villain, that he might detect them.

This day the King went towards Newmarket, but before he began his journey he ordered letters to be sent to the Lords

Lieutenant of the respective shires to take a speedy course for disarming all Papists in the kingdom, and to search their several habitations and seize all their arms and ammunition.

[Here follows an epitome of the account of the conspiracy, printed at p.p. 181—184 *supra*, under date August 13, 1678].

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, October 1. Whitehall.—These enclosed by the Council's order will excuse me from enlarging in this letter; and the indisposition I lie under, besides the turmoil of business we now are in—both forbid me any superfluous impertinency.

We have been these four days—morning and night—busied in Council about the information of this Oates. If he be a liar, he is the greatest and adroitest I ever saw, and yet it is a stupendous thing to think what vast concerns are like to depend upon the evidence of one young man who hath twice changed his religion—if he be now a Protestant. There will many things I believe appear in the papers of some men taken that will administer matter for noise, and some think a matter of this great consequence should have been *digested* somewhere else before it had been brought so openly upon the stage. It is now too late to be recalled, and be the matter of the information true or false, it hath given occasion to so many inquiries and awakened so many men and discourses upon a theme that people were but too eagerly concerned in before, that I cannot conceive it can pass over without drawing some great severity upon the Catholics or giving so great a dissatisfaction to the kingdom as will be attended with great inconveniency.

I find an objection made to your revenue bills as if they took away from the King as much as they gave by *explaining* of laws to his disadvantage that before were clear enough for him, but I am still of opinion you should send some such man as Sir J. Temple over, if you have any such, that the King and Council may be satisfied without admitting every particular man to a rehearing.

I pressed His Majesty the night before his departure concerning the bishoprics. He did not seem to make great difficulty, but I have caused the letters to be written out and sent to Newmarket where the Duke saith he will advance it all he can.

My lord of Ossory conducts another kind of battalion for Holland, having three Duchesses under his care.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, October 3. Dublin.—Since mine to your Grace of this morning's date the English packet is come in, and I presume your Grace's letters will be sent by this despatch. I do not find any extraordinary news but by one letter and in one particular; but finding my other letters to be silent therein, I shall take no further notice of it than unto your Grace (unless I find it dispersed

by some other letters), and because it seems material I shall transcribe to your Grace the words of my letter :—

"1678, September 28.—This day a Cabinet and close Committee of the Council sat both before noon and after noon upon information of a Jesuitical plot contrived and hatched in Ireland, concerning which some letters are fallen, as I hear, into my Lord Treasurer's and other hands; 'tis said that they intended to seize the King's person at Newmarket, and to subvert the whole government of Church and State. Some believe this is a feigned plot; others that there may be somewhat in it; but for my own part I know not what to say. One Dr. Tonge, a divine, (a troublesome man in Tangier) is informer.

This came to me from T. Sheridan, but no other letter (as I yet hear of) taking any notice thereof. I hope there is nothing in it. That which gives me great cause for hoping so is that I this day received a letter from Tangier from the Earl of Inchiquin, which saith nothing of it. I shall not trouble your Grace with any other letter-news which comes by this packet, for I presume your Grace has it all, and repetitions are not very obliging.

Postscript :—I received letters from my Lord Longford and from my cousin Fitzpatrick, and in neither of them a word of this news. Since my writing this letter I understand that a letter of this news was read publicly in the posthouse.

SAME to SAME.

1678, Thursday morning, October 3. Dublin.—I hereby return unto your Grace those papers you were pleased to send me to Blessington, with such answers to the objections as your Grace may be pleased to make use of, as far as they may be agreeable to your Grace's better judgment. That which particularly refers to one clause in my Lord Chancellor's letter, and is enclosed in that letter, your Grace will, I presume, return it to his Lordship by way of letter as he sent it to your Grace; the other answers are referable to the several paragraphs as they are figured in the objection. Mr. Solicitor and I were both at some loss as to the particulars of fees for the Commissioners, if they should be insisted on. The Commissioners are so many, (for they are twelve or thereabouts) and of such quality that it would consume a very considerable part of the stock to give them any allowance proportionable to their conditions, and would certainly be of some reflection if they should desire any; if there should be none allowed them it is to be feared that business would move but slowly, and might somtimes be neglected. This is the difficulty; but I think we are both of the opinion that it might be some indecency for the Commissioners at present to insist on any fees; if in the future upon the execution of that Commission there should appear any failure, it may, I presume, be remedied by some letter from the King, or by some other way of provision for those that shall attend the work, if it shall then be thought necessary.

I have desired the postmaster to hasten those letters to your Grace, because you may perhaps think it convenient to return some answer to my Lord Chancellor by the next Saturday's packet.

I received the honour of your Grace's of the 30th of the last month. If what your Grace writes therein concerning D. B. [Duke of Buckingham] should ever come to pass, we were in a great probability of being a very happy and well managed people, but I must confess I can foresee no other likelihood for it (for hidden fates are not perceptible) but that L. T. [Lord Treasurer] would be glad to be quit of him upon any terms.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1678, October 5. London.—Your Grace's of the 21st of Sept. I have received, and had likewise a sight of your Grace's of the same date to Mr. Secretary Coventry, who I perceive is not satisfied with your Grace's reasons for not sending a person over to justify the Bills, against all of which as many objections are made as people's malice and interest suggest to them. I am told from a very good hand that one of the Council who is always very busy in all affairs of Ireland (and therefore your Grace can safely guess at him) says that in the Bill for granting the addition to the revenue His Majesty will lose more than he will get by it, by having his prerogative clipped and debarred of those advantages he has now in his power to make in his revenue, which if he please to exercise it will amount to at least as much as this Bill will grant him. I have not heard of any particulars mentioned, and I have some reason to believe Sir James Shaen is the fomentor of this malicious notion. I have communicated to Colonel Legge the favour your Grace intends him as to his being elected a member of the Parliament there, as also the conditions upon which your Grace will do it, and as soon as I have his answer your Grace shall know his resolution.

Mr. Coleman was yesterday committed prisoner in Newgate. In the warrant for his commitment, treason and holding foreign correspondence are assigned for the reasons; though but some of his papers which were seized have been perused, it seems they afford sufficient matter against him. But these affairs of State I leave to Sir Robert Southwell, who is better instructed than I, to furnish your Grace with intelligence of this kind. The orders for disarming all the Papists throughout the kingdom, without exception of any, have been issued to all the Lord Lieutenants, and in this city my Lord Craven's directions in it have been vigorously executed. I doubt not but your Grace has had the same directions sent to you, and your Grace has need now to look sharply about you and make wary steps. My want of a cipher with your Grace since my brother Cuffe's death gives me no opportunity of writing freely, and I fear my Lord Arran, who sets out from hence early on Monday, will arrive there too late to give your Grace that account of the present posture of affairs which is necessary for your Grace's knowledge. My Lord Chancellor has given me some hope that my request in Chancery will not be denied, and I have accordingly directed my counsel to make their motion the first *seat* before the term. But if my Lord Donegall be in the condition I hear he is in, I fear he will save my counsel the labour, for which I shall be heartily sorry.

I hope long before this your Grace is got rid of the country disease; you have many obligations to be careful of your health, which for the good of us all may God long continue to you.

My Lady Mary Cavendish, who is now with us, commands me to present her duty to your Grace, and says she will write by Lord Arran.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, October 6. Dublin.—I shall not trouble your Grace with any accounts about the Plot. I am very sure your Grace's letters will give it you with all the circumstances. Some reality doubtless there must be in the thing, or mighty suspicion, for Coleman is confined. I presumed to send Sir Stanley Feilding to have a care of his guards, and to direct a commission officer to be still upon some duty; this I desired him to do without any noise, which I presume he did accordingly. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for moving out of my own sphere, but I supposed an error on that side was more easily pardonable than a misfortune that could possibly happen through neglect. I do not know whether your Grace will not think fit upon this occasion to come sooner to Dublin than your Grace intended, for though I do not apprehend the least of danger, yet I know not what misrepresentation might be made of your absence by some that do not love you. I heartily wish your Grace all happiness.

Same to Same.

1678, October 7. Dublin.—I had not the honour of receiving any letters from your Grace by this day's post, so that I have not any of your Grace's commands unanswered upon my hands.

This evening the good Bishop of Ossory* is buried, and I presume your Grace will now think it seasonable to consider of his successor. The place ought to be well provided for, and the Bishopric is not as valuable as could be wished to support of itself a person of such abilities and parts as may be convenient for that chair. This perhaps may put your Grace upon some difficulty of resolving upon the point. Upon the consideration whereof I humbly offer to your Grace whether the Provost of the College† might not be a fit person for your Grace's approbation; he is beyond all exception for his learning, his decent and sober conversation, and for his understanding in government (which rarely meet in one person), and he hath been a long dependent upon your Grace and your family. And that he might not be removed to his disadvantage he hath at present the Archdeaconry of Armagh, which is a considerable living, which he may hold by *commendam* with that Bishopric. He hath likewise the Deanery of Lismore. And that the College might not be unprovided by his removal, I humbly propose whether Dr. Dopping‡ may not be thought as fit

* Benjamin Parry, Bishop of Ossory 1677-78.

† Michael Ward, Provost of Trinity College 1675-8, Bishop of Ossory 1678-9, Bishop of Derry 1679-81.

‡ Anthony Dopping, at this time a Fellow of Trinity College, became Bishop of Kildare in 1679, and was translated to Meath in 1681.

a person for that great charge as any other whatsoever. He is a grave man and a good scholar. I presume he will be very well satisfied and obliged by this preferment, for the place is of very good value, and he hath a handsome temporal estate of his own, and then the Cure of St. Andrew's (a good living) will likewise be vacant for whomsoever your Grace shall think fit. This is that person whom your Grace was pleased to tell me that you would like some care of.

I should not have ventured to have named those gentlemen to your Grace had I known your Grace's inclinations to any other persons upon this removal, but I presume I shall obtain your Grace's pardon for this confidence, having no other design or business in this matter than the good of the Church, and the particular accommodation of your Grace's family, which in this instance ought, as I suppose, to be your Grace's concern.

Ormond to Lord Chancellor Boyle.

1678, October 7. Kilkenny.—I received so many letters on Friday and Saturday last, and was so desirous that my Lord Chancellor of England should as soon as was possible receive all the satisfaction that could be given him from hence upon the observations he sent, that tho' I intended to answer your Grace's of the 3rd, yet I found the want of time and my own weariness greater than I expected, and am put to beg your pardon for the omission. Whilst I was in expectation of what would come from Mr. Solicitor, my Lord Chief Justice Booth happened to be here, and I put him upon drawing something upon the observations to try how his exceptions would agree, without consulting one another, with the [Solicitor's], and I find that in substance there is no difference betwixt them, as perhaps he will let you see. I sent away the copy of Mr. Solicitor's paper without any material alteration, and so the whole matter will shortly lie before the King. I doubt not but your Grace is informed that my recommendations upon the death of my Lord Primate were consented to (as the King told the Duke), though the sending of the letters was delayed; for what reason I know not, but I will hope it is not upon composition with the Farmers to make profit of the vacancies. For besides other inconveniences I should be sorry it should be thought that Bishoprics might be without Bishops, from which ill men might make bad inferences in wanting them to die. Yet upon the death of the Bishop of Ossory I have by Mr. Secretary Coventry besought His Majesty not to appoint a Bishop to that see till he shall have received my humble recommendation. I send your Grace what I received by a letter of the 28th of the last from Sir Robert Southwell concerning a plot against the King's life and mine, for I have the honour to be singly named with him in the first information. Who may come in after I know not, but sure His Majesty was to be better attended than by me alone. I am confident there is an ill design one way or other in the contrivance. Your Grace will shortly have my Lord of Orrery's reflections upon it, and so I may spare mine and your Grace's further trouble at this time.

Same to Same.

1678, October 8. Kilkenny.—With your Grace's of the 6th I received the originals of the enclosed order of Council with many other papers relating to the plot which occasions so much discourse and such strict searches as are made in England. In obedience to that part of the order I have ordered Captain Brown with a squadron of the horse guards to apprehend Mr. Peter Talbot and convey him to the Castle of Dublin to be kept close prisoner. If he is not found there it will be a shrewd circumstance in the [ ], for I have been told ever since he landed that he is [so] infirm that he could suffer no ordinary way of being [carr]yed a few miles. But I should think he may be as [easily brought from] town to Dublin as he was from Dublin thither. However it is with him, he and his friends must excuse me if in such an occasion I am not over careful of his ease. What your Grace ordered Major Feilding was very prudent and necessary, as also your advice to me, which I shall follow, and be at Dublin, God willing, on Friday night. The other parts of the order shall be put in execution at more leisure, and with the advice of your Grace and as many more of the Council as can be gotten together. Some I shall perhaps take in my way with me. Hoping to see you so soon I shall now give you no further trouble.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, October 8. Whitehall.—I have not troubled your Grace a post or two, because I had nothing to write. His Majesty is still at Newmarket and like to stay for some time (as they that come thence say). He will sign nothing concerning the Bishops till his return; he playeth the same play as far as I can hear to the English one, the Bishop of Chichester being dead.*

We have much noise and we of the Council much business about a plot; would two witnesses swear but half that which one doth there would be enough to hang a great many men. Several are imprisoned, and very pernicious papers found which, whether published or not published, will produce great consequences. I hear Judge Reynolds is come, but have not seen him. I hear likewise Lord Orrery's papers are come over, but I cannot see, if the King come so late from Newmarket and the Parliament meet at its day here, there can be *leisurable* time enough found to make any long debates upon the Acts you sent over. I pray God the general peace make not an end of our particular one; in my poor opinion clouds of importance gather. My Lord Arran who went hence yesterday will give you at large a state of all things. I think it would be much to your Grace's service if you would spare him us again here quickly.

Postscript:—Being assured that Peter Talbot's letters come under the name of my Lord Viscount Mountgarret there is order to the postmaster at Chester that all letters so addressed be sent to your Grace to inspect them.

* Ralph Brideoake, Bishop of Chichester 1675-78. He was succeeded by Guy Carleton, who was translated from the see of Bristol.

GEORGE PHILLIPS to ORMOND.

1678, October 8. New-Hall.—I presume to acquaint your Grace that in obedience to your commands and instructions I have used all possible diligence for the destruction of the Tories of this country and for the discovery and punishment of their harbourers and abettors, of which I shall give a more particular and distinct account when I shall have the honour to kiss your hand. And having continually pursued them, publicly by the soldiers, and secretly by spies and costly intelligence, I met with an opportunity at last to do some good service. For on Friday last intelligence was given by a fellow (who was their tailor and whom I employed as a spy), and two of my brothers with five or six countrymen surprised two of them, whereof one escaped being wounded, the other they killed and I have sent his head to Derry; his name was Shane O'Cahan, the captain and leader of all the Tories in this country. I dare not compare him with Count Hanlon,* but certainly next to him he was the most dangerous and active rebel in Ulster; he hath been out these six years, and hath committed innumerable robberies and some murders. There are now only four known Tories left in this country, in the pursuit of whom I have employed some trusty persons, and do confidently hope within a short time to give your Grace a good account of them.

JOHN PARKER, Archbishop of Tuam, to ORMOND.

1678, October 8. Dublin.—I was never guilty of such a measure of confidence as to move your Grace for a preferment for myself, and if at any time I should have so far exceeded the bounds of modesty as to have become my own intercessor, it would have proved as needless as unhandsome, your Grace always preventing me with your goodness and kindness. But I have now assumed the boldness to become the spokesman for another (the Bishop of Killala), for hearing that God has been pleased to deprive His Church of that very good man, the Bishop of Ossory, I humbly beg of your Grace to think of the Bishop of Killala† for his successor; whom I know to be a very prudent, sober and pious person, a man of a public spirit, and who, I am sure, will employ both his time and his parts to the improvement of the Church of Kilkenny, the Bishop's house, and the whole See, and that to the greatest advantage they are capable of. I cannot say that I write this so much as by permission, having not consulted that gentleman in this particular, but know his mind so far that I am sure he would be glad to remove to a place of more comfort than that affords him where he now resides. My zeal to the Church of God, the good of the See of Ossory, and your Grace's service, are the motives that embolden me to mind

* Redmond O'Hanlon. Some account of this famous outlaw is given in Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii., p. 512-513, where he is styled the Irish Scanderbeg. He was shot in 1681.

† Thomas Otway, Bishop of Killala and Achonry 1670-1678. Translated to Ossory, 1679.

your Grace of that worthy person, who, I am confident, will employ all his revenue (as he has done hitherto) to public and pious uses. His own Bishopric is as good as that of Ossory, but he lies obscure in a remote corner of this kingdom, and is like a candle under a bushel. If he were removed to Kilkenny his light would shine before men. I humbly offer this to your Grace's serious consideration, and for this presumption earnestly beg pardon.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1678, October 8. London.—My Lord Arran went hence yesterday early and is this night with my Lord Chesterfield, will be on Thursday night with Thom. Cholmondly, and on Saturday at Knowsley, on Monday at Chester, and on Thursday sennight at Holyhead, where if the wind proves fair and the yacht be there ready for him, he resolves immediately to set sail for Ireland. Mr. Secretary desired me to tell your Grace that for your sake he already laments his absence, for he is of opinion he may in this critical conjuncture be of great use to your Grace; being very well with the King and Duke, and in good esteem with all men here. And therefore as soon as he has settled his lady and family there, it is his humble advice (as well as the judgment of all your Grace's friends that truly love you) that your Grace should send him back again, and well instructed in all affairs relating to yourself and the Government. My L[ord] R[anelagh] and some others are very busy and industrious to represent your Grace as very partial to the Papists, and though I am confident their malicious insinuations will never gain credit with those that know you, yet your enemies will make use of all tools and means to do you mischief. I hope your Grace has received the orders of the King and Council early enough to put it briskly in execution before the birds are flown, for from your vigour in this particular measure will be taken of your inclinations, and you will be reflected upon accordingly; all which will be prevented if you can lay that troublesome man up close and send the rest of his companions packing before the Parliament meets. This is not my sngle opinion, but the judgment of all those here who wish well to you and are concerned for your prosperity, which, at their request, I have presumed to represent to your Grace's consideration.

Mr. Secretary, I presume, by the last packet gave your Grace an account that the despatch of the letters he sent to Newmarket concerning the Bishops is reserved till his Majesty return hither. The Council are still busied in the discovery of the plot, and last night committed my cousin Langhorne prisoner in Newgate for treason. Whether they will be able with all their industry to dive into the bottom, God knows; but it is the general opinion that what they have already detected will make foul work whenever the Parliament meets, and there is one circumstance very odd, that (as is reported) several letters should come to merchants here from their correspondents in Venice, Leghorn, and Flanders, informing them that it was reported there His Majesty was

murdered, and they thereupon desire to know how it was done, and what change follows here upon it. Mr. Robinson arrived here yesterday, and during the King's absence has leisure to prepare his drafts and observations by the time he returns, which is not yet certainly known.

My Lady Mary Cavendish two days since was pleased to acquaint me with the fair prospect she has now of my Lord James obtaining the great match,* for the mother wishes well to it, and by her arguments has absolutely diverted her daughter from thinking any more of my Lord Ogle, and has infused so many objections against all other competitors that a fair way is now opened for your Grace to advance and fix your family if you will please to appear concerned in it; but what method you will please to take, either by writing to the mother or my Lord Suffolk, who is your professed friend, and has power with his sister the grandmother, she leaves to yourself. In the meantime she is of opinion that my Lord James' coming hither should be hastened, for the grandmother declares she will dispose of her at the twelfth year of her age, which will be in January next, and I know not any will stand so fair as Lord James, if your Grace please to give motion to it. This I was desired by my Lady Mary to write to your Grace, who will by my Lord Arran have a fuller account of this matter. This day I have prevailed with my friend Don Juan for some time (or at least till this storm is over) not to press on his pretension, in regard there has been no favourable report made upon the reference to that person who was able here to give most life to it, notwithstanding the obliging letter your Grace wrote in his behalf to him.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Ormond.

1678, October 9. Dublin.—It was very late last night that I received the honour of your Grace's of the 7th instant. It is not at all strange to me that those in England who should design His Majesty's death should likewise have the like purpose upon your Grace in Ireland, for your Grace's removal out of their way would make their attempt very easy for carrying on their business in this kingdom; but I am clearly of your Grace's opinion, if they had any such design, they did not limit it unto so narrow a compass; their projections used not to be so thinly laid. All that I have yet heard of it seems to me (if there be anything in it) but a continuance of the same design which was some few years since objected by Friar French against the titular Archbishop of Tuam. If the Council of England, upon farther inquiry, shall find the reality of the thing, I presume your Grace will quickly receive some directions out of England to secure that plotter on this side the water which is mentioned in the paper your Grace sent me. What observations my Lord of Orrery will make upon

* The reference is to a proposed alliance between Lord James Butler, afterwards second Duke of Ormond, and Elizabeth, only daughter of the 11th Earl of Northumberland, and Baroness Percy, in her own right. This lady ultimately married the Lord Ogle mentioned above, who was heir to the Duke of Newcastle.

it I cannot tell, but this I well remember that my Lord Inchiquin at his being here told me that my Lady Ranelagh had by her great importunity imposed this Tonge (who is now the informer) upon him, to go with him as his chaplain into Tangier, and that he proved a very unquiet person, and an intelligencer amongst them in that place. I find by your Grace's letter that you are not yet resolved upon a successor to the See of Ossory. If what I offered to your Grace, in my last to your Grace, prove agreeable to your Grace's liking, that Bishopric will be in a fair way of being made somewhat considerable; but if your Grace have any other person in your inclinations, if your Grace will be pleased to let me know him, I shall cast about which way some addition may be made to the value of that Bishopric for his more comfortable support. All that occurs to me at present is this—the Chantership of St. Patrick's is now void* and is yet in my gift; how long it will continue so I cannot tell, because of the letters which are expected over, but I shall for the security thereof give titles of that Chantership to Mr. Synge,† who shall resign them again when your Grace shall think fit for the accommodation of that person whom your Grace shall design for that See. This I take to be securest way of managing that affair.

The Tories about Monaghan grow very busy and insolent, as I am informed by letters from thence; I doubt the long nights will make them extremely troublesome in those parts.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678, October 15.—Yesternight I received the honour of your Grace's of the 5th instant, with copies of the observations and considerations upon the Act intended for the settling the kingdom and of the answer thereunto. I am this day preparing copies of them for my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Secretary Coventry, and shall forthwith wait upon them and give your Grace an account of my service. But upon perusing the papers, there being something that sticks with me, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace with it, that when it shall be objected it may receive an answer. The return to the first observation is of great weight, and were the objection only against taking away the remaining security liable to the satisfaction of the deficiencies of the adventurers, soldiers, and '49 officers, it might, to my understanding, be very satisfactory in this case to say that this security (if there be any left) is on the one hand very small, and not likely now to defray more than the charge of the several inquisitions; while yet, on the other, the persons liable to trouble from such commissions are very numerous, and their conditions on that score very uneasy, so that it were highly for His Majesty's and the kingdom's service that after so many years, and when much the greatest part of whatever should answer those ends has already been

* The Precentorship had been held by Bishop Benjamin Parry, previously Dean of St. Patrick's, during his tenure of the See of Ossory.

† Samuel Synge, Dean of Kildare 1679-1708—an elder brother of Edward Synge, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam.

discovered, the people's minds should be at rest, that they may without further terror improve their estates and by that the country. But the difficulty in this observation seems to me to be as much in transferring the security to the p[ ]ees as in taking it away from those three interests, and if so the answer given does (methinks) not come up to the doubt, for in that case the kingdom will be no more at rest than now it is. The persons only who are to have the benefit of the inquisitions will be changed (and that too from Protestants to Papists), but the condition of those now liable to this trouble will remain the same, and in consequence the hardships which the English interest will seem to have suffered may perhaps in this case be thought to be increased, because they will be put upon them without any good to the public to overbalance them. It may be my ignorance in the business may make this seem something to me, knowing yet nothing but what I find in the papers now received, and I hope your Grace will pardon an error of my zeal of omitting nothing that is for your service.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, October 15. Whitehall.—I have this post received three from your Grace, two of the 1st and one of the 8th instant; and, with the former, the answers to the observations and objections against the Bills, which I shall study as well as I can, against the time cometh of discoursing it. But our new Plot, or pretended Plot, (for as yet we have but one witness and none confessing), hath produced so many collateral contrivances of disturbing the government that I doubt it will not only busy the Council, but the Parliament also, a good while. To-morrow morning we expect the King here from Newmarket, when the Committee will give him an account of what we have found in this business. If you had Peter Talbot's papers doubtless many things worth knowing would appear, though perhaps not in relation to this plot; yet men that look for the philosopher's stone, though they miss that, yet find medicines to cure the itch and sometimes bigger diseases. I have not written to Newmarket concerning Dr. Parry because the King cometh so early to-morrow, but as soon as he arriveth I shall not fail to acquaint him with it, and present him with your Grace's desires.

Our news from abroad is very uncertain. Maestricht is not yet surrendered, as by treaty it ought to be, nor the ratification is not come from Spain as it was expected, and it is doubted whether it will. The French have passed the Maas, seized on Aix-la-Chapelle, have an army of 35,000 men, and threaten not only Juliers but Cleves; all in Holland but Amsterdam seem very sensible of their error in making so precipitate a peace.

The Duchess and Princess Anne we every day expect here, as having intended to leave the Hague yesterday. Our Parliament now draweth nigh, and if in these few days we can put things in a convenient order and method to calm then we are not such weak counsellors as the libellers represent us.

Ormond to Colonel Fitzpatrick.

1678, October 17, Dublin.—The last post brought me from you one of the 1st and two of the 8th instant. In one of the latter was the copy of my Lord Treasurer's report in your business. It seems to me to be a lean one at the best; but such as it is I will make all the use I can of it for your advantage, when it shall be seasonable for me to do my part with freedom and most usefully to you. Peter Talbot is prisoner in this Castle, and has been several times examined. Two things he drives at: The first to clear himself of the Plot, and next to justify or at least extenuate the crime of his being here upon the connivance I promised by your mediation and interposition. I remember you told me he wrote to you once or twice out of England, praying you to obtain my permission for his coming over. But I remember also I always refused it, and that on such terms as could not reasonably encourage him to come, and I am confident you gave him my answers in the same sense I gave them you. He says on his examination he employed nobody but you to me to obtain liberty for his return, which is manifestly false; for he sent his nephew Sir William Talbot to me, I am sure once, but I think twice, on the same account; and it falls out that one of the Council has witnessed that Sir William Talbot told him he had unwillingly undertaken the employment at the earnest instance of his uncle Peter, but that he was refused. Whence the inference is that he had rather you should bear the blame of the solicitation than his nephew; but you may forgive him, for he has been as little tender of some he had more reason to be careful of than of you. I am glad Sir Richard Reynell is there, and should not be sorry he would continue there; if I knew he would, he should hear from me; but I fear he will be come away before you receive this.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, October 19. Whitehall.—This will not be very troublesome to you, I being full of business, and under much indisposition. I have again pressed His Majesty about the Bishops, who promiseth to despatch it suddenly. I told him the argument of the Farmers receiving the rents in the meantime. For Bishop Parry's successor His Majesty consenteth that your Grace shall nominate whom you think fitting.

The Parliament meeting on Monday, and the Plot, maketh us very busy—God grant it to be to good effect. There is a great doubt whether the Spaniard will ratify the peace, which will make great confusion in foreign affairs, and the prospect is not over pleasant as to our domestiques. We have increased our Privy Council by the accession of my Lord Ailesbury.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, October 22. Castlemartyr.—My brother Burlington by the two last posts has enjoined me humbly to move your Grace

that a foot company might be ordered to Youghal; he tells me he has made the suit for it to your Excellency, and has desired me to be his remembrancer to your Excellency therein.

My wife has for above four months past been often assaulted with very dangerous indispositions, and though all her friends in England and here have earnestly pressed her to go to London, yet all I could prevail on her was to get a promise, if what the doctors sent her from thence did not cure her, she would then go thither. On Sunday last she was assaulted by another relapse, under which she lies at the present; and having found thereby that all our doctors here do her no good, nor what the London doctors have sent her, I hope to persuade her, as soon as she is able, to hasten to London where she will meet with abler men. I am therefore an humble suitor to your Grace for your order for the *Garland* frigate to take her in, and her retinue, at Cork harbour, and to transport her to Bristol.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1678, October 22. Whitehall.—By the last post Mr. Secretary gave your Grace an account of all occurrences here, since which time there has been nothing done in the affair of the Bishops—the more important affairs of Parliament having taken up most of their time and thoughts. Yesterday they met, and His Majesty and Lord Chancellor made the enclosed speeches, whereupon the House of Lords desired His Majesty to let them see the papers by which the discovery has been made of the Plot both against his person and government, to which His Majesty consented; the Commons likewise desired the same thing, but His Majesty told them he had already granted it to the Lords, so I presume there will be a conference between the two Houses, and a Committee of both Houses appointed to consider of that matter.

Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's body is now found, by which it evidently appears that he was first strangled and then laid in the place where he was found with his own sword in his body; whereupon His Majesty has issued a proclamation promising £500 and pardon to any of the complices that will discover the rest. We do not yet hear that Spain has ratified, but we presume the next letters will bring the account of it.

Postscript:—There is yet nothing done in the Bills.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678, October 23.—I had yesterday a discourse with my Lord of Anglesey, who professes great respect for you, and having never done anything to the contrary. He will tell you of the insufficiency of the Lord Mayor, who they say is negligent in his duty, beside another thing he informs me is spread—that the ammunition is kept in an insecure place, and with an inconsiderable guard. I think the man's friendship is not to be rejected, as long as it may continue without gratifying him in things unreasonable. My Lord of Stafford upon my giving the House the occasion falling

out naturally upon a motion relating to Ireland of your banishing priests and disarming Romanists, said that the Papists were strangely insolent in several places of the kingdom, naming Waterford and Dublin, where he averred that the Proclamations were pulled from the posts after they had been a second time set up; my reply was that what link-boys did (such I supposed those actors were if any) was not worth minding. I beseech you by your servant to let me know this matter, which, if false, you may *wife* such reporters without naming any here or in Ireland. Much of this comes from the Charlatan of Munster. I hear Peter Talbot and others are in custody; I doubt not but you will make their restraint as easy as is possible after their being examined. It is whispered that you seized not the papers of Peter Talbot which has been the course here of all that have been imprisoned by accusation. Be pleased to let my mother know we are all well and for a short time do expect my son's company.

Ormond to the Earl of Ossory.

1678, October 24.—I have yours of the 16th instant, and you will have under another cover some papers I thought fit for me to send to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and my Lord Treasurer; you shall do well to inquire how Mr. Secretary disposes of them now in his gait. I do not doubt but that they will come into my Lord Ranelagh's hands, and I as little question but that if he finds any error in them he will expose them, wherein though I am only concerned in the transmission, the calculations having been made by men of the better skill, yet I wish you would be inquisitive what may be said upon them. I have thought it needful, together with or soon after that less cheerful prospect of the state of the Revenue, to send the King my thoughts how he may bring his affairs here to the point he ought to wish; I send you both the letter and a copy of it. Before you deliver the letter consider with my Lord Chamberlain whether it be fit at all His Majesty should have it, and whether now or no, and proceed accordingly. If it be delivered, let the Duke see the copy as by my desire.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678, October 26. Dublin.—Your mother writing to you by this post I keep a longer letter I had begun for you till the next. Your sister Cavendish will tell you of a gentleman recommended to her as fit to be a governor to your son by my Lady Northumberland, and she says he undertakes the charge in consideration of the good opinion he has of our family, having refused the like employment with others. She will tell you his name, and how you will inquire after him, and where he may be found, if upon inquiry you shall judge him fit for the purpose. But if we fail of him, and that Sir Robert Southwell despairs of another he mentioned to me, then, as your mother advises, it may be better to pitch upon Mr. Forbes than leave the boy long without one under the care of Barrington, who, though he be a good young man, yet

I fear James will have but little reverence for him, and I believe he will soon get a habit of wilfulness, and be long before he be brought out of it. This is all I will say to you at this time.

Postscript.—The contrary wind has kept this letter till now, the 2nd of November, and whether it will yet get away or no I know not. We have had no letters since the 22nd of the last from London, and so know nothing of the proceedings in Parliament since the second day of its sitting; but I conclude it is a busy time, and therefore send no despatch to the Secretaries by this post. My Lord of Donegall died this morning, and Captain Edward Brabazon's lady is now at my door, I suppose to call for a commission for her husband for the troop that is fallen, pursuant to the King's command.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678, October 26. St. James's Square.—I beg your Grace's acceptance of my most humble thanks for the honour of yours to the King in my behalf. That, with your Grace's to myself, the reasons for the explanatory clause, the observations on a letter about the Bill for Confirmation of Titles, and two late proclamations came to my hands last night. This morning I got admittance into the King's chamber at his levee, and presented him with yours to himself; he received it very graciously, and having read it, bade me lodge those answers to the exceptions (taken against the Acts) in my Lord Chancellor's and Lord Treasurer's hands. I had before waited on my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Secretary Coventry with copies of what I had then received, but found they had likewise before received them immediately from your Grace. I shall strictly observe your commands about communicating such papers as shall be sent me to my Lord Longford. I took occasion this day (as also did my Lord) to acquaint several members with what care your Grace has used in that kingdom on this so pressing occasion, who were all extremely satisfied with it.

The discovery made by Mr. Oates is of that nature that it is equally difficult to believe it and not to believe it. The persons accused are some of them of that honour and experienced loyalty —the crimes so horrid and bloody—the number engaged so very great, and the series of the undertakings of so long standing that it is extremely wonderful how such men could engage in such designs, how it could be so long concealed, and how there should now be no more evidence on the other side. The accuser is so positive in his charge, so exact in all circumstances, so agreeing with himself in the whole, and each particular, and swears it with such assurance, that it seems impossible to be a fiction. The sum of his charge is that the Papists (especially the Jesuits and other Regulars) have conspired to bring in Popery by the sword, as being the only means by which it can be effected, and to root out the King's family as not fit for their turn; that they were the authors of the great fire of London in '66, in hopes to have raised a tumult in the city, and have had opportunity of killing the King; and since of that in Southwark, and that in Wapping;

that they have again projected firing the other parts of the town, in which action he acquainted the House what part each man was to bear, and what was designed for himself; that they have an army of 20,000 men ready listed and officered, and that all His Majesty's kingdoms are to have a share in this tragedy, for that a rebellion in Ireland and another in Scotland is promoted, and fitting instruments sent for each. He has named these for some of the persons designed for Ministers of State, and who have received Commissions for that purpose :—

Lord Arundel of Wardour to be Lord Chancellor.
Lord Powys, Lord Treasurer.
Sir Wm. Godolphin (the Spanish Ambassador) Lord Privy Seal.
And for Ireland, Mr. Coleman, Secretary of State.
Peter Talbot to be Lord Chancellor.

To be officers of the Army these he said have likewise Commissions :—

Lord Bellasis to be General. Lord Petres, Lt.-General. Sir F. Ratcliffe, Major-General. Jo. Lambert (prisoner at Plymouth), Adjutant-General. Mr. Arundel (son of Lord Arundel of Wardour), Commissary-General. Colonels :— [ ] Baltam [ ], Mr. Tho. Howard (dead), Mr. Losseis, Mr. Roper, Mr. Wintour, Captains :—Mr. Roper, Mr. Ratcliff (son of Sir F.), Mr. Medburne (a player), Mr. Carrell, Mr. Townely, Mr. Langhorne (a Lawyer of the Temple) Judge-Advocate, Sir G. Wakeman (Physician). And for Ireland these :—Mr. Rd. Talbot, General, Viscount Mountgarret, Lt.-General, Peppard, Esq., of Drogheda (the particular employment I remember not) :—

and in his charge affirmed that he had with his own hands delivered several of these commissions, and of others he had seen acknowledgments of the receipt of them, with professions of readiness to serve the Society of Jesus. He accuseth my Lord Stafford of keeping correspondence with the Provincials of the Jesuits, and being very instrumental in procuring contributions towards the rebellion to be in Ireland. And for the designed death of the King, besides the particular Jesuits and Priests he chargeth by name with it, he affirms that Sir G. Wakeman agreed for £15,000 to poison him, of which he has received £5,000 in hand, as he saw in their books of accounts, and adds that my Lord Castlemaine is privy and consenting to the murder, and said he was resolved to be revenged. There are warrants out for all those of this number that are in England and most of them in hold. I should very tediously trouble your Grace if I should add the several particulars which he is exact in; I suppose you have them from other hands. But most of these persons being but now accused, and at the Bar of the House of Commons, I thought it necessary your Grace should have some account of what strange scene is acting here.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678, October 26. Dublin.—I have yours of the 20th upon your return out of Holland, and have seen that you sent your

mother. I am not of opinion you should resign the charge you have in Holland; but I think you ought to contrive it so as that whilst I am endeavouring to free the estate that must be yours from debt, you bring not as much or more upon it; and as far as that employment will do that, I think it is to be waived. When you have a mind to be informed of the affairs of this place you must take the pains to be it sufficiently, and not venture your interposition in them without full information; if you do you will be under great disadvantage, and some will be glad to find you so. Mr. Secretary Coventry, Sir Robert Southwell and Sir Cyril Wyche are best able to assist you; but the latter will be at most leisure. I know you are not apt to undertake the reading of volumes, and of such consist what has been transmitted hence concerning the revenue, the bills, the Lord Ranelagh's accounts, the difference betwixt the Farmers; and the matters relating to the Plot; but your way will be to single out what you most affect to be perfect in, and from these persons you may have satisfaction.

Your son's governor is by this time dismissed, and he under the conduct of Barrington is, I hope, at Paris, where he is directed to take convenient lodgings for him, and to clothe him and his small train; perhaps you may have heard of him before this comes to your hands. I am by no means of opinion he should for any reasons be brought into England till he shall have past at least this winter at Paris, partly to redeem the time I fear he has lost at Orange, but chiefly because I would not have him appear as a pretender with disadvantages in a solicitation that I have my particular reasons to believe will not suit with my affairs, or with my inclinations, at least if engagements must be so soon entered into. And there is more than superstition in my aversion to young matches, how advantageously soever they appear to the world; and there must be something more than ordinary in it, when few of those designed conjunctions hold and fewer prosper. Let us in the name of God in this follow the steps of our fathers and trust to Providence. If the lady be free when she is fit to choose, and your son then fit to be chosen, no industry ought be omitted to gain so desirable a wife for him. But if she shall be disposed of before, one must be sought for elsewhere, and though no other could be found in England, I would go myself to seek one for him in another country rather than consent to change the name my family has borne some ages, I thank God, without blemish or reproach.

Copy.

Ormond to Earl of Orrery.

1678, October 26. Dublin.—I do not remember that my Lord Burlington by letter or otherwise has acquainted me with his desire of having a foot company at Youghal; but now I know it by your Lordship, I desire you would let me know what company of the whole army you think may be most agreeable to him, and it shall immediately receive a patent to march thither.

I am extremely sorry for the use your lady has of my service, and that of the frigate, upon the account of her transportation

for want of health. The warrant to the captain will go herewith, and it may be fit I inform your Lordship that the captain of the yacht has order to sail to Portsmouth, and that if you think that vessel may be more safer or commodious she shall have order to put into Cork and receive your commands there, as I shall be glad on all occasions to do here.

Ormond to Sir Cyril Wyche.

1678, October 26.—If I had told you that by the conveyance of Sir Robert Southwell I had sent my Lord Chancellor the returns made upon the observations he sent, and a duplicate to Mr. Secretary, it would have saved you the trouble of getting them copied for them. If the Parliament sit any time upon this meeting we have no reason to expect that leisure will be found to take the Bills transmitted hence into consideration. If that for the better Settlement of Estates were as you apprehend it, your objections were unanswerable; but I am assured that it will be found that it neither constitutes a Commission of Inquiry, but puts an end to all of that sort, nor appropriates the product of a Commission of Grace (which it does institute for an easy remedy to such as they think may need it) to the Nominees, but leaves it to His Majesty's disposal; an expedient we were fain to lay hold of, because we found it would be impossible in any reasonable time to agree upon a distribution here, where there were some of every interest to give their vote except the Papists; and that for the sharing of a fund uncertain in all respects, but that it was certain it would not be enough to satisfy the deficiency of any one interest. We hear of some more objections against those Bills, but unless we be as fairly and favourably dealt with as we have been by my Lord Chancellor, who sent us his remarks, it will be impossible for us to justify ourselves. Mr. Secretary Coventry [ ] says they objected against the Bill of Additional Revenue, that by some explanation in it there is as much taken from the King as is given him, which, though it pointed not to the clause or paragraph, yet it gave me some direction to find it and put me in mind that the objection was foreseen when that Bill was sent, and that I then endeavoured to obviate it; in order whereunto a paper is sent, of which I have lately sent a copy to Mr. Attorney, in whose hands I hear the Bill is, and you will herewith receive another copy of it and of my letter to Mr. Attorney. After I had written thus far I find you have already a copy of this last paper sent you.

But to return a little to the Bill for the Settlement of Estates. It is fit you should know, when it was under consideration here, there was not one of the Council that was not of opinion that unless some provision were made for the Nominees in some measure answerable to the hopes that were given them, and the assurance that was given the King that there would be stock enough for it, that interest would for ever haunt the settlement of other interests, and at one time or another perhaps bring inconvenience upon them. This was our temper then, when it could not be foreseen that in October following a damnable plot would be discovered.

[Some words are lost here] the case all the advantages assigned by that Bill to any of that persuasion are before the King and Council to receive such alteration as shall be thought fit. You will herewith receive a copy of my Lord Treasurer's letter concerning the present farm of the revenue here, with the return I have been enabled to make by the strict inquiry and report of the Commissioners of inspection.

Postscript :—November 2.—Though the easterly wind has kept this letter till now, and may keep it longer, yet the Commissioners of inspection have received so much contradiction from Mr. Gourney, who takes part with Mr. Ryder, that the despatch upon my Lord Treasurer's letter will not be ready till Tuesday. I was willing to receive all that could be objected against those who manage the Farm, that I might give once for all as certain an account of the present state of the Farm and of what is probably to be expected as the thing will bear.

Copy.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, Ocotber 29. Whitehall.—Mr. John Dwyer, of Dundrum, (who I suppose will be the bearer of this himself), hath made long and frequent applications to His Majesty by petitions and importunities to be restored to an estate in Ireland which he pretends to belong rightfully unto him. He says also that your Grace is well knowing and satisfied of the truth of his allegations. I can say that His Majesty hath great compassion of his necessitous condition, and hath therefore commanded me to recommend him and his case unto your Grace's consideration, that something may be done for his relief and subsistence, whether by restoring him to all or any part of his estate in due course of law, or by granting him a *custodiam* thereof, or by giving him some employment which your Grace shall judge most suitable to his talent and capacity. This is what I was ordered to write in his favour, leaving it to your Grace's wisdom and goodness how to provide for him.

Copy.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678, October 29.—We are so taken up with either the House or Committees as I have scarce time to think of anything else; the important affairs under consideration you will, I doubt not, hear from several hands. I spoke to my Lord of Essex about my son's pretensions which he said he offered to my Lady Dowager of Northumberland, but I find he is engaged for my Lord of Winchester's son. I will use all possible means in this affair, and if we miss we have the satisfaction of having used our endeavours. I wish I knew your desires about parting with your staff. I cannot believe my Lord of St. Albans could propose purchasing it upon his own account; I imagine my Lord of Plymouth may be at the bottom of it. If you will intrust me in this affair I will give you, I am sure, a just account of it. The promise you had of an English title may be got easily if there be desires of this nature, without lessening the price you may demand. I have not anything to trouble my mother withal.

Ormond to Sir Cyril Wyche.

1678, October 29.—You will by this post receive, first, my letter to His Majesty desiring his admittance of you upon occasion to give him such account of his affairs and service here as you shall receive from me; next, you will have the reasons why an explanatory clause is inserted in the Bill for additions on some duties made payable to His Majesty by a former Act. This is sent that you may know what to say to a suggestion raised that as much is taken from as given to the King by the Bill transmitted. It is true I had thought to have reserved the weakness of the King's title to what some affirm to be strong and clear, that His Majesty's parting with it might be some argument to make the Bill pass, but I am constrained to lay it open by the great boldness of projectors and calumniators who care not what they affirm, and offer to get into play or to detract from those with whom they do not hope to find their account.

The third paper contains observations made upon a letter of many sheets of paper sent, as I am informed, into England, pretending to show the unreasonableness of the Bill for the Settlement of Estates here, and the partiality of it to the Irish. I know not whither to direct you to [almost a full line illegible here,] but Mr. Secretary Coventry may perhaps help you, he having given in notice that it was gotten over; if not, I presume the author has too good an opinion of it to have it hid, and if it w[a]lk about you may find means to [set] it. This and the paper sent you from Kilkenny, which was a return to certain considerations of my Lord Chancellor of England, is what can be said from hence in justification of that Bill. In the last place you will receive some papers in relation to the Plot discovered in England, and to the part we have assigned us in it here, to be made such use of as you shall find occasion either in the Court or among Parliament men. If I cannot by this post send you all the papers relating to that and other affairs, you may have them or a sight of them by Mr. Secretary Coventry's favour.

I desire you would show my Lord of Longford whatever is sent to you and not to him, unless it be such things as I shall tell you are only for yourself.

Copy.

Ormond to The King.

Understanding by Sir Cyril Wyche that your Majesty was pleased to command him to continue there to attend your service in that Parliament, I conceive it may be of advantage to your service there that you would be pleased upon occasion to give him admittance and audience, which I had sooner proposed but that I was in almost daily expectation of his return. He has at this time nothing in particular to trouble your Majesty with from me, but if you desire to receive satisfaction in the matter of the Bills transmitted hence, and against some of which I understand great exceptions are taken, he will be able to give your Majesty an account of them.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, November 2. Whitehall.—Since my last to you my Lord Longford had a letter signed for the quit-rents your Grace desired, with the limitations prescribed by my Lord Treasurer in his report. It hath been signed these seven days, but just now as the post is going Mr. Berlue cometh to me from the King with positive orders that I must either stop it here or send to your Grace to suppress it there. The objections are, I hear, that it will cost the King great defalcations, which your Grace has disproved in your letter; but what I find they insist most upon is that the quit-rents of Englishmen are to be given to an Irishman; and that it was so my Lord Ranelagh said he would answer with his life. I told him that told it me that I thought my Lord Longford was as much an Englishman as my Lord Ranelagh, and that was all I could say to the matter. Having received the command it is my duty to acquaint your Grace with them; neither need I make any reflections upon the conduct of these affairs—they will be apparent enough to you of themselves.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1678, November 5.—Your Grace will here inclosed receive a letter from His Majesty directed to be sent your Grace by order of Council. The occasion of it comes from the enclosed examination of Mr. Oates, who has done the like service for a great many persons of quality here. Yesterday His Royal Highness made a declaration in the House of Peers that he would withdraw himself from all places where any affairs of the nation were agitated, and would no more be present either at the Committee of Foreign Affairs or the Admiralty. This has given some satisfaction, but not so much as I hear is expected from some of the House of Commons. These weighty affairs that are now on the anvil will not allow His Majesty time to resolve whom to settle in the Primacy and other Bishoprics, though he is frequently moved in it, but Mr. Secretary hopes he will now very speedily come to a resolution. He is indisposed and keeps his house which makes him not write to your Grace by this post.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, November 8. Castlemartyr.—This letter, which is very lengthy, gives an account of the state of things at Rincorran fort, and states that vigorous measures had to be taken to urge on the work of fortification. In this connection Orrery tells how he had assisted Captain Archer in maintaining discipline.

The following is a summary account of the progress made.—The upper and lower batteries are well nigh completion, and in a week's time it is hoped that the North end of the crown wall will be closed with a dry wall seven feet high, thus finishing it for the time being; by the same time the large guard-house is expected to be ready for the soldiers. There are twenty pieces of cannon

mounted on the lower platform, viz., 3 Demi Cannon, 6 whole Culverin, and 11 Demi Culverin. Besides about the place unmounted are 3 Demi Cannon, 4 Culverin, and 4 Demi Culverin. At Rincorran there are but fifty round shot all told; but in the old fort there are 283 shot for the whole Culverin, and 156 for the Demi Culverin, while in an old blockhouse have been found 42 Cannon of 7 shot, 168 for Demi Culverin, and 478 for whole Culverin. It is requested therefore that some Demi Cannon be sent, as also crossbar and chain shot of which there are none: that the wheels and axletrees for the unmounted guns be forwarded by sea, and powder too, the supply of which has run very low. The total expenses so far (advance money included) since the fortifications there were begun (27th February, 1677) to end of October, 1678, have amounted to £3,901 17s. 1½d.

Viscount Conway to Ormond.

1678, November 9. Portmore.—Since I came into this country I find the Presbyterians very unanimous in combining to set up Parliament men for our approaching Parliament who will act very contrary to the King's service, and this I have resolved to oppose, and doubt not to effect, if your Grace will be pleased to nominate a Sheriff for the County of Antrim that will be impartial and indifferent among us; of all which Sir Robert Colvill can give your Grace a more particular account. And therefore I do humbly propose to your Grace Henry Spencer, junr., Esq., to be the Sheriff, who hath ever been kept off; but is now willing to accept it upon my account and concern in this matter; and for any other consideration I have not the least in the world, so that I have stated the business clearly to your Grace, and humbly submit it to you to do what you please.

We are very much infested by the Tories, and if your Grace will be pleased to let Captain Eustace's company be relieved at Loughbrickland by half of Captain Butler's company, which is now quartered at Lurgan, so that Captain Eustace may return to Lisburn, from whence he hath been absent ten or eleven months, very much to their prejudice, and from Lisburn to be disposed of as we get intelligence of the Tories, it will be very much for the security of the country.

My ensign is now in England by your Grace's license of absence, which he desires to have renewed; I know he hath urgent business there, and I know he is wanted at Charlemont, especially since my Lieutenant-Captain Ball broke his leg. If your Grace would make Ensign Rawdon, ensign to my company, who lives in Charlemont, but is ensign to Captain Chichester, and make Ensign Coombe ensign to Captain Chichester, it might accommodate us both, for they are both good officers; and your Grace might be pleased to renew Ensign Coombe's license of absence without inconvenience.

Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry.

1678, November 10. Dublin.—I have been in expectation a good while to receive some directions concerning a regiment of

Irish raised here called Colonel Dongan's. At first there was no exception taken to it, and to do the officers right, they gave no occasion for any, the men having been as quietly raised and kept together as it was possible they could be. But now since the noise of the Plot, I have heard of some disorders committed by them; but I am confident, if there be any, they are such as at another time would not have been taken notice of; for no instance is given or complaint made, as I presume there would be if there were ground for it. However, in the apprehensions the English are, I do not wonder they should not like that that regiment should be amongst them, considering it is almost wholly composed of Irish Papists. It were to be wished it could be employed where it may be safe and satisfactory to make use of them in the King's service, for they are likely men and well officered; but if that cannot be, that they might be permitted and assisted to make conditions in some other service; for, if they should be disbanded here, for certain very many of the common soldiers would turn Tory, and be ready to become rebels, and what the officers may be prevailed upon to do by the instigation of the Popish clergy, now made desperate by their banishment, I cannot tell; especially when necessity (and that brought upon them by their abandoning the French service to come to their own King) shall pinch them. I desire you would lay this particular before His Majesty that thereupon his pleasure may be signified.

Copy.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, November 10. Dublin.—I have yours of the 29th of the last and 2nd of this; to the first all the answer requisite is to send you a copy of mine to Secretary Coventry concerning the regiment raised here, which consists of at least ten Papists for one Protestant, and one of the printed proclamations for disarming Popish recusants.

You will have found by a letter of mine written two or three posts since how my inclinations stand towards the disposing of your son, so that I think all now to be done is that the younger Lady Northumberland may not be disobliged in the manner of our desisting the prosecution, nor your sister discontented. I own the greatness of the fortune, and of the accession it may bring to the family; but the difficulty of obtaining it, the certainty that [it] will highly inconvenience you and I during our lives, and [the] possibility that the death of either of the parties without children may disappoint the advantage and yet leave the damage upon us, are invincible discouragements to me.

As to my parting with my staff, my age puts me in mind I shall shortly need a stronger, and yet I am not so feeble or in such necessity as that I will lay it down undecently or without a good compensation. The decency is in reference to the King, whose consent must be obtained by the purchaser, and for the compensation I will take no less than £15,000 ready money or sufficiently secured. I have yet for some time £5,000 a year secured to me upon quit-rents here; when my time expires it is given to

some others. If this could be secured to me for three years longer I would accept it; but then it must be still the purchaser's work to obtain it and find the means to satisfy such as are to come upon that fund when my payments shall end. Thus you may take my resolution in that matter.

Captain Francis Hamond to Earl of Orrery.

1678, November 11. Kinsale.—This night here landed ten or twelve Irish officers producing commissions from His Majesty, bearing date the 9th of February last, in the regiment of Colonel Dongan. The Sovereign, with myself, being concerned at such a number of Irish, and all acknowledge themselves to be Papists, sent for them to converse with them, and their answer was that they were commanded by the King to their commands. In the meantime I thought fit to have them detained until I hear from your Honor. The Sovereign will give you a larger account than this of mine; he has taken the names of them all. I desire your Honor's instructions how I shall proceed in such cases henceforward. The master of the ship does inform us that there is several more of such persons a coming over.

Postscript.—Capt. O'Bryen came in the same ship.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, November 11. Castlemartyr.—On Saturday last Mr. Kytely did me the favour to visit me here, and Mr. Edward FitzGerald of Glanegire, son to Colonel Richard FitzGerald deceased. They desired to see your Excellency's proclamation for disarming such as had not your Grace's license; which when they had perused they told me that they had no licence to keep fire-arms, that Mr. Kytely had only a case of pistols and a fowling piece, and Mr. FitzGerald a case of pistols and a fuzee, which should be delivered up. I am an humble suitor to your Excellency for your license for those fire-arms for those two gentlemen, who I assure myself will never employ them against His Majesty's service. Mr. FitzGerald, I believe, is a very discreet and civil person, and far from the turbulent spirit his father was infected with. And Mr. Kytely is married to the daughter of one whose memory I know is dear to your Excellency, and shall be reverenced by me as long as I live, whereby I am obliged in all fitting things to serve whoever is of that family. Mr. Kytely and Mr. FitzGerald have voluntarily assured me that if ever anything come to their knowledge which might have the least tendency to disserve His Majesty, they would forthwith impart it.

Josias Percival, Deputy Sovereign of Kinsale, to Earl of Orrery.

1678, November 11.—I have thought it my duty in the Sovereign's absence to give your Honor an account of a ship this night come in from Bristol called the *Friend's Adventure,*

Robert Maurice, commander, who hath landed here several Irish passengers who own themselves to be officers under the command of Colonel Thomas Dongan, producing commissions from His Majesty all dated 9th February last, who say they are come over by His Majesty's command, and their companies are in this kingdom, but cannot perfectly tell where. Their names I humbly crave leave to give your Honor at foot. The master of this vessel further saith that there are many more coming over. Not knowing myself qualified to confine them I have desired their stay till I know your Honor's pleasure, which they have promised. I expect the Sovereign's presence to morrow.* However, your Lordship's commands shall be observed by, etc.

Maurice Fitzgerald, Lieutenant to Captain Patrick Plunkett.
Maurice Roach, Lieutenant to Nugent.
Edward Maundeville, Lieutenant to James Purcell.
John O'Dwyer, Lieutenant to Major Charles McCarthy.
Dennis Collabane, Ensign to said Carthy.
Captain Garret FitzGerald, and man.
Major Charles McCarthy, man and two horses yet on board and the ship bound for Cork.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, November 12. Castlemartyr.—Just now I received an express from Captain Hamond and the Deputy Sovereign of Kinsale with these enclosed letters, to which I sent the enclosed answer. I humbly beg your Excellency's orders herein, and the rather because I am assured from London that none but merchants were to go out of England without passes, and that there are landed nine commissioned officers at Cork, who say they are also of Colonel Dongan's regiment which is given to Colonel Justin MacCarty, and these report there are many others coming over which belong to the regiment; so it seems there are more officers pretend to be of that regiment than will officer it, at least if it be as other regiments usually are. And now also all Irish Papists being expelled London and from ten miles about it, all that number of Irish officers which have for long attended there I am assured are hastening for Ireland. I wish there were a list of such officers as really belong to this regiment, that such might have all respect and others may not be sheltered under that pretence, especially till your Excellency sees how the Romish clergy obey and the disarming goes on.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678, November 12. St. James's Square.—All men here are so wholly taken up with the discovery of the damnable designs which have been hatching, that your Grace rightly guesseth in yours of the 2nd instant (which I have received) that there is not yet leisure to proceed in the bills depending from Ireland, and

* John Mountfort was Sovereign of Kinsale in 1678. Percival had filled the same office in 1671 and again in 1674.

my particular misfortune has been so great that for some time I have not been able to stir out of doors. The sickness and death of my wife have both made it indecent for me to appear and me unfit to do it, so that as to what progress has been made in the discoveries I can only send hearsay, which I am unwilling to do. I shall endeavour to recollect my thoughts and compose myself again to my duty in your Grace's service. It is clear by the account of the cash and arrears due to the Farmers at Michaelmas last (which I received with your Grace's) that the insinuations which my Lord Treasurer in his to your Grace mentions to have been made here were great mistakes; and it will be thence evident, I suppose, that the Farm is not in so ruinous a condition as is suggested. But if what I hear from Sir James Shaen may be credited, that there is a total end made with Mr. Ryder for all his interest, the affairs of the Farm will not hereafter meet with interruptions and discredits of this nature.

Earl of Orrery to the Sovereign of Kinsale and Captain Hamond.

1678, November 12.—I received yours of the 11th instant, and thank you for the account you therein gave of the officers lately landed at Kinsale. Doubtless such as are actually in command and have his Majesty's commissions ought on no terms to be stopped, but such as have not may be stayed till my Lord Lieutenant's pleasure be known. For those that say they have commands and know not where they lie it looks somewhat suspicious; and since they say they are commanded to their several companies, it were very requisite they should produce the order for it and their several passes, and also give an account where they have been ever since the 9th February last. If any such orders or passes be produced, I desire you to let me know particularly by whom they were granted, and when; for having heard that several are coming over for Ireland on this account I have this post written purposely to my Lord Lieutenant for his directions herein, which as soon as I receive I will communicate to you. In the meantime such gentlemen as you are not well satisfied with may be desired to stay at Kinsale till his Excellency's pleasure be known.

Ormond to Captain Mathew.

1678, November 12.—At length the King's commands are come for the apprehending and securing of Colonel Richard Talbot as General, and my Lord of Mountgarret as Lieutenant-General, and his eldest son who it was said should act in his place. Talbot was in the gallery when I received the command, and was immediately sent to the castle, and I shall this night send order to bring my cousin Richard Butler hither; but the letter taking notice of the old man's infirmity, I am at liberty to let him alone till he shall be in a better condition, and that I fear will be for ever, and yet in the state he is I take him to be as dangerous as his son. I am confident if Mr. Oates had been well

informed he would have rather named my cousin Ned. If you are near my Lord Mountgarret you will do well to set his mind at rest, and perhaps the best way may be by concealing all from him, if he be not already acquainted with it. My brother Fitzpatrick landed this morning; he and a letter from an understanding friend have put me in fear that I may be sent for into England, not as a delinquent, but as an adviser in great difficulties, which perhaps may prove the worse capacity. I hope it will not come to pass, but that I may find rest for some part of my life, tho' the times promise little to any man of reasonable interest or consideration. However, I wish you may be here as soon as you think you can be spared there. I desire you would see my cousin Richard Butler's wife and give her consolation in the affliction she will be in upon the account of her husband, and assure her I will write over what I hope will soon free him. She will pardon me if, to effect it, I represent him as a person very unfit for the employment he is charged to have undertaken.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, November 12. Whitehall.—This post will bring your Grace a letter signed by His Majesty in the behalf of my Lord Longford for the government of Carrickfergus and the other counties vacant by the death of my Lord Donegall. As for his troop, Mr. Brabazon hath made his pretences, and Sir Thomas Chicheley hath urged a promise from your Grace made him long since, and before the letter written in behalf of Mr. Brabazon. His Majesty saith he will leave the matter entirely to your Grace to confer it as you shall think fit. You know best your promise to the latter, and what the pretences of the former are. I shall not need to tell my relations to and long friendship with Sir Thomas Chicheley. Your Grace's promise will be a stronger and greater motive than anything I can say, and His Majesty told me he left it entirely to your Grace, and commanded me to tell you so. We are still upon the Plot, and the Lords in a hard debate whether to exclude the Catholic Lords there sitting in the Lords' House. This is very warmly pressed by the House of Commons who seem hardly to be pacified unless they are gratified in it. I believe no time has seen an alarm so universal in the nation as it is at this present, and as generally men expect the utmost severity from the Roman Catholics should they prosper, so I cannot find that much mercy is intended by them. I doubt not but before this you have received what I wrote your Grace by orders of Council for the seizing Colonel Talbot, Lord Mountgarret, and his son-in-law.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, November 12.—My last to your Grace of the 2nd instant gave you an account that His Majesty had commanded a stop to the letter written and signed by him in favour of the Earl of Longford for some quit-rents. I there told you the arguments

were used to dispose His Majesty to make that stop; but the day following, His Majesty, hearing the other party, was so satisfied with their reply that he hath commanded me to let your Grace know that he is willing the grant should pass upon this condition—that your Grace take care that no defalcations be due from His Majesty by reason of it, or otherwise not to let it pass. I told him your Grace had assured him that already, in the first letter you wrote to me concerning it, so I suppose your Grace is now at liberty to pass the grant. We have no news that will give me any great divertisement in writing, or you in hearing. The foreign peace looketh at nigh a conclusion. I pray God that we at home have as good a prospect of continuance of ours.

Ormond to Viscount Conway.

1678, November 12. Dublin.—The Sheriff proposed by your Lordship is appointed for the County of Antrim. I wish I had had your sense of others in that Province, for it imports the King's service to have steady and active men in those offices. Orders are given for the company you desire to be removed where you advise, and the exchange shall be made of the ensign for the accommodation of all parties and the good of the service, for I suppose their consent is to it. I have done all that was possible for me to free that province from the Tories; they have had as many of the companies as could be spared to hunt them all this summer, and if the country would have done their part, or if they had not played badly, much more might have been done than was, but now the fright is improved and all the kingdom is under one alarm. We do all we can not to put the Protestants into a negligent security, but into such a vigilance as becomes people of courage and sense; and to this method I shall desire your Lordship to apply yourself in your station, the occasion being offered by two proclamations already issued, and by a third that will be out this week for putting the militia into a way of usefulness.

I received this morning directions from the King for the securing of Colonel Richard Talbot, who was then walking in the gallery, and, I believe, expected with every post to be so treated. I immediately gave the Deputy Constable of the Castle order to take him into his custody where he now is. In the same letter I had directions to secure the Viscount Mountgarret and his eldest son. The father is 84 years old, and his son the weakest young man both in body and mind that I know living, without a guardian, if he may be said to be so who has a good discreet woman to his wife, yet I have sent for the young man—the old man's age and known infirmity securing him sufficiently.

I doubt not but your Lordship by this post will have all that passed in Parliament to the 5th of November. What the Friday following will produce in relation to the Duke is matter of great expectation, and upon which is supposed much will depend.

Sir William King to Ormond.

1678, November 15. Limerick.—I have in obedience to your Grace's commands gone along with Colonel Hervey to take his observations upon this place, and to view the present defects of the walls and the inconveniencies of commanding grounds without them, and have debated with him about the best and cheapest way of fortifying it, so as it may render it considerable for His Majesty's service and the security of the whole kingdom, as well from foreign as domestic attempts. He will present to your Grace's view the draught of its present state, and of several ways of fortifying it, which in my poor opinion he supports with very substantial reasons. But I doubt the estimate he has made of the charge is rather too thrifty than extravagant. Your Grace will examine the whole with that judgment and prudence that presides in all your actions. What further commands relating to this or any other affair your Grace shall at any time lay upon me it shall ever be my inclination as well as duty to obey with all readiness imaginable.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678, November 16th.—I had occasion this morning to speak to the King concerning my Lord Chancellor of Ireland. I find he intends him to be translated to the diocese of Armagh. He spoke very favourably of him, but said he was so taken up with the important affairs of Parliament that he had not time to think of anything elsewhere. I minded him of a report that in France many ships were fitted out, and that it is also said that ten thousand foot were drawing towards the sea-coasts over against us; that the time of the year was too late for any expedition in favour of Sweden; that Monsieur de Belfond, that in the year '66 was intended for a diversion to be made upon Ireland, was now in favour; and that, as I have been informed, the French Ambassador has given out that his master would see the Irish have the benefit of the peace the Catholics made with you. Upon these apprehensions of mine, I begged the King to find out means to know the truth as to matter of fact of these motions in France, and afterwards as he shall see cause to provide for the security of Ireland. I spoke upon the subject of calling a Parliament and showed both the King and Duke that part of your letter which mentions it; but they seem apprehensive of having one at the time this shall be sitting. Sir Thomas Chicheley says you promised him a troop. Mr. Brabazon, who, as I am informed, has captains' pay till he have one, does also plead for this vacancy. The King, I am told, will leave to you the decision. Every post I believe I shall write to you, though I have very little time by waiting on the House and Queen.

Viscount Conway to Ormond.

1678, November 16. Lisburn.—There is nothing in the world which I should not do to serve your Grace that lay in my power if I knew your will and pleasure; but when I did trouble your Grace

all perish in Ireland as we all do in England. Our plots are daily more and more discovered, which makes all sorts of people to rejoice at our calamities, and most people do come in duly to take the damnable Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, so as the Pope will be cast out of his chair of State, and his mitre, sceptre and glory will be fatally eclipsed, unless he now doth shew St. Peter's keys to lock and untie whom he pleases. These things, in affliction, I could not omit to acquaint you as flowing out of your distressed sister's heart, and remain your distressed and dolorous—A.W.

R. Barrington to Ormond.

1678, November 18. Paris.—The 16th my Lord arrived here in perfect health; but, the post parting two hours before, I could not write sooner to your Grace. I have provided my Lord with very handsome lodgings and a table at Genlis' house. I have given the best orders that possibly I could for his clothes and liveries; for both him and his servants were almost naked, unless some few things I bought them at Orange and upon the way to keep them warm. I hope my Lord will appear within three days or four at the most. I shall (with your Grace's permission) provide him with all things necessary for one of his birth and age. My Lord Ambassador being in England I intend his first visit shall be to my Lady Grammont, who I don't doubt but will in his absence introduce him at Court. This day I intend to pay Mr. de Langes his allowance and send your Grace (when you shall command me) his accounts and his acquittance. I shall not provide my Lord any other than a dancing master until I have your Grace's commands.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, November 19. Castlemartyr.—The writer gives thanks for the licences to Mr. Kytely and Mr. Fitzgerald, and for leave to his son, Broghill, for two months' absence from Limerick, and mentions the progress of the fortifications at Kinsale.

Ormond's commands concerning officers landing in these parts shall be observed.

The enclosed was written after some of the officers that landed at Kinsale had been with him: had they come to commands in being the case had been clear; but their affirming particulars they could not make out, their coming with commissions dated 9th February, 1677, as officers of Colonel Dongan's regiment and saying it was given to Col. Justin McCarty (though mustered by Ormond's orders as Col. Dongan's); their owning they had no employments but in expectancy, etc., looked suspicious. The officers' fierarms being stopped by the Customs can only be restored by Ormond's orders. Their condition, for persons who had left employments by His Majesty's orders, is very sad and he wishes they had pensions till sent to assist His Majesty's allies.

One of these captains, several weeks since the date of his commission, was levying men for the French service. Being taxed by Orrery he could not deny it, but promised, if called on, to leave the French service, which he has done. He is of good family, a younger brother.

Enclosed is an offer from Colonel Lacy, who may do good service if he is faithful. Captain Odell, High Sheriff of Limerick, had his sub-sheriff (though a Papist), murdered by some Irish whilst doing his duty; this may discompose the Sheriff's accounts. Odell and his brother Charles raised the troop of Militia, which Orrery's son Broghill formerly commanded. They should have commanded, but that they desired to be his son's officers. Orrery wishes John Odell to be captain, and Charles lieutenant of said troop.

The Mayor and some of the chief Aldermen of Youghal, Cork and Kinsale, say only one of the regular Romish clergy (named Grace) has given in his name to be shipped in those three ports, though this is the end of the time. Orrery thinks the settling up of the Militia necessary. When it was first formed, he had a blank commission to officer it in Munster, and so gained knowledge who were fit to command and raise troops and companies. In eleven years great changes have happened; many are dead, many left the kingdom, many then being in the Army could not be of the Militia (e.g., Sir Geo. Ingoldsby, Sir Peter Courthope, Captain John Jephson, etc.). Many then young are now fit for employment, as Lord Kingston, Sir Philip Percival, Ed. Denny, etc. Mr. Tho. Brodrick has offered to raise a troop of sixty horse among his friends and tenants. Those only with good interests are fit to command; if without skill in soldiers one or two knowing officers should be placed under them. He offers to send a list of names if permitted. It will be the work of the Militia to detect Titulars and Regulars who will not quit the kingdom, and those who have arms concealed after the day limited to bring them in.

Sir R. Hull (newly come out of the West) believes most of the Irish in those wild parts are too well armed and officered.

Abstract.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, November 19. Dublin.—I have yours of the 12th inst., but know not how the letters you just then received from me came to be so dated. I am very sorry you sent for James, and hope my letter to my Lord Chamberlain upon that subject, to which I must refer you to avoid repetition, will prevent his coming into England, which can only endanger his health, lose his time, and bring him to a place where he can learn little but to be unwilling to return. I am of opinion Mr. Henshaw loves his ease too well to undertake such a province, which he must either neglect or subject himself to much watchfulness, for the boy is come to the part of his age most to be watched. I never heard of Mr. Forbes being addicted to play; if he is inordinately so, it is a material objection against him. I had a

letter from Mr. Durell in recommendation of the other you mention; if he answers the character he gives of him I know not where you can chose better; but at this distance I can be no judge. There is so much, and that of so high importance, in agitation there that what relates to this kingdom can yet have no place in consultations. We have our difficulties to struggle with, and the fears of the English are really as much more here than there as the disproportion of the number of Papists, and it is no small addition of disturbance to them here to see a regiment of Irish on foot amongst them, and many officers daily flocking over. I have written to Mr. Secretary on the subject, and hope for some orders to direct me.

ORMOND to LORD LONGFORD.

1678, November 20. Dublin.—Your Lordship's of the 9th and 12th inst. were a full narrative of all that till then had passed in Parliament, but left us in much expectation of what would follow; but to spare as much of your pains as may be it will be enough that you write to my son Arran, or to me, for we are like to be together. For what passes here your Lordship is informed by the transmission of all public things to Mr. Secretary and duplicates to Sir Cyril Wyche. This is the day beyond which all the Titular and Regular Popish clergy in this kingdom stay in it at their own peril, and they will not find it so easy for them as heretofore to lurk here and evade the penalties that will follow; and this is also the [time] by which all Papists are to bring in their arms under the penalty of being treated as contemners of His Majesty's authority and persons intending mischief, and this likewise shall be inquired [into] with all diligence and strictness. Besides the regiment and guard of horse there are constantly three companies of the Militia of the city, consisting of two troops of horse, and, as I take it, two of dragoons; but I am sure of 2,000 foot, well armed, that do duty here, and orders are sent into all parts of the kingdom to put the Militia [into] order, and all the Protestants upon their guard. All this being done, my endeavour is to persuade them not to draw danger upon themselves by seeming to be afraid where, really, I think no fear is for the present, if they follow the directions given them, like men of care and courage. It is true [that if a] foreign enemy should land here, then I confess those we may now safely despise would be formidable, their numbers being great, and the affections of the generality (who have strong hands and weak heads) being bad; and therefore, when the time of discoveries shall be over, and the time of fortifying ourselves against the evils we find is designed against us by the restless contrivance of the worst of Papists shall be come, then I hope the securing of this kingdom will be thought of seriously, and prosecuted effectually, as the apparent danger it will otherwise be in, and the importance of it to the safety of England, requires.

Since His Majesty has left it to me to dispose of the troop late the Earl of Donegall's, my promise obliges me to give it

to Sir Tho. Chicheley if my inclination did not. His foot company he has given me the liberty to dispose of, and I shall place Captain Baxter, my steward, and a good old soldier, in the head of it. I have reason to believe my Lord of Orrery not only infuses great fears in the people of his province, but [also] distrusts of the Government as it is in my hands, and I do not doubt but he transmits them to be diffused in England. I will not go about to confute his inventions otherwise than by my actions past and to come; if those will not serve my turn I am silent.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, November 22. Castlemartyr.—Major Beversham's company in Kerry is quartered at Killarney, and at Glanarought. They lie in cabins, are much exposed, and as now quartered are but little use. Orrery advises their being quartered at Ross or Tralee, where they may lodge safe, and be some countenance to the poor Protestants, who are under great fears, some of them having come out of the country; and the rest will do the like (according to report), if it is not put into a better posture. Ensign Mead (by Mr. Becket, the muster-master), has reported there is but a quarter barrel of powder left at Bantry Fort for the garrison and ordnance. There is not either biscuit or any provision, and in the event of a rising it must be lost, being three days march from the nearest garrison. He suggests that three barrels of powder, with match and ball proportionate and one month's provisions and firing, may be ordered for them, and a convoy to guard it from Cork; else a fort of consequence and the only bar between the wilder Irish in Beare, and the English eastward of Bantry, may be in danger. The Mayors of Cork and Youghal, and the Sovereign of Kinsale, have certified that but two poor friars have offered to go beyond the seas, though several ships for France, Spain and Portugal have given notice of departure, and some were stayed to the 20th to carry over the clergy. He expects similar disobedience in the matter of bringing in arms by the laity.

Several English gentlemen have been lamenting their sad condition, several of their houses having been attempted to be forced in the night. The honester Irish gave them notice to send their goods into the garrisons: and a priest advised Orrery's brother, Shannon, to do the like, though his house be within four miles of Cork, where he is Governor, and strong with several English servants, well armed, in it. Though Orrery's house of Charleville has goods of value in it, with but four or five men servants, and is in much more hazard than Shannon Park, yet he durst not remove any furniture, lest he might alarm the country. Though none of the Romish ecclesiastics are gone out of the ports, two have come in, one from France, the other from Spain. He has got two of their letters and is in pursuit of more, of which he shall give his Excellency an account.

Abstract.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1678, November 23. London.—I have always had that real friendship for your Grace that I shall never be the instrument of communicating any information that comes to my hands without first acquainting your Grace therewith, if I find the province you are in makes you concerned in it. It is written from Ireland that the late proclamation published there for the Papists to bring in their arms gives them twenty-one days to do it, and that their use of firearms by licence is intimated in the same, which is looked upon as an advantage held forth to the Sectaries, and a warning to the Irish to hide and conceal their arms; whereas in the year 1663 the poor English were searched by surprises and their arms taken away and not restored to this day. It is written further that there are ten or twelve companies in one regiment there, and not a Protestant amongst them save Sir Richard Parsons and the Lord Blaney, that the most of the companies lie quartered at Rathcoole, Naas, Kilcullen, Castle Dermot, Carlow, and so to Kilkenny. My Lord Clanrickarde's son is in Connaught, near Portumna, and that there never were ruder villains on earth, and have been there ever since last spring. And one of the Council there hath said that there were officers enough amongst them to conduct an army, viz., eighty; that this crew is ready to head any rebellions, invasions or massacres that have been or are designed in this or that kingdom; that you are also there in Dublin in a manner unguarded, and the city never more swarming with Irish; and that the powder house is a full half mile from the town (with a guard not of twenty men each day), where the whole store for the kingdom lies. These things are written with the highest asseverations for truth, and with so much apprehension of danger, that they intimate inclinations to send away wives and children, but for fear of discouraging and weakening others to the prejudice of the Protestant interest. It is added that to help out all, there is now there the dullest fool that ever was for Lord Mayor, old Captain Ward,* and everything to the Irish their hearts' content. My Lord in these circumstances your Grace's wisdom will give you better advice than I can; but I wish the Militia of English and Protestants were as well settled as I saw it, when once I attended His Majesty's service in that kingdom; that Dublin and other garrisons and the store house may be so secured that the Protestants may not be a sacrifice to the Irish treachery, and implacable thirst for their blood and estates.

The alarm here is so hot, and the proceedings will be so severe, that Ireland must also be upon its best guard. Staley, the goldsmith's son, a Papist, was condemned in the King's Bench yesterday for treason against the life of the King, proved by three witnesses. Mr. Coleman, the Duchess of York's Secretary, was arraigned this day and will be tried on Tuesday, which day is also appointed for Staley's execution at Tyburn.

* Peter Ward was Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1678.

Others will follow to their trials, and laws are preparing for speedy conviction of all Papists; they are already disarmed, and a bill passed the two houses to turn all Popish Lords out of Parliament. Some one or other is murdered every week, and the malefactors cannot be found. All the traffic with Rome and France is discovered.

Your Lordship may think me tedious, but my affection to your Grace hath led me to it. I have nothing to add but that Sir Robert Reading, whom I trusted with a message to your Grace, which he delivered, the Earl of Arran being by, your Grace told him you had been informed I did speak against the bills, and particularly that I did in a letter to my son Richard (who was then attending His Majesty as Clerk in the Closet at Windsor) say that there was come over some Irish bills; but I hoped they would return English, and that my Lord Arran (standing by your Grace) said he saw the letter.

Your Grace knows me to be a plain dealer, and ever to speak my mind freely, and if I had said or written any such thing I need not deny it. But I assure your Grace that, as I never yet saw one of the bills, so I was never so weak as to speak anything of them without seeing them; and my son Richard, as well as I, can swear I never wrote line to him of them, nor shall I ever give my judgment of them till I peruse them, though if your Grace had favoured me with the copies of the chief of them, or asked my advice, I should have been free and faithful therein. And for my own poor concerns in that kingdom, I am so confident of your Grace's nobleness and justice and indifferency that I will not doubt but that as I paid well and dear enough for my interest there, so your Grace hath not sent such bills as will not secure it as well as your Grace's own.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678, November 26.—I received yours of the 19th yesterday, and have written by the post and despatched away St. Paul to Paris, to hinder my son going from thence, or else directing his return if he meets him on the way, according to your directions. I shewed the King that part of your letter relating to MacCarty's regiment before the Council, and minded him of what I had several times said upon that subject, as also of what you writ about it to Mr. Secretary Coventry. He complained of want of money to disband them, but said he would take order in it, so that if any ill accident happens in the delay the blame will neither light on you or me for want of often representation. I told His Majesty how busy my Lord of Orrery was in alarming all persons in Ireland and here with his informations of the dangerous posture of affairs by the desperate condition the Protestants and English took themselves to be in by the multitude and evil designs of the Irish. He said he knew him to be a rogue, and that he would ever continue so. If you please to leave the affair of getting a governor for James to my Lord Chamberlain and me, we will choose the properest person that can be had. Whether Monsr. St. Helene or Mr. Forbes

will prove the most fit is uncertain. We will give you, I hope, good reasons for our choice. You will let us know what you will allow upon that account. Mulys will send you accounts of public affairs, and Sir Robert Southwell of those more important; nor shall I be wanting in giving you any informations which I judge can be of use to you.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, Tuesday, November 26. St. James's Square.—The account your Grace was pleased to honour me with, by yours of the 20th instant, of the steps that have been made in Ireland towards the security of that kingdom in this time of danger came this morning to my hands. I shewed it to my Lord Longford and Sir Robert Southwell, and by my Lord's advice to some other members, and though I find my Lord Orrery's agents have been busy in making insinuations, yet your Grace's proceedings carry those reasons with them that I meet with no man that is not fully satisfied. And as for the imprisoning several gentlemen in their several countries, besides the reasons which your Grace mentions, which are strong against it, it has not been thought expedient here, where the scene of blood that was to have been acted, and the smallness of their number (in proportion to those in that kingdom), might have seemed to have justified the necessity and safety of the counsel. I did try twice or thrice to have given His Majesty this account I had received, but found him so taken up this day there was no opportunity of admittance. And no wonder, for matters now begin to come to a crisis. Oates has gone as high in his accusation as he can possibly, for he has positively and upon oath before the King and Council charged the Queen herself with having consented to the death of the King.

This day Bedloe desired to discharge himself before the Commons of his further knowledge of these damnable designs; but, his pardon extending only to the first of this month, he feared he might be liable to the law for his concealment since that day. The House thereupon addressed to the King instantly by the members of the Privy Council that his pardon might be enlarged to this day inclusively. The King answered that he would consider of it, and return them an answer, upon which they adjourned to three in the afternoon. After they had expected till six, His Majesty was pleased to tell them in writing that the pardon till that day was as full as it could be wished, and that if any offence had been committed since that time, he ought to know it before he pardoned it; for a pardon for an offence to come (as a pardon for a whole day inclusive amounts to when it is granted before that day is expired) will not be good in law. This message put so great a consternation into many of the House, that they would have adjourned instantly without doing anything, or so much as admitting a message from the Lords, which was then at the door. After some debate, the necessity of a good correspondence with their Lordships for the safety of the King and kingdom took place, and

they received the message, which was for a present conference about the bill for excluding Papists out of the Court and the Parliament. Here the Lords quitted all their former amendments, save only as to the allowing a limited number of women Papists to the Queen and Duchess, nine to Her Majesty and five to her Highness, to the first of which the House has agreed, but refused the second. This spent the time till after nine at night, and will, I hope, excuse my hasty writing, that I might not by this post lose the opportunity of presenting before your Grace.

Postscript.—Some letters of my Lord Berkshire's have been lately found among Mr. Coleman's papers in the same style with the rest. His Lordship has not been since at the House, and it is said is now gone for France.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, November 26. Whitehall.—We have sat so long at Council and Parliament this day, both morning and evening, that I have hardly time enough to pay you this service. The bill for excluding the Catholics out of both Houses is as good as passed, the differences so little that we confide the Lords will not break upon them. But Mr. Oates his accusing the Queen, and Mr. Bedloe's giving some apprehensions of doing the same, putteth His Majesty into no little resentment, being entirely confident of the loyalty of his Queen. But which way this accusation can be laid asleep I cannot see as yet; the people being so affrighted and incensed at this plot that there is hardly patience anywhere to hear the least defence in the behalf of anybody when accused.

This day at Council His Majesty declared he would have Colonel MacCarty's regiment in Ireland disbanded, but the manner how is to be resolved on to-morrow. As soon as I have my order I shall not fail to send His Majesty's commands to your Grace. I never wrote in worse humour to you in my life. All things, both in Court, Parliament, town and country, full of confusion; and adding to this the exalted condition of one neighbour, and the miserable one of all the rest, maketh me think we must be preserved by a greater miracle than we were restored, or else perish. I will not enlarge upon this theme, though I could say a great deal more, being but too full of it.

Earl of Orrery to Lieut.-Col. Meade.

1678, November 28. Castlemartyr.—I am assured by two honest and credible persons that yourself and Mr. Riggs being between you at the charge of having a news letter sent you from Dublin, you or he hath lately had one which told you that one Mr. Fitzgerald of Connaught had told my Lord Lieutenant that nothing could hinder the Plot from taking effect, there were so many great persons engaged in it; and that the Irish Papists by March next, through the assistance

of the French, would be masters of Ireland, or words to this effect. I send you this on purpose to desire you to let me know if this is true, and who that person is that writ it, and what day it was dated. For this letter has been seen by persons who assured me they themselves read it, and the noise of it is spread over the country to the great disheartening of His Majesty's loyal subjects, and to the scandal of the Irish nation; and I assure myself what the letter contained is utterly untrue, for had any such thing been, I know I should have had notice of it from his Excellency and my Lord Chancellor, and such foul reports add too much to the distraction of these times, which are but too great of themselves. I pray return me your answer by this bearer.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678, November 28. Whitehall.—Upon the orders given for putting all the Roman Catholics out of the Army, which the Duke of Monmouth told the House he had performed, I desired the King that you might have his pleasure signified to that regiment of MacCarty's, wherein were many Papist officers and soldiers. I spoke to the Duke and Chancellor, Duke of Monmouth and others so plainly, that you might not be inconvenienced by their giving no orders, that I am assured they will at the Cabinet Council to-morrow take that affair to their consideration. The giving an account of the Irish having arms at present, and what has formerly been done on this occasion, will be very requisite. I remember when I was commanded by you to take away all their guns, and I think none could travel with or have any without special leave of the Chief Governor. I leave it to your consideration whether you should renew any such order on this occasion, but beg you would transmit to me what has been done, and what is the present method of this time.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, November 29. Castlemartyr.—I received last night at once the great honour of both your Excellency's letters of the 23rd and the 26th instant. Your Excellency's commands in them concerning Bantry Fort and Major Beversham's company shall with all diligence be punctually obeyed. There is no place that I know of or can hear of in Kerry that is tenable and of consequence, but Ross; for I did believe (till my cousin, Ed. Denny, better informed me) that Tralee, which held out so long a siege,* was strong. But both his father, Sir Arthur Denny, and himself have made it a convenient country gentleman's house.

I am very sorry to find by the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 23rd instant, that any have attempted maliciously and cunningly to cast the false scandal on the Government, as that they wanted zeal and care for the preservation of the Pro-

* During the Rebellion of 1641 Tralee had endured a six months' siege.

testants. I hope that such as have attempted to cast that scandal on it will be punished for it. Possibly some honest men who love the Government, being frightened with the daily alarms, may have thought that the remedies not being so hasty as the danger seemed pressing, may have too much lamented that the motions of the Government did not keep pace with their desires, not considering how many difficulties those in authority are to struggle with, the circumstances they are under being duly weighed. But maliciously and cunningly to asperse the Government merits an exemplary punishment, which I heartily hope those guilty of will not escape. I most humbly beg your Grace's permission to assure you that whatever former misunderstandings I might have had the unhappiness to be under as towards your Grace, yet ever since the discourse your Grace had with my brother Burlington at my Lord Devonshire's concerning me, and ever since those letters you were pleased to oblige me with soon after your landing, I have in all things under my little power as unfeignedly endeavoured to make your government prosperous, as if that brother had been in your Grace's station. I was therefore pressing in the beginning of this year, when most believed we should have a quarrel with France, that the Militia might be set up, it being so great a security and of so little charge. And I did then presume to acquaint your Excellency that several who I knew were fit to supply the vacancies in it had desired me humbly to recommend them to your Grace, but that I would not do it till I had your Grace's good liking to do it. But to this I received no answer from your Grace, and therefore I was silent, for I am not an importunate solicitor in things merely of favour; nor should I ever have renewed the motion had I not been urged to it lately, both for His Majesty's service and your Grace's. For I saw that the method the raising the Militia was put unto would neither be expeditious nor so effectual as I am sure your Grace desires it should be. Since I think, without vanity, I may say there are not very many which know better than I the persons and the state of things in these western counties, and experience had taught me that when the Militia was first raised, had I not been armed with full authority, and been very pressing, the Commissioners of Array would never have done the work. And if then it had been hardly compassable when we were quiet at home, and had only the Dutch for enemies, in degrees of proportion the difficulties would be unconquerable when every country gentleman and Protestant out of a garrison goes to bed in fears.

And since the Militia is to be filled and kept up when filled by the influence the captains of it have on the inferior officers and private men, I too easily foresaw that affair, being managed only by the Commissioners of Array, would have a very slow progress and no expected result; for their number is thirteen in this county and the quorum seven, five whereof must still of course be merchants or men of much lower degree, and what interest such were likely to have on the numerous gentry of this, the largest county in all His Majesty's kingdoms, was not

hard to determine. The rest, though gentlemen of good quality, yet being really or in their own esteem equals, the advances therefore could not be so quick as the need seemed to require.

Your Grace's long absence having much altered persons and things, it was natural enough to do as your Grace did, refer it to a Committee of the Council. But so few of my Lords who now sit at the Board having ever lived in this province, and that one noble lord only who did (my Lord Chancellor) having not resided in it far above two scores of years, I did presume to think they might have needed information. This I take the confidence to believe, had they commanded mine, the Militia might ere this have been in a better posture. But I love not to intrude where I am not called. And indeed, my Lord, I retired into Ireland in hopes that I might spend the little life I have remaining in this solitude; but, seeing the times grow cloudy, I was sending my wife for England and intended to have followed as these times did mend. But I was forced from those designs by the universal applications which the poor Protestants made to me, and I assure your Grace they were made without my own seeking. And when I found that my humble applications to your Grace in their behalfs was believed would be more effectual than their own, I could not in duty but stay and make them. Many were troubled, and I confess I was one, that though in the beginning of September the horrid plot was detected, yet till the 11th of November not so much as a letter came for setting up the Militia; and when it came, some of those to whom it was directed did not find it answer their hopes or fears. And though it was dated the 11th, yet they met not till Tuesday last, the 25th instant, and when they were met, they found many things so lie in their way that they resolved to employ five or six of their number to me to desire my help and advice. They came here yesterday, and I assure your Grace I was surprised at it.

It had not been so long before I had written that large letter to my Lord Chancellor, which he troubled your Excellency and the Council with, but that I still apprehend that representing what I thought could only do the business, such representation might look as if I sought something for myself. Nor would I ever therefore have made it, but in duty to my King, my country and your Grace. This I solemnly protest, for had I affected to be in the stream of the world again I could have been in it more advantageously in England than in anything I could pretend unto in Ireland, and I should not lie did I assure your Grace that my best friends in England, and some in power, have half fallen out with me for not taking their two employments better than the government of this province; but I had seen and felt enough of the world not to embark into it again by my own choice. But possibly written assurances may not be so convincing evidences of this truth as demonstrations. Therefore I presume to acquaint your Grace that though the six gentlemen employed by all the rest of the Commissioners of Array, finding themselves at a loss how with secrecy to appoint rendezvous for the Militia, and to order them as the King's

service required, did more than five times press me earnestly for my permission that they might move your Excellency to name me for those ends; yet I as often flatly refused them.

And because my Lord Chancellor, in his letter to me of the 26th, intimates (writes) something as if your Excellency and the Lords had some thoughts of putting that employment on me, and having some blank commissions sent me to fill up the vacancies of the commissioned officers under captains, I most humbly and heartily beg your Grace and your Lordships to free me from the honour and burthen; not but that if your Grace and their Lordships command my best help and advice, to whomsoever your Excellency shall commissionate for that end, I will not cheerfully obey in both, and as zealously as if I were to have the honour of the success, or to bear the burthen of the want of it. But really, I would practically evidence not only that I sought not myself in what I wrote to my Lord Chancellor, but also that I undisguisedly covet to live in that retiredness which both my mind and my body affects and needs.

And if your Excellency will allow me the favour while I stay in Ireland humbly to lay at your feet what I shall believe conducible to His Majesty's service, your Grace's, and the quiet of my country, I shall faithfully do it, and be as entirely pleased to see the peace and good government of the kingdom continued as if I were wholly to engross the honour and benefit of it. I did not omit both to ask of my brother Shannon and others, who were privately advised by a priest and other well-affected Irish to send into garrisons their best goods, what was the reason of their giving such advice; nay, I promised myself to an Irish gentleman of Kerry who warned an English neighbour of his to desist from building (which the Englishman came on purpose out of Kerry to inform me of it) for the times were likely to be troublesome, that if he would discover any material thing of any design of the Irish, that I would mediate for your Grace's pardoning, concealing his name and rewarding him. But all agree in one answer, viz., that these are distracted times, that there are many loose and necessitous people in the country, who are but too apt to break into houses and to rob things of value, and beyond this none of them will speak, though never so much promised or threatened. By the words of your Grace's letter to me on this subject, I am apprehensive that some unhappy expressions in my letter might have seemed to make your Grace think I thought you looked on these advertisements as a jest. If they did I am sure that was far from my thought, and I meant to say that your Grace would not believe the priest was in jest, since he durst send my brother that advice.

I do not think even the late plot has been more talked of in all these parts than the business of Bennet's Bridge, and the news of it is dispersed by several creditable persons, who then coming from Dublin into these parts, either lay or baited there. I will to-morrow send for some of those gentlemen, who with their own mouths told it me, and in obedience to your Grace's commands, I will in writing return you what they said.

Yesterday, about three o'clock after noon, I received a letter from my brother Shannon; a branch of it I here humbly present to your Grace. I am confidently assured the thing is absolutely false, for had it been true, I should have had expresses of it last night. However, the noise is flown, for I have this morning early sent an express to my brother Shannon to secure the man, and to send to Captain Hodder's for to know if he told this alarm bearer what he said he did, that if he did not he may be severely punished, for it is such confident lies that does make men half distracted.

I humbly beg to know of your Grace if lately one Mr. Fitzgerald, of the province of Connaught, assured your Excellency that the Plot would take effect there were so many great persons engaged in it, and that the Irish, by the help of the French, would be masters of Ireland by March next; for this has lately been written by a news writer of Dublin to two gentlemen of this county, and the letter itself has been read by divers; two of which, being honest men, came from beyond Bandon hither yesterday to assure me they themselves read the letter, and the noise of it has much amazed the people. I assured them I was confident it was a notorious lie, and bid them assure all they spoke with that I was confident it was so. The letter was directed (as those two gentlemen told me) to Lieutenant-Colonel Meade, and one Mr. Riggs. I sent an express this morning to Lieutenant-Colonel Meade, with a letter, of which the enclosed is the copy, for I believe this one business well traced will find out those who make the people half mad, and he, if well punished, will deter others. The master of the *Plymouth* ship, which came into the West, and made it the Exchange discourse at Cork that the Governors of Portsmouth and Dover were fled, I have sent to stop, that he may be legally punished for raising such scandals of such persons.

The Provost of Bandon and the chief of that truly Protestant Corporation, were here with me on Wednesday, and gave me a most sad account of that place. They have not one pound of powder or bullet, all their platforms in their towers are fallen, their iron ordnance have been gone, they know not how, and the last great rains have carried away two arches, which supported near fifty foot in length of their town wall. They did earnestly desire me that I would relieve them all I could, and what I could not do, that I would mediate for them to your Excellency. I admired their ordnance were gone they knew not how, but they explained the expression thus, that in the beginning of the troubles in 1641, Sir Wm. Hull and others who had ships, lent them ordnance, and that they were carried away without their consents by those who did pretend to be owners of them.

I have this post written to my brother Burlington to desire him to contribute to make up their walls. I have made them promise to make up their platforms, and I have six or seven iron ordnance which I kept for the safety of my family in the war, that I am ready to lend them to plant on their towers in

case your Grace gives me leave. And in regard they have in that town a good Militia troop, and two or three foot companies, if they might have one barrel of powder, and one of ball, with match proportionable for their Militia, it might serve till more might be got.

The Mayor of Cork, having sent me the deposition of a soldier of the garrison that went formerly to Mass, but now is an officer's servant and mustered, that one Garret Fitzgerald, a Popish priest, had since August last, in his hearing, often taught his parishioners that the King of England was only King of the Protestants of Ireland, but the King of France was King of the Papists of Ireland, I sent him to gaol.

I have written several other things to my Lord Chancellor, having too much tired your Grace, for which your pardon is begged.

ORMOND to EARL OF ANGLESEY.

1678, November 29.—Yours of the 23rd instant is a great argument to me of the continuance of your favour and friendship, which you could not shew in a more generous manner, or more important instance, than in letting me know of those observations of my proceedings transmitted into England upon occasion of the wicked conspiracy discovered and still under further examination in England. I am not able on the sudden to give such an account of things done fifteen or sixteen years ago as I shortly shall. Thus much I do, and your Lordship may remember, for you were then here, that the plot then laid for the surprisal of this castle was contrived and near brought to execution by Thomas Blood and others of his crew, who assume the name of Protestants only because they say they are not Papists; though as to the overthrow of Government and the murdering of Kings, their doctrine is, and their practice has been the same. For this conspiracy some of those conspirators were legally convicted and executed, and some who could not be apprehended (as Blood for one) were outlawed. Upon the examination of several persons, I found the design was too far spread to ravel any further into it, and that if I should follow the thread of the discovery as far it might lead me, possibly I might bring on that insurrection and rebellion which they designed, and I had rather should be prevented than punished. At that time the towns were full of men of Cromwell's planting, and the country of his disbanded officers and soldiers. All this cannot be better known to anybody than to your Lordship, from whom I concealed nothing of my proceedings or thoughts in that matter, and who having had so eminent a part in his Majesty's restoration, and the peace of his kingdoms, I knew would look with indignation and horror upon any that should endeavour the re-expulsion of our King, and thereby involve his dominions afresh under that tyranny, and in blood and confusion, from which, by God's blessing upon the loyal labour and industry of such as your Lordship, they were newly delivered. This being then the case, what course could be more moderate than the disarming of these people, our circum-

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, November 30. Dublin.—I have yours of the 16th and 23rd since I wrote to my Lord Chamberlain and you; what I then wrote I shall now omit.

It were high time that we had a Primate here. In reference to that diocese, the delay is some interruption to the common course of justice and loses some part of the grace of the favour. Here they say that it cannot be for want of time to put hands to letters that are prepared, but that somebody is by composition with the Farmers to have the revenue of the Primacy, which is therefore like to be kept vacant.

I hope there is care taken to have intelligence out of France; I hope they have none good from hence, or that they will not give credit to it, if they have. I would not have them know the advantage they might take us at in this conjuncture. It is now too late and I fear not safe to call a Parliament here till we see how the Session there will end. Sir Tho. Chicheley has his troop.

I received a letter from my Lord of Anglesey of the same date with your last, containing the heads of many objections made here and transmitted hence against my proceedings upon occasion of the plot. It is plain enough they came from my Lord of Orrery, as may appear to you by what I have sent Sir Robert Southwell by this post. There was something of a fellow's offering to take down a proclamation here, at least as the sentry thought, for he thrust the fellow into the body, or a good way into it. At Waterford the proclamation was in part taken down, and the rest of it besmeared, but it was done in the night, and without the walls, so that it could not be known who did it. Yet two fellows who were suspected were put in prison or under security, and were brought hither, which was punishment sufficient for a crime that could not be proved against them. My Lord of Strafford made the tour of Ireland to enable him to govern here, and having taken that pains, it is fit to allow him to make some stories of me, that room may be made for him.

Copy.

JOHN SHADWELL* to ORMOND.

1678, November 30. London.—I, always wearing those dutiful respects to your Grace next my heart, as I ought to do, could not forbear to acquaint you, that if there be a general expulsion of the priests and friars in that kingdom (as I am informed) one, Martin French, an Augustine friar at Galway, who hath formerly given evidence against the titular Archbishop of Tuam for treason, which seems to concur with informations here, being excommunicated, will certainly be murdered so soon as he is out of the King's protection, which I humbly offer to your Grace to do as in your wisdom and prudence you shall think fit. My Lord Chancellor of Ireland was pleased to order him some moneys, otherwise he would

* John Shadwell, father of the poet, was Recorder of Galway at this time.

have been starved for doing his duty. The first thing my Lord Berkeley spoke to me after his Lordship's arrival there was to ask me if I thought it not a malicious prosecution against the Archbishop, and because I declared my thoughts it was not, he was very angry with me; and the friar afterwards coming and making his application to him for some allowance, in respect his party had wholly deserted him, and no man came to him for masses or confessions as they usually had done, his Lordship threatened him with imprisonment, so as I kept him myself several months, or he had been starved, of which charity to him I have since felt the inconveniency, which I have suffered with great patience. My Lord, I most humbly beg your Grace's pardon for writing to your own person, whereof I cannot doubt, as well knowing how easy access all people have to your Grace for justice and charity.

Earl of Ossory to Duchess of Ormond.

1678, November 30.—I have been in actions of importance, but have not been more troubled during their being in suspense than I was all yesterday while we were debating whether the poor Queen should be so unfortunate as to have both Houses address to the King, that he would remove her upon Oates' accusing her to have undertaken the poisoning of him. At length we carried it in the negative, eight only having voted for concurring with the Commons. The King carried himself most worthily, shewing a detestation of what some thought might be acceptable to him. On Thursday, when Her Majesty was in public she showed not the least emotion; but yesterday when she was in private she ceased not weeping, bewailing her condition, and saying how much the Duke's misfortunes were short of hers, his sufferings being upon an honourable score, but hers upon what was the most infamous. I was the first that brought her the good news of our dissenting with the Commons, which you may imagine was no small consolation, she being all day uncertain whether Whitehall, Somerset House, or perhaps a restraint, might have been her destiny. It fell in my way to have been a little serviceable to her by carrying Oates to Somerset House, my Lord of Bridgewater being commanded with me by the King, where in matter of fact, as to the house, we found him in a manifest lie, which will appear under our hands, the relation we made being in the Parliament House, a copy of which last post I sent to my father. I have not been negligent in my endeavours upon this occasion, and truly the Queen seems satisfied with them, and is so gracious as to consider more my zeal than my weak performances. All her Roman Catholic servants are to leave her this day, except a few women excepted in the Act; it is a hardship for her to quit those who have so long served her, and so faithfully and discreetly. Sir Robert Southwell, who is a worthy and a useful friend to my father, will give him an account of public affairs. I forget not things tending to his service. I pray God send us better times than what we deserve or reasonably are to expect,

and to give to my father and you all happiness. Be pleased to tell him that a little time since Mr. Hyde informed me that the ratifications of the peace were come from Spain.

WILLIAM ADDIS to MAJOR HENRY BRENN.

1678, November 30. Athy.—On examination of some persons that were at mass on Sunday last, as to the number there, etc., he finds that there were about three hundred present, most of them parishioners. Those of greatest consequence were Edmund Dunn, priest, Wm. Smith, Michael Smith, Richard Hoey, and other of this Corporation, and there was no person of quality, stranger or other, to their knowledge there. They will endeavour hereafter to suppress the like assemblies, and would have done their utmost if His Majesty's proclamation had been received in due time.

[*Signed*] Will. Addis, Dep. Sovr. of Athy.

Abstract.

LIEUTENANT RICH. LOCKE to SAME.

1678, November 30.—Yours of this day's date I had at 7 at night, and for answer say that I hope my Lord Lieutenant will not longer be dissatisfied with me or anybody hereabouts, when he knows that Sunday last (which you mention, on which his Grace heard of that concourse of people being at Mass at Athy) was past and over before ever we knew that there was any proclamation in being against them. And the truth is, there was no unusual meeting there that day; but the Sunday before that I heard their number computed to be about a thousand, whereof some were strangers, but none of note or quality; and if they had been more, all we had to do then was to stand the stricter upon our guard. However I gave my captain an account of it two posts agone, and all the reason I could find for it was that they apprehended that Mass would soon become scarce, and so nobody would omit it while it was to be had. But since the proclamation came to me I hope I have not left anything undone which might argue a neglect, for I gave orders on Tuesday last that if they would presume to meet accordingly on Sunday next, that the officer of the guard should disperse them; but I believe it will not come to that, for I understand the Sovereign sent a message to the priest to forbid his saying Mass in the town. And I wish the proclamation would bear it to hinder their having it anywhere else; but that not being plain enough expressed to my understanding I shall forbear any disturbance to them unless they exceed in numbers or quality of people till I hear further, as being unwilling to err on either hand.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, November 30. St. James's Square.—The King having again, in a speech to both Houses on Monday last, left the disbanding the army to the Parliament, if it should be thought

advisable, though the ratifications of the peace are not yet come from Spain, on Wednesday and Friday they made some progress in it; and having first voted the disbanding of the soldiers raised since Michaelmas, 1677, the Commons addressed to the King for recalling those in Flanders in order to it, and received in answer from His Majesty that he would advise with the Lords. They have gone further in considering of the methods of doing it effectually, and have resolved that Committees shall be appointed in an act, and the money for that use shall be paid into the Chamber of London.

The House has been informed of a letter which the Dutch Ambassador had received, which speaks of the damnable designs now on foot. The Ambassador has sent it since by Sir Ch. Cotterell. It comes from the Dutch Agent at Basel to the States, and acquaints them of what had fallen from a Jesuit there (passing through from Rome) about the murder of the King, and that there were (as he affirmed) about a thousand of his order now in England to carry on this conspiracy. Letters are produced frequently from several parts of England by several members, which speak of several parties of horse well armed having been seen in many parts in the night time. The King having at last been pleased to allow the pardon of Bedloe to the time the House had desired it, both he and Oates were on Thursday one after the other brought to the bar, where each of them charged the Queen for having a part in the Plot. Oates expressly accused Her Majesty of high treason for conspiring and consenting to the death of the King, and gave four or five reasons for his accusations; and Bedloe affirmed that he saw her present at a consultation about the beginning of May, 1677, in the Chapel Gallery at Somerset House, and that Coleman (after it) came down, and told him that they had made her weep; but that at last two French abbots (which were there) had made her consent, but did not say to what. But not to trouble your Grace unnecessarily, I beg leave for the particulars of the two informations to refer your Grace to the paper which my Lord Longford and I drew up presently upon the rising of the House upon our memory for your Grace, and which your Grace will receive from him this post. The House thought they could in duty do no less than beseech His Majesty that the Queen and all Papists whatever might hereupon retire from Whitehall, and instantly drew up an address for that purpose, and sent it to the Lords for their concurrence. I hear their Lordships have disagreed, and intend to give their reasons on Monday at a conference.

This morning the King was pleased to give his royal assent to the Act for clearing the Parliament and the Court of Papists, but denied a short bill which had been prepared for putting the Militia in arms for six weeks; saying that he refused it not for the matter, but for the manner of it, that the Militia was in the Crown, and he would not consent to the putting of it out of the Crown, though but for half an hour. The House, finding an exception taken now, which they did not think the bill had been liable to, there having not been one

word said against it by any man in either House during the whole course of passing it, were very much surprised at this disappointment. But it being absolutely necessary for the safety of the kingdom that some such course be taken for a standing present force, they were considering how they might with the rules of Parliament bring this business again to the King, and avoid the objection he had made; when being told that this act passed this day, making it extremely penal for any man in either House to sit and vote after to-morrow before having taken the tests and subscribed the declaration prescribed, there was scarce time enough to do what was required of them unless they went instantly about it, the House found it necessary to break off all further debate, and fall immediately upon doing that without which they were incapacitated to sit there.

Jo. Lewis to Alderman Humphry Jervis.

1678, December 2. Fishguard.—There was forced to Milford lately, by stress of weather, four friars, they say of the St. Augustine's order, and they call themselves James Higgin, Thomas Eustace, John Dowdall, and Laughlin Keogh and another person who they call Thomas Conroy, servant to Eustace. They flung a cask overboard when they saw they could not avoid the port, and they forced the master and the two boys that belonged to the vessel to keep sea to the utmost. They came on board at Dublin. I am persuaded they are some of those villains that conspired against the good Duke of Ormond. They are in common gaol, and shall be so kept till we hear more of them, which I pray inquire into, for we cannot extend too much diligence, our King and kingdoms lying under the burthen of Popish villains. God preserve us in this dangerous age.

Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Sheriff of Co. Dublin.

1678, December 2.—After our hearty commendations, whereas by proclamation issued from this Board, dated the 19th of October, 1678, the titular Popish Archbishops and others of the Popish regular clergy mentioned in the said proclamation were by the 20th of November, 1678, commanded to depart this kingdom, and all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other his Majesty's officers, ministers, and loving subjects were required, from and immediately after the said 20th of November, to make diligent search and inquiry for such of the said Popish regular clergy as should remain in the kingdom after the said day, and to apprehend them, and commit them to safe custody and make certificate thereof to this Board, and return the names of their receivers, relievers, and harbourers. And we, being informed that in manifest contempt of the said proclamation, few or none of the said Popish regular clergy have departed the kingdom; and for that we have not as yet received any intimation from you or any of His Majesty's justices of the peace in that

county (to whom you are to communicate these our letters) that any of the said Popish regular clergy are apprehended or committed to safe custody: We therefore do hereby require you and the said justices of peace to redeem this your neglect to our commands, and more vigorously to put the same in execution by your diligent search for such Popish regular clergy who have not departed the kingdom, and committing them to safe custody. Whereof we expect a speedy and good accompt. And we require you immediately not only to return unto us the names of the said several Popish regular clergy, who shall be apprehended, and in what places they are secured, but also make return of the names of their receivers, relievers, and harbourers, that they may be proceeded against according to law. And so we bid you farewell. From the Council Chamber in Dublin, the second day of December, 1678. Your loving friends,

Ormond.	Ro. Booth.
Mich. Dublin, C.	John Davys.
Blessington.	Will Stewart.
Lanesborough	John Cole.
Hen. Midensis.	Hans. Hamilton.
R. Coote.	Ric. Gethin.
Ro. Fitzgerald.	Wm. Flower.
Ca. Dillon.	Tho. Radcliffe.

To our loving friend the Sheriff of the County of Dublin to be by him communicated to His Majesty's Justices of the [Peace] of the said county.

Ormond to Earl of Barrymore.

1678, December 3. Dublin.—In the first place, I beg your pardon for having your Lordship's of the 19th of the last month so long on my hands unanswered. Be pleased to impute it to the pressure of business that has been and is still upon me. The stopping of the transport of horses to the plantations might be in some respects advisable at this time, but in other regards inconvenient. Our comfort is, we have ill luck if we have not as good horses as any enemy we are like to meet with; and I trust in God we shall have better hands and hearts, having a better cause. As your Lordship may be confident of my belief in your loyalty to the King and affection to me, so no opportunity shall offer but it shall readily be laid hold of by me to serve you. I confess I am at a loss to find a reason why the gentry of that county, I think the most numerous and considerable in the kingdom, should be the latest in meeting and providing for their own safety, and it is some surprise to me to hear that a gentry so qualified, under and with whom there are so many English and Protestants, should yet be so terrified and amazed as to be ready to forsake their habitations rather than to think of making use of the means they have in their hands for their

preservation. But I hope a little time will bring them to themselves, and to the temper and resolution befitting men of sobriety and courage, and I beseech your Lordship to let me know how far you observe this kind of terror is spread.

Copy.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, December 3. Castlemartyr.—Friday night last very late I received the enclosed from Captain Archer, which I judge it my duty humbly to send to your Grace. I think it might be advisable (unless his own affairs requires his going home, or to Dublin) that he should still stay at Rincorran, both to see what he has agreed for by the great wall done, and the little day labour well followed, as also daily to see that the undertakers provide hewn stone, walling stone, lime, sand, etc., and to have all on the place that by the dawning of the spring we may fall roundly to our work and have a good stock in place to carry it on without interruption. Had I judged myself qualified to do it I had instantly sent him a licence for his own and his servants' arms, which I humbly beg he may have, though I hope none will dare to be so rash as to think His Majesty's Engineer needs anything but his commission to authorise him to wear them. I have still found him very diligent, frugal, faithful and industrious, which to write is a debt I owe him, and therefore to certify it a duty I esteem myself obliged to pay him.

I have not yet received the honour of your Excellency's answer about the order for the gunners at Rincorran having money to buy all necessaries for the ordnance there, that nothing might be wanting for their supply in time of need. I did also present your Excellency a list of the particulars, and what they would cost; and I also humbly remind your Excellency that you would command the axletrees and wheels for the ordnance there (which are made at Dublin) to be hastened thither, the bodies for them being long since ready at Kinsale. And I have directed Captain Archer that if the vault for the powder cannot be made fit to receive it this winter, that then at one end of the large new guard house a part may be fitted to hold some powder and cartridges separated by a portion wall for fear of fire, since to have so many cannon mounted and no powder to fire them on the place is no ways fit.

Sir Wm. King has written to me to be a humble suitor to your Excellency to allow a town major for the garrison of Limerick, in which is seven companies and one troop. In this I most humbly beseech your Grace, for though he is a very vigilant officer, yet he owns he is not able to do the duty which should be done there as it ought to be, without such a necessary assistance And indeed, my Lord, the multitudes of loose Irish Papists which are got in thither above six months since (which I mention because your Excellency's late proclamation will not turn out many there) seems to render this humble request of his and mine needful. The pay need not exceed an ensign's or a lieutenant's, and the advantage as to the safety of the place will be more considerable.

Mr. Harvey and Captain Crispra will be still fit to be continued in my humble opinion, for on any occasion without them we shall be in the dark for accounts of any things there, and also to see the undertakers provide all things.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678, December 4.—Yours of the 26th of the last came so late that it was just before the packet went away. I am glad you have sent to stop James at Paris or return him thither before he sees England, which at this time is no place for him. I shall be satisfied with any governor my Lord Chamberlain and you shall choose for him, and with any allowance you shall give him; but I would have the whole expense not to exceed a thousand pound a year, and that, well managed, I am confident will serve; if it be gone beyond you shall pay it. But by all means hasten over a governor, for the boy will soon get the better of Barrington. and may prove hard to be brought to reason afterwards.

If any ill accident should happen either by the keeping on foot or disbanding MacCarty's regiment, the inconvenience and the blame too will fall on me; the inconvenience by the disorder that must follow the disbanding of so many men that know how to live upon their neighbours when they want bread, and the blame will be imputed to me; for people here are not so reasonable as to consider whether I have or have not orders; the smart will direct them to murmur at those nearest them, who they think might have prevented it. But this is not the greatest difficulty I am like to meet with. In all which I will do the best I can without molesting the King whilst he is under the weight of business that now lies upon him. I am sure I need not now put you in mind of the great obligation you and your family have to the Queen, and how well it will become you to shew it at this time by diligent attendance and by all the services your greater duty to the King and country will permit. Let no fear or compliance fright or induce you to abandon her innocence, nor yet your gratitude or generosity engage you in the defence of her guilt, if that be possible, as with me it is most improbable. God direct you.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1678, December 5. London.—Necessity staying me here two days longer than I designed, hath opportuned me to know what follows. On Wednesday the King in Council took notice of the dangers arising from the flocking of Papists to this city, and of their insolence everywhere; whereupon His Majesty was pleased to order a renewing of the old proclamation for their banishment hence, and ordered the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to consider of some more effectual expedients, and this day to offer them to the Council, which I hear will be to require all country justices and city magistrates strictly to inquire what Papists are near them, by

administering oaths to such masters and mistresses of families, and others who they shall think fit, that so all Papists may be detected and brought under security to appear on summons; and when His Majesty knows the numbers and how to come at each, he may use his further pleasure either in relation to their estates or persons. More or less new evidence comes in daily. Last night I heard that the Duke of Monmouth's youngest son died yesterday. He still continues his old quarters in Hedge Lane, only this sad occasion carried him yesterday to the Cockpitt. It is my Lord Shrewsbury (it seems) who succeeds him in the Lord Lieutenancy of Staffordshire. My Lord Conway is made an earl, and next week goeth down to Wells, to address to my niece Poulett, the late Lord Poulett's eldest daughter, by Colonel Popham's daughter, a very excellent good young virgin, not fifteen years old, and comely enough. She hath £10,000 in money, and if her half-brother (the now Lord Poulett) dieth (who hath been a very weak child till very lately), she will have far the bigger half of all the estate, which now I come to be one of the managers of it I find to be far greater than I believed it. He is to settle £10,000 per annum on such heir male as he shall have by her, £2,000 per annum jointure, and if he dies and leaves no children then to refund £5,000 of the portion. Lord Aran (Duke Hamilton's son, is his rival, but her friends prefer an English-Irish estate before a Scotch one.

Earl of Orrery to Lord Lieutenant and Lords of the Council.

1678, December 6. Castlemartyr.—I received last night the honour of your Excellency's and your Lordships' letter of the 2nd instant. I pay your Lordships my most humble acknowledgments for your condescending to communicate to me so many particulars of your actings and intentions as are expressed in that letter. Since your Excellency and your Lordships conceive that had the Commissioners of Array in this province been as active in the execution of their commissions and the directions of the Board as in the other parts of the kingdom, the Militia in this province had been well nigh in as good a posture as it is in and near Dublin, I hope when I acquaint them therewith it will quicken their actings, though I fully believe that nothing can quicken their zeal and affection to His Majesty's service in this particular or any other. Your Excellency having filled up the vacancies in the Militia of this province will very likely not a little contribute to the sooner raising of it; and the trust of giving the captains leave to name their own inferior officers is a great tie and obligation on them to nominate both men of interest to recruit the troops and foot companies, and men of knowledge to assist in the leading and commanding of them. I hope your Excellency's resolution of appointing governors of counties, who by themselves or their deputies shall command the Militia of the counties, will be found of good use and will not only hasten

the setting up the Militia effectually, but also be a means timely to foresee, remedy, prevent, or suppress mischiefs.

In the honour of your Excellency and your Lordships' said letter to me I find these very words, viz., "The like rule is to be observed in the precedency of the captains of the militia as there is by the officers of the army, which we doubt not is well known to your Lordship, and we conceive that your Lordship, as Major-General of the army, may upon any emergency command not only the army, but the militia in that province." Upon these your Excellency and your Lordships' words I humbly beg to lay before you my doubts and to crave your resolutions on them. Does your Excellency and your Lordships intend that if any difference arises concerning precedency between any of the militia captains in this province that I shall finally determine it, and from time to time? If you do, then I humbly beg that the authority to do it, and the rules mentioned for doing it, may be sent and signed by his Excellency, or by whom he shall please to authorise to do it; since I never saw any such rules relating to precedency in the army since those granted in the year 1666, and 'tis not improbable but in so long a space of time as from 1666 to 1678, and so many changes of chief governors, but that some of them might have altered those I mention, or have given new ones, which may be unknown to me.

Does your Excellency and your Lordships judge that the words in your letter viz.: "And we conceive your Lordship as Major General of the army, may, upon any emergency, not only command the army, but the militia, in that province," is a sufficient and legal authority to do it? May not your Excellency and your Lordships believe that the words, viz., "On any emergency," need an explanation; and that some particular cases ought to be set down, in which or their parallel or cases resembling such as shall be enumerated, I may, according to your words, and from time to time, command on actual service and for His Majesty's service the militia in this province, or any part of it?

Does your Excellency and Lordships judge that by the words viz., "Commanding the militia," I am hereby legally capacited to fight against, destroy and kill such enemies or others as shall rise up in arms to rob or murder His Majesty's peaceable subjects before they are proclaimed rebels by your Excellency and the Board, and to prosecute to the utmost their abettors, relievers, associates and adherents?

Does not your Excellency and your Lordships believe that if any considerable rising should happen against His Majesty's Government and peace, that it will be then too late to send to your Excellency and your Lordships for authority to take up lawfully victuals and forage for such of the militia as I shall draw together to oppose, and, by the blessing of God, to suppress such criminals? Since it is but too likely that if any such mischief should happen they will infest many passages between this and Dublin, either in going or returning, and the rather much if they shall know (as too many ill-inclined

persons have too quick intelligence) that we cannot draw men together to resist and quell them, wanting wherewithal to feed them and the horses they serve on.

I have many more important doubts humbly to beg may be resolved by your Excellency's and your Lordships' authorities to make affairs practically serviceable for the defence of His Majesty's Government, and the safety of his loyal subjects in this province, which I shall in the honour of your answer to this letter lay before you. But I have the rather mentioned the few particulars before expressed, because they seem to me to be of most pressing haste to be resolved, for when I formerly commanded the militia in this province I did it by virtue of His Majesty's patent under the Broad Seal, by which I had authority to prosecute rebels and other such like criminals with fire and sword, to parley with them, to take (in some cases) some of them into His Majesty's protection, and to promise them pardon. I had also by the same patent and instructions authority to take up victuals and forage on ticket (not exceeding the daily limited allowance).

The then authority in this province had commission to proclaim men rebels and to prosecute with fire and sword them, and those that aided, sheltered or relieved them, and all these authorities so granted, were granted me in the highest times of peace, the wisdom of the Government judging it a hopeful way to prevent mischiefs, by putting their servants into a ready posture to oppose and suppress them. All this I have the larger mentioned because if the honour, burden and duty of commanding the militia in this province be laid upon me (as by the words of your Excellency's and your Lordships' said letter it seems to be intended) I most humbly and earnestly desire the authority to do it may be full, legal and clear, and that I may have sufficient means to answer what is expected from me, and then, as God shall give me health and strength of body, I will to the utmost of my ability answer your Excellency and your Lordships' expectations therein. But without such authority and means I humbly crave your leaves to say I believe it will be altogether impossible for me or any other to serve you acceptably and effectually therein.

Your Excellency's and your Lordships' resolutions of renewing the Commissions of Array in the several counties is very needful, for many of them are lost or mislaid, and in some counties I hear so many are dead, removed, or superannuated that there is not a quorum left to act.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678, December 7. St. James's Square.—The King's having refused the bill for raising the militia over all England, in which the security of the nation in this conjuncture is so much concerned, put the House on Monday upon counsels of representing to His Majesty by way of address

the present dangers in which (in the trouble they then lay under) several heads were offered to be passed, which seemed to go beyond the present occasion as misrepresentations of proceedings of Parliament, and the danger of private advices contrary to the advice of both Houses, and the like; and a Committee was accordingly appointed to draw it up. But the King's message upon Wednesday, in which he told them that he was ready to pass any bill for the Militia which did not put the calling, continuing or disbanding it out of the Crown, has so far moderated that misunderstanding that since then there have been no more words made of the address; but a Committee was directed to inquire how a bill for that purpose might again be prepared according to the orders of the House. On Thursday the House fell upon the consideration of the Lords that are in the Tower, and finding that there is haste made for their trial before the time limited by a proclamation lately put out for the inviting a further discovery of these conspiracies, which is the 25th instant, be expired; and from other reasons, fearing that both the evidence that might be had might be prevented, and that what was already known might not have its due weight, unless the Commons of England concerned themselves in the prosecution, found it necessary to impeach some of the prisoners before the House of Lords, and did immediately before they rose by five several messages impeach five noblemen, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Bellasis, Lord Powys, Lord Petre, and Lord Stafford.

The unusual restraint of Mr. Oates took up the best part of Friday, and ended in a further address that his friends might have free liberty of conversing with him without interruption, or being overheard by any guards or other, and that his guard might only attend in the outward room before his chamber for the security of his person. This day the bill for convicting the Papists all over England by name had its second reading, and was committed with these instructions among others, that all commissions granted to Papists shall be void and null, that such receivers of commissions shall be declared felons, and proceeded against and punished as such.

This afternoon both Houses attended the King in the Banqueting House with an address for seizing the Papists all over England, and requiring security from them, or for want of it to commit them to prison. Having no business relating to that station I am in under your Grace to trouble you with, I take leave to give your Grace some slight touches of the present transactions, because in having an account from several hands there is this advantage, that sometimes even the meanest happens to light upon some circumstances which clear up what is related by much better.

Ormond to Earl of Orrery.

1678, December 7. Dublin.—The country letters came in so late on Monday, which is one of our regular Council days,

and Tuesday happening to be a post day on which I had many despatches to make, I was not willing in haste to enter upon a return to your Lordship's of the 29th of the last, wherein are things of importance to the public, and to me who have a part in the service of it.

Your Lordship will dispense with my taking notice of those things for which orders were sent in pursuance of your representations concerning Major Beversham's company and the fort of Bantry, because I depend more upon your judgment and knowledge of those parts than upon their opinion that say that though Ross be a good place to secure the company (if well provided within), yet being an island except a narrow causeway leading out of it, it is not so proper for protection and encouragement of the Protestants of those parts, who may rather be disheartened to live scattered in their weak houses, when they see a well armed company is sent for protection into an inaccessible fortress.

Those who would endeavour to calumniate the Government cannot do it more maliciously than by imputing negligence and coldness to their proceedings in such a conjuncture as this; but they would not be the cunning men I mean if they could be easily detected, or if they could not cover their defamations under the pretence of honesty, love to the Government, and a mighty zeal for the Protestant religion and for the safety of the professors of it; and sure no libels against a Government can be more artificial and pernicious than lamentations from men of the character they assume, when they insinuate that in times of daily alarms and extreme peril the remedies and preventions do not keep pace or hold proportion with the imminence and greatness of the danger.

Though your Lordship's apology in behalf of well meaning men who may have been alarmed and frighted into such thoughts and reflections is immediately before the profession you are pleased to make of your desire and endeavour that the Government may be as prosperous in my hands as if it were in your brother's, yet I hope you do not think my expressions on this subject were or are directed to your Lordship.

I do not exactly follow the paragraphs of your Lordship's, because I conceive this may be a fit place to say that it would have been a very obliging instance of your favour and friendship to me if it had pleased you to have informed me sooner of the great trouble your Lordship and many others were in; because that, though the horrid plot was discovered in the beginning of September, yet not so much as a letter came for setting up of the militia till the 11th of November. If you had afforded me the favour, I could have told you very truly that the first notice I had of it was in the beginning, as I take it, or the 7th, of October, and if your Lordship had known it sooner I presume you would have thought it fit to be imparted to me. But by this calculation I am allowed to have been awake a month sooner than by the other. How the rest of the time was spent appears best by public acts and by the journals of the Council books, and I heartily wish your Lordship's health

could have permitted your presence with us, because it would have saved us both much pains in writing, and either you would have been better satisfied with our proceedings (which are as hitherto very unanimous) than your letters intimate, or they would have been changed to your liking. What other men hoped for more than they found in the letters concerning the militia your Lordship does not mention, nor can I guess at. For their fears, they are frequently represented by your Lordship, and they seem to be greater than in any other part of the kingdom, from whence I do not hear but that Protestants that live out of garrisons lie down quietly and rise safely, and I pray God that they and their posterity may ever do so.

It is not doubted but that the militia, when it was first raised, received a great advantage by your Lordship's interest and vigorous industry in that province, to which let it be no diminution that the militia of other counties appeared before me very well modelled, armed, and commanded, though they were only under the care of Commissioners of Array, unless where perhaps there might be the governor of a county, of whom few were resident in their counties, and, I doubt, fewer took pains. I conceive it is a mistake that seven went to a quorum in the last Commission of Array. I think two was the number in the last. I am sure it is in this which will go hence by the next post, and to which and the instructions that go with it I must refer myself as to all things that concern the militia. I shall not only allow of but earnestly desire your Lordship's information and advice as often as you shall conceive them conducible to the King's service, and the peace and quiet of his people.

I conceive the advertisements and advices given by the priest to my Lord of Shannon and of other Irish Papists to English and Protestants, and the reasons for those advertisements and advices, if well followed and traced to the fountain, to be the likeliest way I have yet seen offered to discover that damnable plot in all its circumstances of contrivement and conspirators. That there was and is still a Popish Plot on foot to murder the King and subvert the Government and religion established by law we are not to doubt; that some of the Papists of Ireland are involved in it, and are assigned a great part to act is not only a great part of the information, but most agreeable to reason, and that the priest and those other persons aforesaid are privy to it, or at least suspicious of it, is most probable; and even the grounds of their suspicion (if they are not deeper in) may very well lead us further into the knowledge of the bottom of that hellish design than can be foreseen. I must therefore desire your Lordship that the priest and some of the other persons who gave the intimation may speedily and safely be sent hither, and that some of the Protestants who received warning and advice from their Popish friends may also appear here, or else that your Lordship will take the full examinations of these latter, that I may have them in readiness by the time the priest and the other Papists shall appear here. I had no information from any FitzGerald importing what your

Lordship says was written into Munster. One that calls himself by that name and says he was born in Kerry was apprehended in the county of Sligo, having said mass there, and pretending he could and would make great discoveries if he might be brought to me, was conducted hither by two gentlemen of that county, Mr. Jones and Mr. Booth, to the King's cost of £12. But upon examination he is found to be a very impostor and vagabond friar, who has been preaching among the Presbyterians in the North, as one of their way, but discarded by them for his three virtues of lying, drinking, and whoreing.

Your Lordship may dispose of your ordnance, if you think fit, to the town of Bandon. But for ammunition to them, and for their militia, His Majesty's stores will not yet afford it; but I suppose at Kinsale, where shipping often comes, they may be furnished for their money. Your Lordship has well disposed of the priest, who would divide the King's subjects betwixt him and the French King. The judges will take him into consideration in the term. Whatever your Lordship finds omitted by me in answer to your Lordship's relating to the militia, I hope you will better find provided for in the Commission of Array, and the instructions sent with it, and for what is contained in yours of the 3rd of this month I beg your patience till the next post.

Copy.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, December 7. Dublin.—I have seen yours of the 30th of the last to your mother relating the proceedings concerning the Queen, and the part you had in it, wherein you have done nothing that I have heard of but what I highly approve of, and would have done myself if I had had the good fortune to have been in the House, persuaded as I am of her virtue, honour, and innocence. In your letter you say you had the post before sent me a copy of what my Lord Bridgewater and you had signed upon your going with Oates to Somerset House, but you forgot to enclose it, for I neither remember that any paper was enclosed in your letter nor can I find one since. I pray take care to let your mother or me constantly know how the Queen does, and such particulars relating to her as are not publicly transacted, for those we shall have from other hands. What passes here I send to Sir Robert Southwell.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, December 10. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 1st of December I have received, with the copy of my Lord of Orrery's to you and your answer; I shall not fail when any occasion offers itself to make the best use I can of them for your service. He writeth many circular letters to Parliament men and Lords of the Council to that effect, but they make not as yet much noise, whether in respect of your Grace or disrespect

to him, or what is worse, to expect a better opportunity, I cannot determine. We are all, I think, in a mist as yet, and the most retiring men do but grope in their politics; there are so many sub-divisions in our divisions, both in Court and Parliament, that I think ere long we shall divide so nicely as to have no factions, which is the best I can hope of it. The ratifications betwixt France and Spain are exchanged, but I do not find the peace with the Emperor much advanced; but certainly if Spain and Holland stick to their peace, the Emperor must make his, though for our sake I wish he would not. The bill for disbanding the Army goeth swift in our House, and a fresh bill against Popery is not much slower. These two once passed, we shall have men's minds clearer, though their discontents at present are not very silent. We are comforted with the news that my Lord James recovereth, for which I congratulate heartily with your Grace.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678, December 10. Dublin.—Now that your son is there all that is to be considered is how to dispose of him after you have satisfied your curiosity. I do not conceive Whitehall to be a good place to breed up the youth of either sex in; so that my opinion, in the first place, is that he stay no longer there than till after Christmas is done, and I wish that even in that time he do not contract some ill habits and obstinacy to retain them, to prevent which he ought to have a governor given him immediately, without whom he should not make a step, and for whom he should have reverence and awe, as being entirely left to his direction and correction. After Christmas there are but two places to send him to—Oxford or Paris—which I leave to your choice. At Oxford I do not know what he can learn, since I do not find he is inclined to the learning of the place; but he will be there kept to college discipline, diet, and hours, strictly, if he be under the care of the bishop of the place for a year or two, after which he may be returned to France. This may have other conveniencies in this conjuncture, and, for aught I know, the sending him to Paris some inconvenience at such a time, when very small circumstances serve the turn to induce important consequences. Yet all that I waive, and am not against his return to Paris as soon as the holidays are over, to enter into an academy, or come to learn his exercises there as an extern. Let this and his equipage be as you and his governor shall agree upon it, still remembering that I will be but at £1,000 a year charge.

I stated my case so truly, and gave my sense so fully to my Lord Chamberlain in relation to his pretensions to the young lady, that there remains no more for me to say, but that, since there is no probability that any offer I can make and perform will be accepted after better shall be rejected, I know not what is to be done in that particular but to let it fall with all the respect and thankfulness that can be expressed to the younger

Lady Northumberland, and without making a journey to the market at Petworth. Having written this to you, desire my Lord Chamberlain to read it and thank me for not troubling him with a letter, which could only echo the lamentations I find in all honest men's.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678, December 10. St. James's Square.—Yours of the 1st December came yesterday, and last night my Lord Longford, Sir Robert Southwell and myself met at my Lord's house to read those copies Sir Robert had by that post received from your Grace. The part my Lord Orrery acts is very visible by them, and though the steps your Grace has made towards the security of that kingdom (since this strange discovery) have been very vigorous, and those other counsels which have been in debate have been, with great reason, laid aside, yet we were thinking that it might be of considerable service to your Grace to have a full narrative drawn up and sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry for the King to see, which might contain an account of all that has been done upon this occasion, what has been put in execution, what upon debate (and for what reasons) has been found unpracticable, and what remains yet to be done. This would, at one view, put before the King the present state of the kingdom, and let him see the utmost that can be done at present (till a Parliament shall have provided further) for the safety of the nation; and when upon such a naked representation His Majesty's opinions and commands upon the whole shall be desired, I cannot see how your Grace can suffer by any private whispers or insinuations.

These two days this week have been spent upon disbanding the army, and bills against Popery; towards that 'tis resolved that the present land tax shall be increased half as much more from February next, and this is endeavoured to be suppressed by three bills, two of which had their rise in this House, and one came from the Lords. They are all three committed to the same committee, and it is hoped that out of them all we may have one very effectual act for settling our future peace.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, December 10. Castlemartyr.—I know your Grace and myself too well to have so much as fancied that what your Grace wrote to me concerning persons which had maliciously calumniated the Government was in the least meant of me, and the introduction I made in my letter to your Grace was only to convince your Grace that if my brother had been in your Excellency's station I would not have been more earnest with him to have put these western parts into a posture of defence than I have been so under your Excellency's government.

I think in several of my letters to my Lord Chancellor, to whom I write chiefly of public things, and who I find imparts such letters to your Grace (to whom I am loath to be too often troublesome), I did not omit, in the first notice of these horrid plots, to express my earnest desires that the militia might be set up usefully, with all convenient speed, since there was not wherewithal to recruit the army; and in my Lord Chancellor's letters to me he did me the favour to let me know that he supposed orders would soon issue for the setting up of the militia, some weeks before your Excellency's and the Council's letter came about it, dated the 15th of November (which by mistake I wrote was dated the 11th of that month), and therefore every post expecting those orders would be sent (knowing my Lord Chancellor would not have written what he did had not your Excellency been resolved to set it up again) I judged it not over decent to write more to your Excellency about it.

I think Mr. Oates his first deposition before His Majesty in Council was taken the 28th of September last, but I am sure several days before then some friends in London wrote to me (and I had only some intimation of it from my Lord Chancellor about the same time) that there was an hellish plot on foot by the Papists, in which Ireland was deeply concerned; and I was apt enough to believe that if such black designs were detecting, and that his Grace had intimations thereof, your Excellency was much likelier to have notice of them, who sit at the helm of this kingdom, than I, who only live a private and retired life in it.

I humbly assure your Grace that had my gout permitted it, and had your Excellency commanded my attendance at Dublin, or had you commanded my poor opinion in things of public concernment when the first preparations for the safety of this kingdom were under consideration, I should have judged it my duty most humbly to have offered to your Grace's consideration rather to have put the kingdom first into a posture of defence, and after that by proclamations to have required the titular and regular Romish clergy to have gone out of it, and the laity of that religion to have been disarmed, than first to have commanded the two latter, and then some weeks after to send letters to raise the militia, since (being sworn to give my best advice) I could not have believed (till better reasons had convinced me than I was able to suggest unto myself) that it is an usual thing first to irritate a numerous and dangerous clergy, who are blindly obeyed by all their flocks, and a numerous laity also, and then to prescribe means to justify it by force if they proved disobedient (as I think most in these parts believed they would, since on trial they had done the like formerly, and had escaped with impunity). And I had been the more earnest herein because I had reason to believe that such disobedient clergy and laity would chiefly have been secured by the militia, who, being dispersed in all parts, would have been the more fit for it. Nor could I think the civil officers would have been very active therein until they saw the militia up to have protected them in doing their duties

and after; and, probably, the disobedience had not been so general and extensive had those who contracted the guilt of it seen the militia first well formed to have brought them to be punished for it. I ingeniously acknowledge to your Grace that these things did and still do trouble me, both as wishing from my soul all good to my King and country, and prosperity to your Excellency's government, under which, I am sure, all that is dearest to me in this world must either sink or swim.

I have been thus large and thus minute in this part of my letter because of some sensible expressions in the honour of your Grace's letter to me, in which methinks I am a little taxed, as if I had failed in not representing things to your Grace as I ought to have done; therefore I have the largelier insisted on my humble vindication, for I would not pass under the least shadow of failing in my renewed professions of service to your Grace, no more than I would knowingly, much less intentionally, err in the sacred bond of that duty. And therefore, if what I have presumed to write on this subject should be judged a fault, I most humbly beseech your Grace, since it wholly proceeds from my concernment in that tender point, to pardon the effect for the cause's sake.

I most humbly beg your Grace to believe that what I wrote of the fears of the Protestants of Munster was from very many authentic assurers of it, and I think the Protestants in these western parts yield not in courage to any in other parts of the kingdom. But I know no part of the kingdom, except the west of this province, that has in it above ten thousand able bodies of men, all Papists, and who have residing among them the chief heads of their class (and who are justly suspected to have still many arms) who have lost entirely their estates by the last rebellion. To which may be added that in all that wild and large tract of ground, His Majesty has not one garrison wherewith to awe them, nor is there hardly one Protestant inhabitant to pry into their actings, and to give true and speedy accounts of what they are doing or designing. Possibly these things may have occasioned their fears, together with their not being yet in a good posture of defence. I am very sensible of your Grace's great condescension in taking notice my poor endeavours were acceptable to your Excellency in the first setting up the militia of this province, and I presume most humbly to assure your Grace that I think it no diminution to my duty therein that your Grace does say the militia of other countries appeared before your Grace, well modelled, armed, and commanded, though they were only under the care of the Commissioners of the Array. And I unfeignedly wish that the Commissioners of Array in every county may now as fully and expeditiously answer your expectation therein as the need seems to require they should.

Yet I think the militia of this province flattered themselves with a fancy that none were so early in arms as they, at the first setting of it up. And I humbly think that no body of militia in the kingdom were so long on actual duty in the honour of His Majesty's service, merely on the credit of those

who commanded (as to their food and forage), as the several troops and companies of this province were at Kinsale in the year 1667, for which, after the peace, they were duly paid army pay. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I wrote that the quorum of the Commissioners of Array in this country was larger than really it is, since if seven be not the quorum, they themselves assured me it was.

I also most humbly thank your Excellency for the honour of your most obliging expressions in answer to my humble desires of laying at your feet my poor thoughts from time to time in what might concern His Majesty's service, and the safety of those western counties, which, having such an encouragement to do, I shall endeavour to employ it for your Excellency's service.

Your Excellency's commands concerning the priest which sent my brother Shannon the intimation I mentioned, I shall acquaint him with, that he may obey them. But I humbly beg your Excellency's leave to say I doubt it may seem unwelcome to any English gentleman to be an accuser of a friendly Irish neighbour for giving him advice for his safety, and much more unwelcome to him to make a winter journey to Dublin to do it, and thereby make his friend his enemy, and, in the meantime during his absence in such times the more to expose his family. And this I the rather presume to write, because when an English gentleman, one Mr. Browne, came on purpose out of Kerry to me to give me notice that he had had an advice of that nature from an Irish neighbour of his called Mr. Archdeacon, I sent immediately an express for the said Archdeacon, hoping on strict examination of him myself to make some useful discovery; but when I had brought them face to face, and that Mr. Browne offered to depose what he had informed me, Mr. Archdeacon offered to depose voluntarily that he remembered not he had ever given such advice to Mr. Browne, and Mr. Browne, desiring me privately to make up the business between them the best I could, lest Archdeacon and his friends might destroy him, I did it. But I made Archdeacon, by solemn voluntary oath, engage to me to be very active in detecting any design against His Majesty's peace and government. After what I have now written, if your Grace judges fit that such English and Irish should be sent up to your Excellency, I am all obedience. But I am now earnest to apprehend a Romish priest, who I have good ground to believe is entrusted with most of their secrets, and can, if he will, discover much; for I have the oaths of two of his parishioners, which are very material as to that point, and him, if I can apprehend, I shall send up to your Excellency, with the deponents against him, for he is worth the thorough examining, and it can do no hurt to any of the Protestants.

I shall lend the Corporation of Bandon my iron ordnance, since your Excellency wishes me to do it. I doubt if the militia be not furnished with powder and match out of His Majesty's stores (which, I am sure, I will not do without your

Excellency's express orders, after what your Excellency has written to me thereon) they will be to seek. For there was little or no powder to be bought before the proclamation about powder, and, since that proclamation, I cannot hear of any to be sold either by merchants or out of ships. If I think anything is omitted which concerns the making useful the Militia after I shall have seen the new commission and instructions to the Commissioners of Array, I shall humbly lay at your Excellency's feet my thoughts thereon.

Finding that Major Congreve cannot remove (without prejudice) to Youghal, I humbly beg your Grace, by my brother Burlington's desire, for your order for Captain Savage's company, now at Cork, to remove to Youghal, and garrison there. Mr. Roderick Jackson is just now come to me from Youghal with notice of a ship of above eighty tons that is by stress of weather driven into that harbour, the master whereof is an Irish Papist, and he saith all his lading is figs, that he comes from Cadiz, and is bound for Ostend on the account of Mr. Browne, a Papist, of Waterford. 'Tis suspected the ship has much gunpowder in her under the upper casks of figs, for the ablest merchants of Youghal aver that a cargo of figs is not to be found at Cadiz, and will not vend at Ostend, but we dare not stay or search her to the bottom without your Excellency's order to Mr. Jackson and the officers of that port.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678, December 10.—I received this day your letters of the 30th of November and the 4th of this month. I failed not to mind the King of making a Primate, which he promised suddenly to despatch. I fear there is not sufficient care taken to observe the motions of the King of France, there being no certainty of the truth of the reports of his preparing a great fleet at Brest, and of his going shortly to see it himself; a man that should say anything of apprehending danger from thence would be censured for having a mind to have the army continue. As I learn anything of this matter, I will, however, do my duty in informing you, and in speaking my mind to the King. Peace being made with Spain, and the frost coming on, which prevents his doing anything that way in help of Sweden, I know not where, but on us, such preparations can be intended. My Lord of Anglesey seemed much satisfied with a letter he told me he had received from you. I am glad the affronts done to the proclamation were of no worse a nature than what you informed me, as disrespectful things, at the least, are often done here towards the Government. You will see the condition of James's health from Doctor Wetherley's letter. I intend very soon to despatch him from hence, and certainly his allowance is very reasonable, and if his governor be careful, and not be wanting to himself, his education and way of living ought to render him such as we ought to expect from one that has been so much the care of his friends. I have no further trouble to give you at present.

Memorandum respecting Bedloe.

When I was last at Brecon, hearing of one Mr. Beddoes, [Bedloe] that had made a great discovery, and inquiring who and of what quality this man was, I had this relation of him. That he was a fiddler's son, of Chepstow; that some time (not long before) he had been in that town in a very handsome habit and equipage, where some of the gentlemen of the town (according to the hospitable humour of the place towards strangers) entertained him with a great deal of civility and respect. From thence he went into Caermarthenshire, and there to Sir Rice Rudd's house, where he inquires of a servant of Sir Rice Rudd's whether his master was at home; he told him yes, and desired to know who would speak with him. "Tell him," says Mr. Beddoes, "God Almighty is here!" The man, not a little wondering at the answer, went in and told it his master. All this while, the stranger sat on horseback at the gate. When Sir Rice came to the door, Mr. Beddoes told him that he had heard he was an honest, hospitable gentleman, and that he was (though a stranger) come to wait on him. Sir Rice desired him to alight and walk in, which he did. After some time and discourse, wherein he made frequent mention of Middlesex, Rochester, and Sedley, with such a familiarity, and giving them no other addition to their names, as if he had been some great man of birth, charge and education, in the midst of their discourse, Sir Rice Rudd receives his post letters and with them a Gazette, wherein there was an advertisement of the loss of a horse, with a description of the person who was suspected to have stolen this horse. While Sir Rice was reading this advertisement he sometimes cast an eye upon his guest, then reads, then again takes off his eye, and observes how the character and the stranger agreed. Mr. Beddoes, observing this, makes an apology to go out of doors, calls for his horse and away he goes that night (as they heard) towards Pembrokeshire. But they never heard of him after till he was in everybody's mouth for the great discovery. And the gentlemen at Brecon were well laughed at, and frequently rallied for the great entertainment they had given this piece of errantry, when they came to understand his quality.

[Endorsed by Ormond]. Bedloe: given me by Col. J. Jeffreys, the 11th of December '78.

Lord Lieutenant and Council to Earl of Orrery.

1678, December 13.—After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship, having received your Lordship's letter of the 6th in return to ours of the 2nd instant, and considered the same, we think fit thereupon to acquaint your Lordship that there were sent down by Tuesday night's post new Commissions of Array, and instructions, into the several counties in the province of Munster, which, with what was last written to your Lordship from this Board, we conceive do sufficiently answer all the material points of your Lordship's letter, and which, being

duly pursued, we doubt not but they will put the Militia in that province in a very good posture, and the people there in a safe condition, so as they will have no more real cause of complaint herein than His Majesty's subjects in the other parts of the kingdom, who have equal reason to be solicitous for their securities, and whom we find to acquiesce in the like methods as are sent to be observed in Munster in this conjuncture. And so we bid your Lordship heartily farewell. From the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 13th day of December, 1678. Your Lordship's very loving friends,

Ormond.	Tho. Newcomen.
Mich. Dublin, C.	Rob. Fitzgerald.
Arran.	Char. Meredith.
Granard.	H. Ingoldsby.
Lanesborough.	Hans Hamilton.
Hen. Midensis.	Rich. Gethin.
R. Coote.	Walter Plunkett.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, December 14. Whitehall.—I have little to add since my last to you, only to enclose these two letters intercepted this week. They are supposed to come from the Pope's internuncio at Brussells. Your Grace will best judge the ways to find who they are that receive letters under this name at the posthouse at Dublin; for the names, I conceive, are feigned that are in the superscription, but those mentioned in the letter are, I conceive, real.

We are as yet as much in the dark as ever, but whether upon the days lengthening we shall have any more light into the politics I cannot tell. Upon Tuesday, five of the imprisoned priests will be brought to their trial, which, what way soever it fall, will produce consequences considerable, and make appear the affections both of Court and country, and will be a ground of prognostic what the fate of the Lords will be when they come to their trial. The House of Commons have this day appointed a Secret Committee to consider the ways and means of managing their impeachment against them. The House sits during the holidays (Christmas day and its eve only excepted), and are very vigorous in bringing up all their members; so, the bill of disbanding being once passed, it is believed they will undertake something of a high nature. I wish as well as anybody, and will endeavour as far as my body and understanding will second me, to preserve all from ruin; but I must with great grief say my hope bears no proportion to my wishes. But this is certain, that, without any invasion from abroad or any insurrection at home, a greater confusion was never seen in any nation; but your Grace hath too many occasions every day to afflict you without troubling you with any of my melancholy reflections.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678, December 17. Castlemartyr.—My Lord Chancellor did me the favour by the last night's post to send me a large account of the hellish design of murdering your Grace, and of God's great goodness in detecting it, which I may call not only a mercy to your Excellency and all your noble family, relations and friends, but also to all loyal subjects in this kingdom, among which none has a more real or sensible joy than I have. And I beg of God to protect you still from all your enemies, and to guide you constantly into all that is best. And in what I write I solemnly assure your Grace that the heart dictates what is now written by my hand.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678, December 17.—This morning I happened to discourse of many things with the King when we were both in bed, it being my turn to wait in the bed-chamber. I told him my intention of visiting the command I had in your army when things here could permit, which he approved. I entered into several particulars, which he seemed to like; which are that some small provision might be made for field officers and the companies regimented, that exact discipline in exercising and punishing false musters should be put in punctual execution, and that all means reasonable and possible should be used to make the army full and well trained. At the King's dinner the Duke of Monmouth moved that it might be known what number of troops you desired to have from hence, as also the nature of them, there being horse and foot and dragoons to be disbanded, which I undertook you would soon perform. Considering the fastnesses of the land, I know not whether a proportion of dragoons may not be of great use to you; but I presume not to offer at this distance my advice, but desire your opinion, as I am sure it will be well grounded, so it may soon be transmitted, else you may lose much of the advantage the present reducement does now afford. The bill for paying off the forces has been in our House, and this day committed; several objections are made to it, as taking out the monies from the usual course and lodging it in the Chamber of London, besides a burden to those who have served beyond the time limited in the late act for disbanding.

James is this day come to town, and in good health, and I find him better all ways than I expected. I shall follow your directions, which I think will be for sending him back in some reasonable time, and when we have provided him a governor. I have nothing but this latter part of my letter to trouble my mother withal, and by what I inform you, I think I was slow giving her that trouble upon this subject. My Lord Chamberlain is here present, who desires me to make his compliments unto you, and excuses for not writing, having not anything of moment to impart to you.

Officers that understand the manual exercising and the evolutions, and that have been used to regular encampments and marches by being lately in service abroad, must be of great use. I find it is hard finding room for such, but if you can find means to have any provided for, I will recommend none but such as I believe you will be satisfied with them; good adjutants are of an inestimable use, if there were need of men of our trade.

Earl of Shannon to Ormond.

1678, December 17. Cork.—I most humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this confidence, which is occasioned by several letters I received from my brother Orrery about an account was given your Grace that I should receive advice from a priest to send my plate out of my house to this town. I do assure your Grace my brother much misunderstood me, and much misinformed your Grace, for I never had advice or message or anything like it from any priest to send away my plate, and all I know relating to this business is that a cousin of mine called Dick Poer, living within a mile of me advised me to send my plate to Cork, seeing I was always there myself, and my house very open, and my servants very careless and often rambling abroad might give encouragement for loose rogues to steal my plate; and one that was a priest's brother said he gave me good advice, for now and then there was but one servant left in my house. This, I assure your Grace, was every word that was said, without the least mentioning of a plot, or any thing that tended to it. So that I have nothing to say against any priest, and my cousin Dick Poer is a very good Protestant, and I am confident as little knowing in this wicked plot as myself. Therefore I most humbly beg your Grace not to punish them with your commands to wait on your Grace at Dublin, for I know of no fault they have committed, nor have I a word to say against them, nor is my cousin Poer at present able to travel to Dublin, having been lying of a cold these three weeks. I beseech your Grace to believe this real account, and pardon this tedious trouble.

Ormond to Earl of Orrery.

1678, December 17. Dublin—What with the time that is employed in the answer of despatches out of England, and the examination of the persons informing and informed against, I doubt I shall not be so punctual in my returns to the letters your Lordship favours me with but that I may often omit a post, as I have done since I have received yours of the 10th instant. I will not doubt but that the company is best disposed of at Ross and Tralee, for the reasons mentioned by your Lordship, nor that a younger and more healthy man would do better there. If you please to name any captain you think fitter, he and Major Beversham shall have patents to change stations, which I think will be best done as soon as they shall have

received the next quarter's pay, for I know not readily where to direct the advancement of any money, the Establishment being cut so even to the revenue that every unexpected charge puts us to difficulties.

All I can say of the setting up of the militia (to avoid bringing our discourse upon it to volumes) is that it was proceeded in as fast as the Council thought it convenient, that we held it our duty, immediately upon the King's pleasure signified by the Order of Council of the 1st of October, to set forth the proclamation for the departure of the Popish titular and regular clergy, and in pursuance of his general directions to require the Popish laity to bring in their arms—whether this method or that your Lordship supposes would have been more safe and effectual would have been best, I have not leisure this way to debate. The Commissions for raising the Militia are by this time in the hands that are to execute them, and they are instructed in the manner, and, God be thanked, there hath yet no inconvenience come to the kingdom for want of quicker despatch. If your Lordship still remains troubled for the omissions of the Government, and unsatisfied with every step it has made since the discovery of the Plot (as your letters import), our obedience and the performance of our duty to the best of our understandings is our satisfaction.

I did express my meaning very ill if your Lordship conceives I charged you with want of representing your sense of things to me directly, or by my Lord Chancellor. I know you proposed the setting up of the Militia very early and very earnestly, and it was proceeded upon as soon and as fast as was found practicable, as might have appeared to your Lordship if you had been here. But to show you why it could be done no sooner or faster will require as much time and pains as the doing it, and is an account we reserve to give the King when he shall command it. But my meaning was, as I think my words do import, that if your Lordship had sooner informed me of the great trouble you and others were in upon so plainly a mistaken computation of the time betwixt the discovery of the hellish Plot in England and any man's knowledge of it here, as a full month (and so it must be confessed to be if the 28th of September can properly be called the beginning of that month), I could have rectified the mistake and prevented the spreading of it, and the hurt the deductions made from it may have done me here and in England, by assuring your Lordship that the very first notice I had of it was in a letter of six lines from Sir Robert Southwell, of the 28th of September, written when he was employed upon the work of discovery, and received by me the 3rd of October. If my Lord Chancellor and your Lordship had earlier information, your correspondents were sooner acquainted with it, or more diligent than mine. And, to deal freely with your Lordship, as I desire to do with all men, as far as prejudice and decency will permit, I must plainly declare that I do not understand how your Lordship's proceeding in this conjuncture is suitable to or in discharge of your renewed professions of friendships and favour to me, or

yet a just return to the respect and freedom with which I began to treat you and correspond with you since my last coming to this Government, in pursuance of my promise to your brother, my Lord of Burlington.

I will not question but that it may be allowable, perhaps the duty of every councillor, how distant soever from the Council-Board, not only to give pertinent intelligence and information to the Government, but his advice and opinion of what he informs. Yet if every distant councillor shall make use of that liberty (to which they have all equal right) and expect minute returns and reasons why their sense is not followed, the Council (if they set about to satisfy them) will have more work than they can turn themselves to, and less reverence and respect than it is necessary they should have. But if any councillor, after acts of Council are past and emitted, shall say they should have come out sooner, or in other manner or method, when the time is irrecoverably elapsed and the acts impossible to be recalled, if he should be in the right, yet is he not overbold with his fellows, and is he very friendly to them and to what end can such remonstrances serve? How can they be otherwise interpreted than to lay negligence, or weakness, or some worse fault upon the Government, the foundations of accusations in proper time and hands? I do not say your Lordship's reflections though of this nature, are to this end, but being diffused as I know they are, and derived from your Lordship, I do not know when or by whom they may be transformed into that shape. Of this kind I have reason to account what your Lordship writes upon occasion of the advertisements given by the well affected Irish to their English neighbours and friends, and my desire to have that matter strictly examined, which I designed for the further and fuller discovery of the damnable plot contrived by Irish and Papists, and I find turned upon me as a great severity imposed by me upon English Protestants, as exposing their families in their absence, whilst they are called up hither, to make enemies of their friends, and to excuse them for giving them advertisements and advices for their safety. Your Lordship, not taking notice that my directions and words were that those English should either be sent up hither, or their examinations taken in the country, and sent up, without which alternative the directions might seem hard, but with it very reasonable; and upon such an occasion, and in the place I am, I must not allow of [that] generosity in the English towards their Irish friends, as to have such an opportunity of discovery lost in compliment to either; the rather that it will be the fault of those Irish if they suffer any inconvenience besides journey, nay, if they have not thanks and reward. And because I could give some instances of persons that have been very good friends to some loyal subjects and yet irreconcileable enemies and traitors to the Government, I must therefore still desire that your Lordship would yourself, with what assistance you please to call to you, take and send hither the full examinations of those English, and send them

to me close sealed, that it may be considered how many and which of the Irish shall be sent for; which, being in your Lordship's management, I doubt not but may be done without any inconvenience to the English.

I have given your Lordship a clear account of my thoughts concerning your proceedings with me in points very tender and sensible to me, in which you will find the reason of the alteration you observe of the style of my letters to you of late, as my Lord Chancellor tells me you do. His Grace has read to me what your Lordship writes touching the foul disorder and violence committed upon the innkeeper and his wife at Bennetsbridge; but the next post after I received the examinations you sent me of it, I ordered Captain Cuffe, the present Mayor of Kilkenny, to take the information of Holden and his wife and of any other that could give testimony in it, and send it to me, being resolved without any respect to the quality or relations of the persons offending to cause them to be prosecuted with as much severity as the law will inflict, for I profess heartily to detest outrages of that nature.

Sir Robert Howard to Ormond.

1678, December 19.—I have forborn to give your Excellency any trouble, knowing how unsafe letters are, and how subject everything is to ill constructions; but having the opportunity of my Lord Aungier's going, I beg your Excellency to receive the assurance that I continue the same to you as I professed when I had the honour to see you here. I wish your Excellency all prosperity in your government, and that every thickening cloud may disperse. Here some are newly gathered, which is now grown to an impeachment against my Lord Treasurer, being so voted by the Commons. At the same time the bill for the disbanding the army is not agreed to by the Lords, they differing in the way of payment of the monies; the bill fixing it in the Chamber of London, and the Lords desiring it may go by the known way of the Exchequer. The impeachment of the Lords goes on in the private committee that are to prepare the evidence and manage it on the hearing. I present your Excellency but with these particulars that you may judge how great a ferment everything is in; and, in the meantime, the condition of the King's revenue in so low an estate, that it cannot bear delay. I wish there were such help as you might be to incline the King to consider what is best to be done; and not put anything to the hazard of great promises. I am confident the Parliament would give him that ease that is due to his excellent nature, and I cannot but wish that all interpositions, like so many eclipses, between him and them were removed. Your Excellency knows I have been ever of this judgment, and want but assistance to show it; for never time so pressed for determination, and I fear all things but a Parliament will be but mean help to restore such breaches as are now made. I know my Lord Aungier will give your Excellency a more large and exact account.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, December 20. Castlemartyr.—I did last night receive the honour of your Grace's letter of the 17th instant. I shall not any more trouble your Grace with voluminous letters. I think I might have something to say for myself on the honour of yours by this post; but I shall be silent. I had not writ mine of the 10th instant had I not thought it necessary.

I most humbly and heartily thank your Grace for the plain declaration you have been pleased to make to me. I had much rather when I am unintentionally so unhappy as to have any actings of mine disgustful to your Grace, to be told it in that frank and generous manner than to guess it by the alteration of your manner of writing. I solemnly protest to your Grace that nothing is farther from my intentions, nay, from my thoughts, than to charge the Government with neglect, weakness or worse, or in the least to design that what is my private opinion should ever be turned into that shape by any others. I have had often the honour to sit in Parliaments and Privy Councils, where I have seen wiser men than I wish, and I have often myself wished, that the resolutions had gone otherwise than they did go, and showed the reasons to friends why I wished it, but yet have still heartily obeyed the resolutions taken, and as intently promoted the executing of them as if the determinations had gone the way I did believe had been the best, and the like I faithfully assure your Grace I shall constantly do all in your determinations and orders, which require my service; nor did I ever hear that such a manner of proceeding was ill taken. But since therein I have erred in your Grace's judgment, I am very sorry. I am more plainly instructed in the way you like best, and your Excellency shall have my obedience to it.

I did presume humbly to acquaint your Excellency that some of the Irish Papists, who had cautioned their Protestant neighbours, had been examined by my brother Shannon and me, and that, after the strictest examinations of both that we could make, nothing material could be got out of either. I instanced Mr. Archdeacon, who denied he remembered he ever told Mr. Browne what Browne offered to depose he had told him, and the priest's brother who sent my brother Shannon the intimation I mentioned, has, after strict examining, averred that only the carelessness of my brother's servants and some loose fellows being in the country had occasioned that advice and nothing else; for when such loose fellows attempted in the night to force his stables they had like to have done it, and taken away his horses, by the neglect of his servants.

Those two instances I gave to evidence the truth of what I had writ, and also how, on as strict examination as we could make, we could get nothing out of them worthy your Grace's farther trouble. If I writ it would be a severity imposed by your Grace on the friendly Irish, and on the cautioned English

Protestants to have them sent up to Dublin in so ill a season, and in such distracted times, I should confess they were very faulty expressions, but I have read over the copy of my letter to your Excellency on that subject, dated the 10th instant, and I find in it these words, viz., "I humbly beg your Excellency's leave to say I doubt it may seem unwelcome to any English gentleman to be an accuser of a friendly Irish neighbour for giving him a friendly advice for his safety, and much more unwelcome to him to make a winter journey to Dublin to do it," etc., which were the softest words I could find on that subject. Whatever I shall be able to find out on such examinations I shall send up close sealed to your Grace, if anything shall appear worth your knowledge.

I have spent most of the afternoon yesterday on my own examining the priest Corrie Meehan, or Mighan, who I humbly acquainted your Excellency had very ill things deposed against him. He went out of the barony of Imokelly above thirteen days after I had sent to his house to apprehend him. He went, as I am assured, to my Lord Barrymore, to whom I sent an express about him, who wrote to me he knew not I had warrants out against him, yet that he had taken security for his civil demeanour and appearance. I therefore summoned the security at their perils if they brought him not unto me, which yesterday they did; and after my long examining him, and telling him his charge (but not the persons who made it) he positively denied all, or that he knew I had sent thirteen days before warrants to apprehend him. I have this day sent him to Cork gaol, with a constable and a guard. I here inclosed humbly present your Grace the words of the two depositions against him; I am trying by some of his friends, who see his danger, to make him confess all he knows. If it be your Grace's pleasure that I shall send him to you from garrison to garrison, and the original depositors, his two accusers, I shall forthwith do it. The depositions are round ones, and I am assured he is both a very knowing and busy priest.

On Wednesday last there was a horse race at Youghal. My Lord Galmoy was there on the other side the ferry of Youghal, and from thence sent a challenge to my brother Shannon's son, Dick Boyle. After he was secured by Mr. Villiers and others at Youghal, I appointed Dick Boyle to give me in writing what had passed, and I desired Mr. Kytely (on whose suspicion the challenge was discovered) to give me in writing what had passed, which they did, and both those originals I judged it my duty to present to your Grace. I here humbly present your Grace with a copy of a deposition against one Hayes, who is fled, but we are in pursuit of him. This Hayes actually declares for the damned doctrine, which Gerald, the priest in gaol at Cork, had taught his parishioners, or at least is accused thereof.

I humbly hope what I have written in some paragraphs of this letter will for ever hinder the necessity of the like again, and will restore me to the happiness of your Grace's good

opinion and favour; the meriting of both is the hearty desires and shall be the assiduous endeavours of, etc.

Postscript.—I have sent your Grace's orders to me of the 17th instant, about the ship at Youghal, suspected to have gunpowder, to the Mayor, Recorder, and Mr. Jackson, to have them executed diligently, and speedily.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1678, December 21. Whitehall.—These two or three last days have produced considerable affairs here. Upon Thursday last, in the morning, a Council was called, where order was given to some of the clerks there attending to go with officers to seize Mr. Montagu's papers, which accordingly they did, and immediately His Majesty sent notice to the House of Commons that he had done so therein on information given against their member; whereupon Mr. Montagu acquainted the House that he had some papers of very great importance which were in another place that had not been searched; whereupon the House presently ordered they should be brought before them; which, being read, they presently voted an impeachment to be drawn up against my Lord Treasurer, two of whose letters were then read, and yesterday the articles were drawn up and at this time they are debating them in the House, so that on Monday it is supposed they will be presented to the Lords. There were two letters of Mr. Montagu's sent by my Lord Treasurer to the House, but after hearing them read, the House did not think fit to enter them upon their journals. I am just now informed that in the first article it is voted by the House of Commons the word "traitorous" shall stand, but not being of the House I cannot give your Grace the true account what the articles are, but doubt not but you will have it from other hands.

There were two priests and a lay brother condemned at the Old Bailey this week, as conspirators in the Plot, but the day of execution is not yet appointed for them. This day Mr. Bedloe accidently met with one whom he accuses to have been assisting in the carrying away of Sir Edmund Godfrey's body; he is seized and put in custody. Mr. Secretary has been indisposed for several days, but I hope upon letting blood and other remedies he will be able to come abroad in a few days. I presume this may come seasonably to wish your Grace a happy Christmas and many of them, which no man can do with more sincerity and zeal than, etc.

Postscript.—Sir Stephen Fox is put out of his place; it is thought for voting against the Lord Treasurer.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678, December 21. St. James's Square, London.—Nothing very considerable has happened since my last till this Thursday. The time for the greatest part has been spent in perfecting the bill for disbanding the Army, and sending it up

to the Lords, in which their Lordships have been pleased to make many great alterations; as 'tis said, and by some feared, to the prejudice of the service designed, but what they are we yet know not, other than by hearsay. On Thursday the King sent the House word by Sir Jo. Ernley that, having been informed from abroad that Mr. Montagu, his late Ambassador at Paris, now a member of that House, had during his residence there had many private conferences with the Pope's Nuncio without his order, he had given order for seizing his papers, that so His Majesty might understand the bottom of that affair. The House having received this message, considering that in all cases where a member's writings might be attached his person might be so too—which was not done in this case, for the gentleman was at liberty and in the House—and yet not knowing what kind of information this might be, nor the purport of those conferences, made His Majesty an answer by way of address that they could come to no resolution upon His Majesty's message, nor tell how far their privileges might be concerned, unless he would be pleased to let them know whether the information were upon oath, and of what nature those conferences were supposed to be. The gentlemen sent to the King reported his answer yesterday morning to be that His Majesty did intend to acquaint the House with it, and would do it as soon as he saw it convenient. The House sat a great while in expectation of a present answer, but at length finding the King was then not at leisure, was upon the point of rising, when Mr. Montagu stood up and told them that he had papers of very great consequence in his hands, in which the King and the whole nation were nearly concerned, the seizing of which he conceived might be the reason why a great man had thus caused his papers to be secured, but that it had so fallen out that in the search they had missed the papers which he thought they chiefly aimed at, and that if the House pleased, they should be fetched thither. Accordingly some members were sent who brought a little cabinet to the House, which Mr. Montagu caused upon the place to be broken open, not having the keys about him, and from thence produced two letters from my Lord Treasurer to himself, then in Paris, in January and March last. The reading of these letters engaged the House in a long debate till about ten at night upon this question, whether those letters contained sufficient matter of impeachment against my Lord Treasurer, which ended in a division of the House, in which (the House consisting then of about 300) it was carried by the odds of about 63, that there was sufficient matter, and a committee appointed to draw up the impeachment.

This day the bill for disbanding was returned from the Lords with several amendments. The Commons immediately fell upon them, and found that the greatest part of them were in effect but [ ], for whereas the Commons (upon their disappointment in the last bill for [ ] service) had thought fit to put the money now to be raised for this use into the Chamber of London, their Lordships have, instead of that,

named the Treasury according to the usual course. But the Commons considering that in all grants of money, the conditions, limitations and uses were solely in them, and not to be altered by their Lordships, disagreed with these amendments. This was no sooner over but the report of the impeachment was made from the Committee. It consists of six articles of high treason, and other high misdemeanours, upon which, without intermission, the House sat till ten at night and went through them all. During the debate there were several divisions, but the result still was that my Lord Treasurer should be impeached upon each of them. The chiefest are grounded upon the two letters produced by Mr. Montagu, of which I have been able to get your Grace copies from the Clerks, and have here sent them inclosed; but the late sitting of the House made it impossible for me to procure a copy of the articles, for which I hope your Grace till the next post will be pleased to excuse, etc.

Ormond to the Earl of Burlington.

1678, December 21. Dublin.—Having engaged myself to your Lordship when I last saw you, that, notwithstanding the distance your brother, my Lord of Orrery, and I had for some time lived at, yet upon my arrival in Ireland I would not only make the first advance toward the renewing of the friendship that had formerly been betwixt us, but endeavour to improve it by all the respect I could show him, I confidently affirm that this I have carefully and punctually performed on my part; and, I must confess, I cannot complain of the reception it found with his Lordship or the returns he made for some time, that is, till an opportunity was offered under the secure pretext of zeal for the British interest and Protestant religion in himself, to insinuate a want of it in me. This he began to do, and I suspect, upon occasion of the bill transmitted for the Confirmation of Estates, against which he raised many objections in his private letters to my Lord Chancellor, most of them pretending to show the great partiality of the bill in favour to the Irish, which, though I do not believe to be so, because the bill was composed and transmitted by Englishmen and Protestants, and all concerned in some new interest, yet, because it is possible he might really be of that opinion, and because he plainly owned he was 8,000 acres deep concerned to be against it, I should not have complained of his taking any fair way of endeavouring to get it mended to his own mind and profit, either here or in England. Therefore, the transcribing of his objections and sending them to my Lord Chancellor of England or to any other Privy Councillor, I do not lay to his charge. But his sending them to courtiers, to Parliament men, and to others fit to disperse the injurious mistakes that are in them, and the prejudicial inferences that was like to be made from them, I cannot think to be ingenuous, much less friendly. For the mistakes are such as can hardly be unvolun-

tary, and the inference can hardly be other than that here was a combination against the English interest and Protestants, of which I was the head, than which no project can be more ridiculously foolish in us, considering that we could not but know there would be twenty concerned Protestants for one Papist in the House of Commons, who were not like to be awed or cozened out of their estates. To prevent the ill effect of such dangerous impressions, all I did when I had notice of the suggestions was to vindicate my own and the Council's intentions by that bill, and patiently to attend till the time of taking it into consideration at the Council Board in England should come, and when it should there appear that we were not mad, nor natural fools. It was to me very indifferent with what amendments it should be returned, but I confess I was desirous it should come, because I thought a Parliament necessary to put us in a better state of defence than we are, or than without a Parliament we could be, believing then there was a storm hovering over us. This of the bill was the first opportunity he could make use of to bring me into distrust with the English and Protestants; how he made use of it, and improved it, I have, as briefly as I could, laid before your Lordship, omitting many circumstances that make his design evidently to be that.

The next opportunity was the discovery of the horrid Plot in England, and of this he has made all the use that his great parts that way, the subject, and my circumstances, could furnish him with. He represents the dangers and the apprehensions of the English and Protestants in the most affrighting manner that was possible, then complains of the remissness of the Government in applying remedies, and when the best and speediest that could be thought of were applied, he manifests his dislike of them, as if some of them came too late, and ought to have been preceded by others; for want of which method the Irish were exasperated and not disabled, and consequently the English and Protestants rather exposed than secured by what the Government had done. This, when things were done past amendment and recalling, though it had been represented but to my Lord Chancellor and myself, could have been thought no better than fruitless reprehensions, or the desire of showing his own greater abilities. But to transmit them, as in the former case of the bill, to Councillors, to Courtiers, and especially to Parliament men, or to others to disperse amongst them, I leave it to your Lordship to judge what construction a man of common sense can possibly make of it, and whether the best natured man in the world would not also be the most simple if he could be persuaded (being in my station) that such a proceeding as this was not worse than a downright accusation. To an accusation a man knows what to make answer, and has liberty and opportunity to do it, and the accuser is under some obligation of credit at least to prove his assertions. But, by the way my Lord, your brother, has taken, I have no means of defence, neither is he under the obligation of proof.

My Lord my real respect to your Lordship, and the obligation I put myself under when I last saw you, have given occasion for the trouble I now give you, that you may know that is no part or person of your family that I will not serve as long as they will permit me to do it with safety and honour, without some part of which last qualification I should be unworthy of you friendship.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678, December 24. Dublin.—Nothing could be more for the safety of this Government and the King's good subjects that live under it than the reinforcing the army, as your letter of the 17th inst. proposes. The difficulties that seem to me insuperable are how to persuade the Parliament that the sending of a part of the army in England to Ireland is a disbanding them within their purpose and construction; the other how to pay and support the troops here. For, you ought to know, the revenue here is already charged to the uttermost extent it can bear, and so little left to answer contingencies that it will not reach to such foreseen excesses as cannot properly be called contingent. Besides, you know there are many things besides the bodies of men armed that are so essential that an army is useless without them; of many of these we are absolutely destitute, and very inconsiderably provided of any. The particular accounts of those provisions are, and have long been, in the hands of the Master of the Ordnance, and will, I fear, be easilyer produced than supplied upon the first notice of disbanding and of that act, for which it now occasions a great part of the disorder things are in. I moved for the sending twenty companies hither, and undertook to provide for them for six months, but it was in confidence that a Parliament would have been sitting here before this time. And since it was not, I am glad the men were not sent; for, without some probable prospect of means to pay them, they would be soon greater enemies than any that are yet in sight. If I could be answered how to pay them, I could quickly say what sort of troops I would desire, and as soon fall to regimenting, exercising, and disciplining the army we have. The two latter costing nothing but pains, I already take the best care I can of. When you write such hard words as are in your postscript, I pray write them in a better hand, for I can make nothing of them.

SAME to SAME.

1678, December 24. Dublin.—What I write in my other letter of this date you may perhaps be put to show, for an answer seemed to be expected from the proposition which I doubt was made by chance; else the consideration of how to pay men would have taken place of the keeping them on foot and sending them over. When I undertook a Parliament here would furnish the King with money, and would not be

troublesome, I little dreamt of such a tempest as is now raised, and is like, without the breath of God calm it, to shake all those kingdoms into confusion. I do not wonder, much less murmur, that no light is given me how it is desired I should guide myself; for want of that I will follow my own reason, as weak as it is, and never forsake my old principles, whatever can follow.

My principal domestic care is concerning James. I writ you my sense a while since, and have now nothing to add to what I then writ. It is left to your choice whither to send him. I know you are no admirer of Oxford education, yet the Bishop of that place is an admirable man, and it looks as if English acquaintance and customs might prove more useful than a more refined way of breeding, and yet that may well be recovered a year or two hence. Somewhere let him be under stricter discipline and better example than Whitehall afforded in my time.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678, December 24. St. James's Square.—The impeachment against my Lord Treasurer (of which the enclosed is a copy) was carried up to the Lords yesterday in the afternoon. His Lordship, having spoken upon it in his justification, desired the direction of the House as to his withdrawing. This led them into that debate which ended in a vote of the House that he should not withdraw. They went no further in it that night, but adjourned it to Friday next.

There is now taken one Branse, a silversmith, who worked to the Chapel at Somerset House, whom Bedloe upon his first examination had described to be one of those men who were present there when the body of Sir Ed. Godfrey was shewed him. He has been examined by a Committee of each House privately, and this day by the Council, forenoon and afternoon. The particulars of his confession I have not yet fully learnt, but only in general that he agrees with the information of Bedloe, and has added many other circumstances of his own knewledge, both as to the full discovery of this murder and this horrible plot. The rest we shall have on Thursday, till when both Houses are adjourned. In the meantime four or five other persons are apprehended upon what he has delivered, and are committed.

John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, to Ormond.

1678, December 28.—Dr. Marsh now makes his personal attendance, and, I hope, will endeavour to express the sense he has of your favour to him, and to redeem his past delay by a redoubled and unwearied diligence in his employment. His real abilities in the several parts of learning I no way doubt and am secure of his fidelity and diligence. The greatest fear may be, lest being a stranger, if he meet with faction and opposition, mischiefs not unusual in the societies of scholars,

he may want courage to vindicate himself and assert his authority. But your Excellency's patronage will abundantly supply this defect, and make him equal to his charge, and useful in it. The present season gives me countenance humbly to offer to your Excellency my heartiest wishes of a happy New Year, that, notwithstanding the hazards and difficulties of the public, it may go on with health and honour and success unto yourself, and be no less prosperous unto the church and nation entrusted to your government.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, December 28. Piccadilly.—Your Grace's of the 18th instant I have received, and with it the enclosed from your Grace and the Council, with the affidavit and examinations concerning a design against your person. How sensible I am of it, as I cannot express, so I hope I need not. The letter from the Council I have caused to be delivered to the Council here, myself having for some time been a prisoner to my chamber. Your letter to Sir Robert Southwell I have perused, and shall only make this remark, that the Commission my Lord of Ossory demandeth is very agreeable to one he endeavoured some years since to have procured under the Great Seal here, and had so far prospered in it as to procure the King's hand to a bill, and it was brought to my office for the Signet, there stopped, and the King acknowledged himself surprised in it, and that he knew not the contents; and so that design was disappointed. We are here in so many disorders that a volume cannot write it, and whilst His Majesty will use but one clue for the labyrinth, and that is stretched as it now is, I cannot but fear the event. The time is melancholy, and I as it, but still full of the same loyalty to my master and reverence for your Grace.

Sir Stephen Fox to Ormond.

1678, December 28. Whitehall.—I did lately through the hands of Mr. Gascoigne, give an account of the manner of my being dismissed the King's service, which was in as severe words as could be expressed, and it reached at first not only to my office, but to an immediate quitting my lodgings, which being represented by His Royal Highness that they were built at my own expense, His Majesty was pleased to recall that part of his punishment, so that it is no crime to remain in them, which by reason of the season of the year and my full family at present, is no small favour; but the restoring me to my place is not granted, though all other members in the same vote, who were said to be put out are not so, namely, Mr. Solicitor, Sir Phi. Warwick, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Robert and Sir John Holmes, and others. So that it is my hard hard fortune to be pointed at more than anybody else, which I do not wonder at, it being the usual effect of injurious

persons never to forgive. As yet there is not anybody nominated for my place, which makes me presume to write to your Grace my most humble advice and request that your Grace would interpose in the general for all sworn servants, which is usually reckoned a freehold; and without a great crime indeed, it was never known that a sworn servant to the King was ever dismissed or turned away; and, upon strict and very deliberate inquiry it may be asserted that no precedent can be found for it. In King James's time there was an officer of the Greencloth that had highly offended the King in writing a scurrilous libel against the nation of Scotland, at which not only the King, but the then Lord Steward, the Duke of Lennox, were extremely offended, and King James positively commanded he should be put out of his place. But, upon further consideration, he was permitted to sell it, besides which I could never hear of any sworn servant that was ever displaced without his consent, and he had a compensation, which I do not find is intended me, who cannot in the least accuse myself of any fault, nor doth anybody else, but of voting according to my judgment; and, perhaps, upon better knowledge concerning that person than most that voted that day, though the House was full; for 179 were for an impeachment, against 116. And this matter of my being turned out would have begot a debate in the House, if I had not with great care prevented it; for I would not, for twice my value, be an occasion of an angry address to the King, who, if he will not restore me from his own goodness, I shall have but little heart to serve, who have ever served him with all my heart. And that service from which I was heretofore dismissed, now failing so dismally as it doth, which less than half the credit I gave would have prevented, renews displeasure against me, and makes my going out as if sought by me, who then struggled to keep in with treble the earnestness I do now not to be turned away in this manner. Wherein I beg your Grace to afford such assistance as is fit from the chief preserver of sworn servants in general, and to me in particular, who have ever found your Grace my friend far beyond my desert.

Ormond to Earl of Arlingtcn.

1678, December 28. Dublin.—Your Lordship may conclude I have by every post a very good account of what passes there in public. I wish it may have as good a conclusion. In the meantime I am not so unreasonable as to expect this place should be thought of.

Since you will take the trouble of considering James, and advising how he shall be disposed of, your Lordship will allow me the liberty of telling you what I incline to. I agree with my Lord of Arran that it will be too soon to put him to the exercises and diet of an academy, considering his age and constitution, and to send him back into France before he has strength for exercise may be to little purpose and great expense. At Whitehall I do not wish he should spend much

more time. I therefore incline he should go to Christ Church in Oxford, under the conduct in chief of the Bishop. There he will be well treated, and yet kept under academical discipline; and there, I suppose, he may have with him somebody that may take care that he lose not the French he has learned. And if one Cole, who was recommended as a governor to him in France by my Lady Northumberland, and who I therefore suppose speaks good French, could be gotten to take upon him the place of tutor at Oxford, I conceive he might be of great use to him whilst he stays in England, and it would be known whether he might not a year or two hence serve as governor when he should return to France. My daughter Candish may perhaps give some account where he may be found, and I think he is well known and esteemed by the Bishop of Oxford. The aspect of the times methinks does something add to the reason of this, yet I will not insist upon it, but be entirely concluded by your Lordship's and my Lord Ossory's opinions in the matter.*

There has been a pen war carried on betwixt my Lord of Orrery and me ever since the discovery of the Plot that hath already cost some lives, and God only knows how many more it may. Our skirmish seems to be come to a period, and compared with the great things now on foot, is but a storm in a cream bowl. The progress of it is in Sir Robert Southwell's hands, and shows that that Lord, with all his bodily imbecilities, maintains his character to the height. I only tell your Lordship where it may be found, when you please to lose time in reading it.

EARL OF DANBY to ORMOND.

1678, December 30. London.—The multiplicity of business here has made me a long time unable to give your Grace an account of those matters which otherwise I should have done; and the Parliament being risen but this day, I am not yet ready to give your Grace that trouble. However, I would not omit so good an opportunity of presenting my service to your Grace, and hope that by my Lord Ossory's kindness I may be rendered more favourably to that good opinion than I can do myself. I know His Majesty will be glad to be informed by your Grace when you think might be the most convenient time for calling the Parliament in Ireland, because I believe he would be willing to have it meet for the putting of that kingdom into a better posture of security when this army is disbanded, which will be done as fast as money can be procured. I cannot end this without acknowledging my obligations to my Lord Ossory.

SIR C. WYCHE to ORMOND.

1678, December 31. St. James's Square.—The difference between the two Houses about the bill for disbanding was well

* Arlington had married Isabella van Beverweert, sister of the Countess of Ossory. Hence his interest in the plans for the education of the future Duke of Ormond.

near a composure; many in the several stations were labouring to discover the bottom of this horrid treason; and some further informations were brought up out of the country concerning it (of that from Staffordshire I have herewith sent your Grace a copy); when in the midst of all the sudden prorogation of the Parliament yesterday to the 4th February next has put a mighty damp upon all men's spirits. I pray God it prove for the advantage of His Majesty's service. He was pleased to speak to the Houses somewhat to this effect:—That he never came thither more unwillingly than at that time, that he must tell them plainly that he had been ill-used, and that they might hear further of it at another time. But, that all the world might see the sincerity of his intentions, he would forthwith proceed to disband the Army, to make what discovery he could of the Plot, and punish the guilty, and that he would maintain the Protestant religion established to his utmost. This day my Lord Mayor was sent for to Court, to whom the King spake much to the same intent for the satisfaction of the city.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1678, December 31. Castlemartyr.—I have the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 28th instant, in humble answer to which I beg your Grace's leave to say that I should think myself very unreasonable could I expect the happiness of your Grace's letters in answer to the duties of mine but as your own leisure and condescension does admit you to write. For I know that the crowds of business on your Excellency's hands in this kingdom, and the threatening face of things in His Majesty's other dominions require your Grace's time and weightiest considerations. I therefore both daily often and heartily pray that God will immediately guide His Majesty and his Parliament in England, and your Grace's counsels and actions here.

I am sorry your Grace's expectations were so raised on what I wrote of the cautions given by some Irish to some English. I judged it my duty to acquaint your Grace with those particulars in that juncture of time; what error I have committed therein (since the result falls so short of what was hoped) I beg your Grace to pardon. My own expectations on the depositions against Mighan, the Popish priest, were not small, since he was actually sworn against by two witnesses, and the charge was high; but he would confess nothing, though to induce him to discover what he knew he wanted not the best persuasions of all sorts which my weak judgment could suggest unto me. He is in Cork gaol. And I have caused his accusers to be bound over to prosecute him at the next assize for this county.

I humbly beg your Grace to do me the just favour to believe that it was a trouble to me to write what I did in the business of Bennet's Bridge, but I judged it a duty to justice, and to the honour of this Government; and therefore durst not be

silent, since the noise of it was so great in these parts; and that I never did or do aim at more (since neither the host nor his wife died) than that those young persons might have a due reproof for what they had done, both to satisfy men's expectations for what was past, and that they might not run into the like ills in the future.

I ingenuously acknowledge to your Excellency that I was not a little surprised and troubled when I read the last paragraph of your Grace's letter, which by this post you honoured me with. For your Excellency had in it these expressions, viz., that the reflection I have been pleased to make upon the proceedings of this Government since the last horrid Plot (whatever my intentions were) have caused apparent prejudice to your Grace and many more; and the reparation (if I think there is any due, and if there be any room for it) is only in me, who best know the ways and means to set your Grace right in the opinions of those who may have carried the sense of my expressions beyond my intentions. I solemnly assure your Grace that I am really troubled that anything written by me hath caused apparent prejudice to your Grace, and to many others; that I never, to the very best of my remembrance, writ anything since your Excellency's last coming to the Government which I could in the least think could produce so unintended an effect. But since your Grace is pleased to assure me it has, I most humbly beg you will vouchsafe to let me know what those unhappy reflections are and to whom they were written; that then, as my intentions were innocent, so I may endeavour to the utmost (either as your Grace shall direct me, or, failing of that desired guidance, in the best methods I can advise myself) to make my actions appear equal and proportionate to my intentions, or at least in the aftergame repair what was undesignedly amiss in the foregame. I would not beg this light from your Grace but that I intend to omit nothing on my part which may evidence my sincerity in this unfortunate particular; for could I fancy the person or persons, the thing or things which have been so unlucky, I would not beg of your Grace what now I have humbly and earnestly done. Since beside my constant care to avoid knowingly or designedly to prejudice your Grace (but on the contrary to do all things which might entitle me to the happiness of your favour) I believe, in such times as these all who love the true religion, their gracious King, or their poor country (all which I well know your Grace does, and I fully assure myself your Grace believes I also do) ought to unite to serve all three. And though whatever I can do in those great duties be little significant, yet I would on no terms omit that little itself, since I consider all these things as a debt upon me, and therefore honestly and clearly to discharge it is the unfeigned desire of, etc.

Bond of the Heritors of Fife.

1678-9, January 3.—We, the noblemen, barons and heritors of the Sheriffdom of Fyff undersubscribe and faithfully bind and

oblige us that we, our wives, bairns and servants respectively, shall no ways be present at any conventicles or disorderly meetings in time coming under the pains and penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. As also we bind and oblige us that our haill tenants and cotters respectively, their wives, bairns and servants shall likeways abstain and refrain from the said conventicles and other illegal meetings not authorised by law. And in case any of them shall contravene the same we shall take and apprehend any person or persons guilty thereof, and present them to the judge ordinary, that they may be fined or imprisoned therefor as is provided in the Acts of Parliament made there anent. Otherways we shall remove them and their families from off our ground. And if we fail herein till we shall be liable to such pains and penalties as the delinquents have incurred by the law, and for the more security, etc.

Endorsed :—Copy of the bond subscribed by the Heritors of Fyff at Couppar.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, January 4. St. Vincent.—Your Grace's of the 14th of December I have received and humbly thank you for it. I have shewed it to His Majesty, and as to the disbanded troops he seemeth very well inclined to have such a proportion of them sent into Ireland, and by what I gained by his discourse my Lord of Ossory is to confer with you upon it. Had my Lord's leisure permitted to have let me spoke with him before his going hence I could have imparted my opinion upon the present conjuncture more liberally than I dare do by letters. I can only say this, that we have found a way to be rid (for a time at least) of the Parliament. But how we shall be able to prorogue the payment of the fleet and army I know not, and to pay them it seemeth to me impracticable without returning again to the Parliament. There are of the King's Council that have better eyes than I, and may see better in the dark; but to my poor understanding if they are called again so suddenly, either the first counsel of proroguing, or the later of a sudden re-assembling them, we can hardly escape some reflections upon our conduct, there arising no extraordinary accident in the case, but only such insuperable inconveniences as either were or ought to have been foreseen. In the meantime the nation and the city are in as great a consternation as can be imagined. If the fleet and army come into as deep a discontent miracles only must preserve us and nothing less (as to my poor opinion). Possibly somebody more in the confidence of His Majesty than I am may shew His Majesty some more comfortable light, but as yet their candles are under the bushels and illuminate not so much as the Privy Council. This is a very melancholy theme and I will no longer pursue it. I heartily wish your Grace a good new year, and if it be a happy one, in my poor opinion it will be a very surprising blessing from God Almighty, to whom I heartily pray for your Grace's happiness.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 6. Whitehall.—This acknowledges your Grace's of the 28th past, and as to the contents of it, much of what I could say upon it was already transmitted by me to my Lord of Ossory by the last post. What I have further to add is that I know Mr. Cole enough (without further consulting my Lady Mary Cavendish, whom I have not been able to wait on since the receipt of yours) to know Monsieur Drelincourt much exceeds him in all respects relating to my Lord James, and even in that of accompanying him to Oxford, if your Grace and my Lord of Ossory shall judge it fit to send him thither. In the interval he shall have strength enough to enter upon the exercises of the Academy, and I confess to you I have but one objection to prefer his going straight to France, which is that the air is better there for his constitution and hath already mightily improved his health. On the other side the University who have chosen your Grace to be their Chancellor will think you owe them the sending one of your branches to them; but as I said the matter lies most properly before you and his father and consequently I am fairly dispensed with from opining therein.

In my last to my Lord of Ossory I should have told him that both your Grace's of the 24th past were brought to me opened by Mr. Mulys; that which was proper for it I showed immediately to the King and to His Royal Highness, who both seemed to approve of the opinion of sending you some of the disbanded army into Ireland, but were to seek how they should be maintained. His Majesty bade me bring it to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, which I did, and the reading it gave occasion of discoursing of calling a Parliament in that Kingdom, and of the great Bill to confirm the Settlement, which my Lord Chancellor said he was now satisfied in, since your Grace had provoked him to transmitting his exceptions to it and had given good answers to them. But of this matter your Grace must hear more by the proper hand, Mr. Secretary Coventry's.

Sir Robert Southwell hath offered me a view of the paper skirmishes which have passed betwixt you and my Lord of Orrery, but I have lacked time to read them.

I suppose what you Grace wrote to my Lord of Ossory in yours of the 28th (which was brought me in the same manner as the former by Mr. Mulys) was likewise intended for His Majesty's view—at least the latter clause in it relating to Sir Stephen Fox. But because the matter seems to be well laid to sleep, as my Lord of Ossory can tell you from his last discourse with His Majesty, I shall not be willing to wake it again until I have his opinion and approbation to do so.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, January 7. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 24th of December I have received, and read it to His Majesty at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and at the same time one you wrote to my Lord of Ossory was likewise read, and I find His Majesty

inclineth to the calling of a Parliament suddenly with you. And my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Attorney General are ordered to inspect the Bills you so long since sent over. Whether this portend our meeting again in February I know not. In the meantime I send your Grace here enclosed a copy of a letter sent me from Sir R. Robinson, sent him from an officer sent on purpose to view what French preparations were at Brest. It is said the Baltic is intended, but our exchange will hardly find merchants will insure England or Ireland. Your letter concerning the Bishop of Cork I have just now received, and to-morrow shall shew them to His Majesty and press him what I can in that of the Metropolitan. My Lord of Ossory is long before this is with you I suppose.

JOSEPH WILLIAMS to SIR HENRY COVENTRY.

1678-9, January 1. Weymouth.—By the order of Sir Robert Robinson I was commanded the 6th of December last to embark for Morlaix, and from thence to go to Brest to see in what posture the French King's navy there was, and to get what intelligence I could. But contrary winds prevented me, in so much I could not get from Cowes (where I embarked) till the 12th of the same month, when I did embark, and arrived at Morlaix the 13th at night, where I continued till the 15th, from whence I hastened to Brest, and came there about nine in the night following. The next morning being the 16th I was on board several of the French King's ships, to wit, the *Royal Sun* and the *Royal Queen*, consisting of about 126 guns each, and nine sail of three-decked ships, eight of which have 90 guns and upwards. There are fourteen sail more of two-decked ships which will carry between 40 and 70 guns, and there are likewise ten sail of one-deck ships between 18 and 30 guns, four of which were never yet at sea. In all there are 35 men-of-war, 3 fireships, and six tenders which have their standing rigging and tops overhead. There are 24 men-of-war every day expected from Toulon, others from St. Malo, and others from Charente. There are great preparations making for the coming of the said French King to Brest in the beginning of the next spring, and then 'tis reported the ships which are already there, and the rest which are expected, will be ready to go to sea, but for what design I cannot learn. The same night, being the 16th, about nine of the clock, having an opportunity by the posts going from Brest to Morlaix, I kept company with the said post to Morlaix, and got thither the 17th about 9 in the morning, where I was recommended to one Monsieur Nifcott, who informed me that he had a brother that was Treasurer for the said French King there, and that he had an order from said French King to send a considerable sum of money to Brest towards the fitting out of the said ships, which said Nifcott told me the said King had a great design on foot, but could not learn what it was. The said Nifcott was very inquisitive to know in what posture of defence the Isle of Wight, Hampton and Chichester were.

I was in the company of a French gentleman, who came from Paris, and told me the King of England had left his Parliament

and betaken himself to an Island, and that the French King was coming over with thirty thousand men to succour him. I have been detained ever since the 18th of December till Sunday last by contrary winds in Morlaix, at which time I came from thence; and this morning about one of the clock, having the length of the Isle of Wight, the wind came up at North East, and very stormy weather, was forced to bear up for this place. The bark I came on, having some French prohibited goods on board, is stopped by the Collector here, notwithstanding the same goods are consigned to Ostend. I trouble you with this by Sir Robert Robinson's order.

Enclosed with the preceding letter.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND AND LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

1678-9, January 7. Castlemartyr.—In obedience to your orders I summoned to appear before me Mr. Silvester Crosse, Mr. Peter Hewett, Lieutenant Francis Fitz-Maurice, and Alexander Hamley, one of the serjeants of Sir Richard Rooth's company, whom I examined concerning the complaint against Lieutenant Fitz-Maurice for having enlisted two Irish Papists last muster in the said company, whose names are Mahon O'Donogh and John Collenan. I also ordered the Lieutenant to have brought with him the said two persons, yet but one of them, viz., Mahon O'Donogh appeared, the other (as the Lieutenant assured me) was gone to see some of his friends several miles off.

Mr. Crosse and Mr. Hewett, the Reverend Minister of Ringrone, deposed—That they had never seen either of them at church, that they could observe, before their being enlisted soldiers, that the said two soldiers had owned to them they had been still bred up Papists. Particularly Mr. Crosse deposed they had been his servants and had still been Papists, Mahon having been a boatman by his profession and Collenan a bagpiper. That therefore he had desired the Sovereign of Kinsale to acquaint me therewith. Mr. Crosse farther deposed that since Collenan's being enlisted he had seen him at church, but I could not find that Mahon O'Donogh had ever been at church, either before or since his enlisting; but Mr. Hewett deposed that the said Mahon told him that he meant to go to church, and whether he were continued in the company or not he was resolved never to go to mass. The like also Mr. Crosse deposed, and Serjeant Hamley deposed that for some weeks before John Collenan was mustered he had seen him once or twice at church. I demanded of the said serjeant whether Collenan had not some promise of being enlisted, which brought him to church, to which he answered upon his oath that if he had 'twas more than he knew. But he had observed him, when the company went to the parish church of Ringrone, he went piping with them to the church, and before his being enlisted went into the church with them, and stayed there during all divine service and sermon. Lieutenant Fitz-Maurice said towards his own vindication that the men before their muster had promised to go to church, and at the muster had taken the

Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which he thought was all required of him.

I did not omit before all the company to tell him plainly and at large my opinion as to his enlisting such men, who had all their lives been bred up Papists, only because they promised to go to church, without some previous examination of some pious minister, who should first instruct them in the grounds of our religion, and until they had given some better proofs of their being thoroughly converted to it than merely saying they would go to church, and then taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy administered by the mustermaster, the doing of which I judged was his duty in any conjuncture of time, especially in this. The Lieutenant seemed very sensible of his undesigned fault therein and promised faithfully never to run into the like again, nor would he have run into this had he then believed it one; and then Mr. Hewett did openly desire me to be a means that this omission of the Lieutenant's might be considered favourably.

I have ground to believe that Lieutenant Fitz-Maurice will take what has passed so much to heart as he will never run into the like error again; and in regard he is the son of a worthy father, a hopeful young gentleman—one that is diligent in his duty and has been active in disarming the Papists according to the late Proclamation, I humbly hope that his Excellency will be pleased to pass by this uncautiousness of his, if not error; and if ever I hear in the future of his doing anything amiss in the trust he is in I shall not omit to give a speedy account of it; but I assure myself he will exempt me from any cause of complaint in the time to come. He assured me he discharged the two enlisted men because they had given offence to divers, and I told him I did believe he had done well in doing so.

I could not sooner pay this obedience to your Grace's and your Lordship's commands because Christmas was so near when I received them, and Mr. Hewett could not then be spared from the duty of his ministry in his parish or else your commands had been earlier obeyed.

Earl of Burlington to Ormond.

1678-9, January 10. Lanesborough.—The honour of your letter of the 21st of December found me laid up of the gout, which has held me near sixteen weeks, and falling most heavily upon my right hand and arm has made them as yet useless unto me, so as I am forced to make use of a she secretary to express the just sense I have of your Grace's favour in the obliging expressions you vouchsafe me in it, and I heartily wish that there had been no occasion given to lengthen it with any other matter. But much to my grief I find that your Grace has received great dissatisfaction by my brother Orrery's late actings towards you, to which I was wholly a stranger till your Grace was now pleased to acquaint me with them, who presume on your pardon if I yet retain a hope that his intentions may prove less faulty than they yet seem to be. This I say not to lessen his miscarriage—if it prove such as your

Grace conceives it to be. But a great part of the exception you take against him being for misrepresenting the state of things in Ireland to Courtiers, Parliament men, and others here in England, it is possible a worse gloss may from thence be put upon his representation than he intended. However, I have not failed to lay that charge home to him in all the circumstances thereof as your Grace has made it to me, and have thereby given him the opportunity to say to your Grace what he justly can in his own vindication; or if he transmits it to me I shall offer it to your Grace, who will, I hope, do me the justice to believe that not any one action of mine shall ever contradict the professions I have made you of a constant and faithful service, which during my life shall be always made good.

Postscript:—I return your Grace my most thankful acknowledgments for your favour in commanding a company to be garrisoned at Youghal.

Ormond to Earl of Orrery.

1678-9, January 11. Dublin.—I fall so often into the fault of keeping your letters in my hands longer than I should, that it would be another to trouble you with excuses, since your Lordship's great civility makes them for me. As far as your Lordship has taken pains in yours of the 31st of the last month to transcribe the last paragraph of mine of the 28th you have done it justly, but where you seem to understand my meaning to be that the reflections you have made upon the proceedings of the Government here in relation to the Plot have been to the prejudice of many besides myself, I am certain my meaning was that your Lordship's having made reflections prejudicial to me was apparent to myself and to many more, and I ask your Lordship's pardon for thinking my words as they are set down by you cannot well be otherwise understood, especially when in the end of the paragraph you find the vindication I proposed was singly for myself. This, I confess, is not a particular worth so many lines, since taking it your Lordship's way I am ready to own that I believe your observations and representations were injurious to all those of the Council who advised and assisted me.

What I except against in your Lordship's carriage towards me upon occasion of the Plot, and the part I had to act in prevention of the mischief it might do in this kingdom, I thought I had expressed in my letters to your Lordship to be that there was no one thing done by me by the advice and with the concurrence of the Council (that I can call to mind) that has met with your approbation or that has escaped your censure. Your Lordship has declared, and written into England, that the setting up of the Militia was delayed to the great trouble of your Lordship and many more, which must imply it might have been done sooner if the Government had been as active and willing as it might have been, else it could signify nothing but a groundless aspersing of the Government, and the great trouble your Lordship and many others were in must import it was for the danger you

were in for want of the Militia. These being put together what can they signify but that the Protestants remained exposed to danger more and longer than they had done if the Government had been as vigilant and careful for their safety as they might and should have been? And to instance and enforce the suggestion, your Lordship mistakes a whole month in two when you say that tho' you had notice of the Plot in the beginning of September, yet not so much as any letter was received in Munster concerning the Militia till the 16th of November. For as I have, I think, formerly told your Lordship the very first notice I had of it was on the 3rd of October, and the first orders received concerning it was on the 7th; neither is there any notice taken that there was a commission and instructions for keeping up the Militia still remaining in force in all the counties of the Kingdom. If it shall be said in excuse of the neglect of doing it that it had for a long time not been taken care of, or the duty called for by the Government, and that therefore new authority and directions were expected, either that is no good.excuse or it is a good one for me, who left the Militia modelled and armed when I last left this Government and brought with me no instruction concerning it when I returned to it. I have been the larger upon this particular because I look upon the setting up of the Militia as the greatest security that was in my power to provide for the quiet of the kingdom and preservation of His Majesty's Protestant subjects.

Your Lordship has been pleased further to observe that the banishment of the titular and regular Popish clergy before the laity of that religion were disarmed was, in your opinion, to exasperate both before they were disabled from resenting it, and so the Protestants were rather thereby exposed to their rage than secured against their power. This I call a reflection and no useful admonition or advice, the proclamations for banishment and disarming being published and not possibly to be recalled or mended, unless by such supplemental directions as have since issued upon observation of the ill executing of what was well enough commanded before. After all possibly I may have been of your Lordship's opinion as to the method of banishing and disarming, and should have taken it but that another was prescribed by the authority I am bound to obey, and whose commands I think it my duty not to censure, or to publi h that I was of a contrary opinion. I find that your Lordship's advice for securing (that is confining) some principal persons who had lost their estates for having been in the last rebellion, and yet retained great and dangerous dependencies, has been published and dispersed in England.

[Endorsed]:—*Part of a letter intended for my Lord of Orrery, but not finished nor sent because I saw no end of the contest could be hoped, his Lordship being impossible to be satisfied and of inexhaustible invention.*

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, January 11. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 2nd instant I have received mentioning the death of the Bishop of

Cork.* I suppose His Majesty will expect to hear from you before he proceed to fill both or either of the Bishoprics. I mentioned the reasonableness of his nominating to the Metropolitan—he said he was resolved upon my Lord Chancellor. I then asked him whom he destined for the Archbishopric of Dublin; he told me he would speak with my Lord of Canterbury, and since I spake with the Archbishop, but he then knew nothing of the person intended. It was but yesterday and therefore I can send you nothing by this post. We are daily very busy upon the Plot, and each day bringeth fresh information, and I think there are very few that doubt of one, only as to what concerneth the King's person. His Majesty seemeth not so apprehensive as his people are for him, though that likewise be now sworn by a witness, as far as I can perceive irreproachable, only in this that he was one of the Plot. The doubts men have of the meeting of the Parliament, the great arming as for sea in France, too big for any design he can have unless England or Ireland, putteth us all in great disquiet, though as to preparations against it I see none, unless disbanding of the army can be reckoned one, the money that with much ado is to be found for that incapacitating us to provide any necessaries for defence of our forts and garrisons. In this condition we are undervalued by all our allies, who, I fear, will (too soon for us) have made their peace with our great neighbour, and that to our detriment. I would fain write more cheerfully to you but I cannot. There is a warrant signed for a thousand barrels of powder for Ireland. I will press the Master of the Ordnance all I can for a speedy despatch of it.

Ormond to Earl of Arlington.

1678-9, January 13. Dublin.—When we first received notice of the prorogation of the Parliament, and the next day of my son Ossory's landing, all that knew him not so well as your Lordship were in expectation of some extraordinary reason for his winter expedition, and I confess I did myself look for something more than a bare visit in such a conjuncture, considering that he had entered into a negotiation with the King concerning the sending of some troops into this kingdom upon the disbanding of those in England. He tells me since his arrival that he has given your Lordship liberty to open my letters directed to him; which, if you have taken, you will find in one of them my sense upon that subject, and I hope will have thought fit to acquaint His Majesty with it, for whose knowledge it was principally intended. In that confidence and to make your Lordship [as] intelligent in that matter as I can, I herewith send your Lordship a copy [of] my Lord Treasurer's letter to me about the calling of a Parliament here and of my answer, which, tho' they do not mention the sending over of more force hither, yet the calling of a Parliament being the means by which a reinforcement of the army may be supported, I suppose may be the same thing in effect. Your Lordship will also find the first overtures I made for the sending over of

* Edward Synge, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross 1663-1678, d. Dec. 22, 1678.

companies hither in June last, the conditions whereupon I proposed it, and those upon which I yet conceive it may be done. I fear these latter will be found of hard digest'on, but the balance is in the King's hands and not in mine.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, January 14. Whitehall.—In my last to your Grace of the 11th instant I gave you an accompt of the great arming by sea in France, which still continueth and the design is unknown as before. There is, as is here supposed, in Ireland the Bishop of Killaloe, a man of very good parts and much in the confidence and trust of France; his name is Molony; His Majesty would have your Grace to seize him and his papers. It is written from France that Monsieur Vauban, the great engineer of France, is gone a voyage of four months, but not declared whither; only the words of the letter are that he is to visit the Most Christian King's ports, and possibly some of his neighbours. Whether the latter part concern you or us I know not, but I conceive it becometh us both to be careful. There is some hopes the Parliament will meet at the day appointed, though I cannot write it for certain. More discoveries every day of the Plot, and I must confess I am entirely convinced that there was a most desperate design. In a late evidence that hath been before us one attesteth he heard a letter read wrote to a Jesuit from Rome, which said the Pope had considered of the great oppression Ireland lay under, and that he would not only assist them with money, but that he was framing a design how to have them supplied with men What relation this may have to these French preparations may be worth inquiry.

Robert Barrington to Ormond.

1678-9, January 16. Whitehall.—Since my last letter to your Grace I perceive that my Lord James grows very fat, and believing it might proceed from the want of exercises I advised him to play every day at tennis, which he does, and he dances, and when the weather is fair I walk abroad with him. But I shall not provide him with any other masters until I receive your Grace's commands, which I earnestly expect for my Lord's sake, your Grace well knowing that this is a very unfit place for education, by reason of the great liberties and those many indecencies that are allowed of in this Court, neither is there here any company befitting either his birth or age. I shall continue to be very punctual in observing his Lordship, and shall take the liberty as often as I durst to inform your Grace truly and exactly, without flattery or fear of disobliging any person whomsoever, of every thing that shall relate unto the trust your Grace hath been pleased to honour me with.

Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry, to Ormond.

1678-9, January 18. Londonderry.—The report of your Grace's intended progress to the North hath taken wing and in its flight reached Londonderry, which gives occasion to this address, in

which with all humility of gratitude I present myself and mine your Grace's servants, and do devote my house and all I have in it to your Grace's accommodation in y ur person and attendants. And herein your Grace's acceptance will make me innocently proud, who never did pride myself more than in your Grace's favour and esteem; for that hath put a value upon my person, given encouragement to my studies, and raised the zeal of my heartiest prayers.

The Importation of Tobacco.

I.

Deposition of Colonel John Curtis.

1678-9, January 18.—Colone' John Curtis, of Virginia, merchant, came this day before me and made oath—That he satisfied by Bills of Exchange for London the King's Collector in Virginia the penny per pound duty there to His Majesty for the tobacco by him loaden aboard the ship *Providence* of London, Roger Severne, master, lately arrived at this port of Dublin with said tobacco, and the deponent further deposeth that upon the satisfaction of the said duty as aforesaid the King's Collector cleared the said ship from Virginia, and that the said tobacco is really belonging to him, this deponent, and partner in London, and is now at this deponent's disposal, and that no part of it is as yet sold, but that it still remains in this deponent's custody, except about fifty pound weight which he disposed of to some friends.

John Curtis, *jurat coram me*, 18° *die Januarii*, 1678.

Jo. Topham.

II.

Invoice.

19th November, 1678.—Roger Severne, master of the *Providence*, of London, 150 ton from Virginia, 276 hogsheads of tobacco and a parcel of tobacco loose for John Curtis, merchant, a small parcel of firewood for the master and nothing else.

Roger Severne.

III.

Affidavit of Richard Baker and others.

Richard Baker, mate of the good ship called the *Providence*, of London, came before me and made oath that a little before the said ship's departure from Aconiacke, in Virginia, in the month of August in the present year, 1678°, this deponent together with William Butler, one of the mariners of the said ship, being sent by Colonel John Curtis, the merchant supercargo of the said ship, to the house of Colonel John Stringer, the collector for the eastern shore of Virginia, to fetch biscuit on board the said ship for their voyage, did hear the said collector say and own in his own yard that Colonel John Curtis had paid him several hundred pounds for the one penny pound duty for the tobacco loaded on board there on the said ship, and that the said Curtis by paying the said duty of one penny per pound had cleared the said ship and might

sail when he pleased; and the said William Butler, one of the mariners of the said ship, came likewise this day before me in his own person and also made oath of the truth thereof; and also Nathan Buskell, chief mate of the said ship, and William Edwards, one of the mariners of the said ship, came before me this day and made oath that the said Colonel John Stringer and the Deputy Comptroller of the said eastern shore of Virginia, being come on board the said ship to survey her before she departed from that coast, he, this deponent, did hear on board the said ship that the aforesaid Colonel John Curtis had their discharge and paid the duty of one penny per pound for the said ship's loading of tobacco. And this deponent with all other deponents do further say and depose that they do verily believe in their consciences that the said Colonel John Curtis did then and there discharge and pay the duty of one penny per pound to the said collector for the said ship's loading of tobacco.

Nathan Buskell,
Richard Baker,
Wm. Edwards,
Wm. Butler.

Jurat' coram me 14to die Decembris.
WM. PETTY.

IV.

Statement concerning Importation of Tobacco.

Colonel Curtis, of Virginia, about the middle of November, 1678, imported in the ship *Providence* a considerable quantity of tobacco from Virginia, without entering the same in England, himself being aboard the said ship and owner of the said tobacco, and is so still, except what belongs unto the seamen.

That the said Curtis paid the duty of the said tobacco in Virginia according to the Statute, viz., one penny per pound, doth appear by his own and the affidavits of several of the seamen hereunto annexed.

An invoice was made of the said ship and cargo the 19th of November, 1678, as by a copy of the said invoice annexed, and the books of the Custom House may appear.

The tobacco being much damnified and a great number of the hogsheads being broken, Mr. John Rogerson, a merchant and friend to the said Curtis desired of the Farmers that he might land the said tobacco, pay £250 as part of the duty of the said tobacco and the remainder of the said duty upon the ascertaining what damage was sustained in the tobacco, which sum of £250 was accordingly paid into His Majesty's Treasury, and several of the officers of the Custom House for some weeks past have been employed in viewing and adjusting the damage in order to the making an entry of the sound tobacco, burning the bad, and to obtain the remainder of the said duty, an Importation Account having been denied by the said Farmers to the said Colonel Curtis as being a merchant stranger.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1678-9, January 20. Dublin.—Yesterday I received yours of the 28th of December by the hands of Dr. Marsh, who will shortly

be put into the execution of that charge which your Lordship's recommendation has in effect engaged him in. He shall find all the countenance and encouragement this Government, as long as I am in it, can give him; and it is probable by that time I am out of it his own merit will establish him above the need of anything but common justice.

Upon the return of my grandson out of France (where he has been more for the recovery of his health than for his education) I have agreed with his father that he shall be sent to Oxford for some time, till he shall have gained strength to learn those exercises that are proper for his age, and may prove more necessary for that he is like to live in than I wish. My further inducements are that he may be confirmed and perfectly instructed in the religion professed, practised and best taught in that University, wherein is comprehended the principles of honour, virtue and loyalty; next because your Lordship is there to direct his way of living and studies, and to supervise the conduct of him and those that you shall think fit to be about him; and in the last place I send him thither as the best testimony I have yet been able to give the University of my affection and gratitude for the honours they have on all occasions done me.

I humbly thank your Lordship for your good wishes for me thro' this new year. I do not doubt but you turn them to prayers in proper times and places and to blessings. I am at all times desirous of them, believing they can never want efficacy and success unless by my fault. But the station I am in and the circumstances that at this time attend it requires them more particularly, and that your Lordship may more readily and cheerfully afford them I here sincerely profess that to the uttermost of my power and skill I will thro' all dangers maintain and support the religion of the Church of England as it is this day taught, practised and established by law, and the Monarchy and Crown of England in a right and lawful succession. If I fail in these things or in any part of them your Lordship has in your hands wherewith to reproach me and will have good reason not to own me as, etc.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, January 21. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace I have little worth imparting to you, only last night His Majesty was pleased in Council to declare his resolution for proroguing the Parliament till the 25th of February. I suppose the proclamation concerning it may be ordered speedily. I wrote you in a former that I had shewed your letter concerning the Bishop of Cork's death to His Majesty, where you wrote your reasons for your not presently recommending anybody to the two Bishoprics, and I then left His Majesty in disposition to have expected that recommendation. But Friday the Bishop of London came to me as from His Majesty to command me to write to your Grace for promoting a Bishop (whose name I have now forgot and he gave it me not in writing) to Cork and that Dean Murray should be

promoted to that Bishop's see. I discoursed with the King at large upon that theme, and told him that there were two Bishoprics in one, which your Grace thought might very well be divided and serve two. He opposed not that, but said Dean Murray should have one, so that I find the interest is Dean Murray's. I pressed not for a positive order, as willing to gain time in hope to receive your Grace's answer to mine, and so write you this only to acquaint you how things stand as to that matter. I fear it is a bad compliment to send any man a libel against himself and relations, but this being a letter that cometh from beyond the seas, and addressed to the same men that are the disposers of those that come from Ireland, I thought fitting to send it to your Grace. I live in hopes to catch more of them, for this is a man that keepeth weekly correspondence from Holland.

Postscript.—Since the writing this, I have spoken with His Majesty concerning Dean Murray, and he telleth me he will stop till he heareth from your Grace. I cannot yet give you any positive assurance concerning the prorogation of Parliament. I have some reasons to believe it will be a prorogation.

ENCLOSURE REFERRED TO IN PRECEDING LETTER.

1678-9, January 20. [New Style.] Hague.—Since my last, which was of the 17th instant, I have received none from you. Howsoever, having little to do whilst we are frozen up I would rather entertain you with some stories than our correspondence should cease. The effects of His Majesty's hasty prorogation of your wild fiery Parliament you may imagine are so notable as to reach a greater distance than we are from you. Certainly an excellent Prince he is, and that never fails his friends at a dead lift. This is notable yet not unexpected news, and which hath restored a new life and vigour to all good Catholics here, more particularly to the officers in the English regiments, who do express it with a kind of triumphant joy. For those regiments are pretty well filled and the officers are generally right, the thanks of which are due to the great care and zeal of his Highness the Duke of York, who you may be sure has a substantial interest here, and my Lord Ossory, who (though he has not much brains) yet he wants not abundance of good will to promote things according to instructions; and you know men that are to execute, their excellency that way is to obey not dispute. I like his going for Ireland very well, and certainly in my opinion that is the best place to open the gap in and to furnish a sort of men, who, though they may not fight as well as your desperate fanatics, yet they can make it up another way. I observe (but whether to attribute it to the excellency of some eminent men or to a superior cause I leave it) that there has not been a general working of the Catholic spirit till now in the world, which kind of pregnancy and agency is one of the greatest portents of production I know of. My opinion is that things will be carried here, but whether you will be able to hold it in England I confess I somewhat doubt, for those people if ever

they get head again will fight like devils. I find Van Beuning capable of right impressions, therefore he must be encouraged and those things cherished in him. His last letter was admirable. He writes that Oates and Bedloe are rascals and no great credit is to be given to their information, being infamous persons; that the Court has been ill used by the Commons; that because the Council has under debate and consideration how to raise money the people begin to smell that the Parliament should not meet again; but that the great men at Court were of another opinion, of whose sentiments he is, and a number of other pertinent sayings there is in it which would be too tedious to rehearse here. I think that if the Ambassador would write with a little more guard it would do well, for we live in an age that even blockheads can see day at the least crevice, and some of his masters said that he gives more credit to the King and his directions than he does to them, and talk of calling him home. But alas! what can they do here if things go well in England—this country can do nothing. I much approve the wisdom of His Majesty in the nomination of the persons to find out the bottom of the Plot, as your people call it; for certainly there is not a fitter man in England than the Lord Arlington, and to speak of Sir Joseph, though he has no great reach, yet he seems to make up a good appartment.

Sir Robert Howard to Ormond.

1678-9, January 21.—I did not think so suddenly to have given your Excellency a trouble of this nature, for I would have deferred giving you thanks for the honour of yours by my Lord Longford till I had something of moment to have presented to you, but I look upon this as an intention at least to discharge that duty I promised ever to perform to your Excellency. I doubt not but your Excellency has before this received the news of the second prorogation to the 25th of February next, which seems to add much to the fears and apprehension of many; which, joined with deferring the execution of Pickering, Grove and Ireland, increases the unhappy jealousies of many.

Your Excellency's description of Ireland agrees with ours here, and indeed we are not here at leisure yet to hear the condition of Ireland nor of England, which equally needs it, if not more. But as I was going to present my thoughts to your Excellency how little was to be done or said in such a stream of things, the proclamation is stopped of the second prorogation, and the debate of it to come before the Privy Council to-morrow, being Wednesday, where I make no doubt but the opinions will be for the Parliament to meet the first appointed time of the fourth of February. We are now in hopes therefore that it will be so declared, and God send that we may not be destroyed by the want of those who only can support our shaken condition. Yesterday the King ordered the execution of Ireland and Grove, but Pickering's is yet deferred.

My Lord Aston of Staffordshire was last night at Council ordered to be sent prisoner to the Tower, who it seems was so

unhappy in his answers that he gave much suspicion but cleared none. I have been extremely ill of the gout so that I have not seen the King since the Parliament rose. I hope I shall now be able, and am resolved to discharge my duty, there being no supporting the guilt of a conscience that shall punish me more for a neglected duty than one can be punished for performing it. The same moment that things begin to bear the least change in their countenances your Excellency shall not want my humble advisement; and if I continue able to wait upon the King according to my design, I may perhaps be as early as any in my account; and I hope then your Excellency will contribute to the restoration and peace of a divided nation, which I hope yet to see perfected, and a happy understanding between the King and Parliament, all other notions being but the desperate counsels of State mountebanks. I will trouble your Excellency no farther at this time.

SAME to SAME.

1678-9, January 25.—With this your Excellency will receive an account from Mr. Secretary Williamson with a copy of a warrant to Mr. Attorney-General for the prosecuting a suit against the possessors of Dundalk and Carlingford, which was begged upon discovery made of the deficiency of the title by Mrs. Gwyn. The King took the opportunity of it to cause the benefit she is to have to be added to some other things to buy an estate in land for my Lord Burford,* in which His Majesty was pleased to command me to take the trust upon me to follow this business, and if effected to add it to some other things granted for the same design, and to take care for the purchasing of land as he shall please to approve and direct from time to time. So upon the promise of the King to settle it when obtained, I am ordered to give the Attorney-General the informations and direction how this estate is discovered to be of right in the King. We would not proceed to desire any grant without your Excellency's full knowledge of it, and in the meantime we only prosecute the right of the King. All farther accounts of the proceeding of this business your Excellency shall timely receive from me.

I doubt not but by this post your Excellency will receive the account of the Parliament's being dissolved and writs issued for a new one to sit the 6th day of March, so that now there is no account to be given of anything, opinions being various; but your Excellency may have best recourse to your own thoughts where you will find the best measure of judging. Had I a safe way I could give you some particulars, but I forbear to add more at present.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1678-9, January 25. Dublin.—Tho' I have had your Lordship's last letter long in my hands unanswered, yet I confess I am not ready to make a return to it such as may satisfy your Lordship and myself. I find we differ more in judgment than in matter of fact. Your Lordship disowns not the transmission of those

* Charles Beauclerk, Earl of Burford, subsequently created Earl of St. Albans.

remarks I complain of, but declares the inoffensiveness of your intentions towards me, and justifies your manner of proceeding in the matter in question by your former practice in the like cases, and that without any exceptions taken to it, neither of which is possible for me to disprove. But I can and must persist in my own opinion till I see good reason to change it, that the main things that have been transacted since my last coming to this Government have not met with any favourable interpretation from your Lordship, nor been very candidly represented by you. Yet your Lordship may with all imaginable confidence believe that at this time of apparent danger to all those interests that I am persuaded are, and I am sure should be, dear and common to us both, I will receive your Lordship's advice and assistance for the defence and preservation of this kingdom and the religion established by law in it as a very seasonable help, leaving the determination of what has been in debate betwixt us to a season more proper for it than now when a formidable preparation hangs hovering over the Three Kingdoms.

I do not conceive much time should be spent in arguing where the storm will fall, for since it is impossible to be sure it [will] not fall on us, we ought to do all we could do if we were sure it would. From the first week of my landing here I have frequently represented the ill state of all things relating to war: all I will say is that they are in some things very considerably improved as far as I had means to do it; in other things, as in the consumption of ammunition they are unavoidably impaired. I hope a thousand barrels of powder are shipped for this place by this time and ten thousand fire-arms, which is all I have in present prospect, but I will spare no pains or importunity to get other necessaries, and that is the reason why I now end this letter.

I am commanded out of England to cause one Molony, the titular Bishop of Killaloe, to be apprehended and all the papers that shall be taken. I suppose he conceals himself, since the proclamation for his leaving the kingdom, and that he may be somewhere about Limerick or in the county of Clare where his friends are. Your Lordship may most likely get intelligence of him and cause him to be taken and his papers secured.

Lord Chancellor Finch to Ormond.

1678-9, January 28.—The King having done me the honour to make my son Heneage his Solicitor-General, I hold myself obliged to use my utmost endeavours to make him as serviceable to His Majesty as is possible for him to be. For this cause I am an humble suitor to your Grace for your favourable recommendation to the University of Oxford, that he may serve for them in this next Parliament. If both the Secretaries had not secured their elections elsewhere, or if Mr. Hyde had not made himself master of the two burgess-ships by his purchase of Wotton Basset, or if it were likely that Sir Leolin Jenkins could return time enough to serve in this next Parliament, in all or any of these cases I would not presume to importune your Grace. Nor do I yet know

but that your Grace's recommendation may come too late and find the University engaged. But since no honest man desires to be obliged unless he desire to deserve it too, my letter will at least have this effect to let your Grace see how desirous I am to increase the obligations I already have of being, etc.

Mr. Mulys to Earl of Ossory.

1678-9, Tuesday, January 28. London.—On Sunday Sir William Waller took one of the five priests proscribed in the late Proclamation. He was found in the stables belonging to the Imperial Envoy, and about him was a pass from Barrillon, the French Ambassador, dated the 23rd of this month. The discourse of this town is chiefly about the new elections for Parliament, in the choice whereof we are told the people shall have all the freedom imaginable, the King declaring that he will not interpose nor grant his letters recommendatory. 'Tis presumed the Presbyterian interest will have the ascendant in most places, and I do not yet find that the Courtiers have any mind to struggle for it, the King seeming to some (who have endeavoured to know his pleasure therein) very indifferent, which raises very odd conjectures. Amongst many others who endeavour to be chosen, Major Wildman, Mr. Nevil, Colonel Sallawaie and Algernon Sydney are mentioned—men well known for their Commonwealth principles.

At night about 11 or 12 of the clock a fire began in the Temple and raged till about noon the next day. In blowing up of houses the Duke of Monmouth and my Lord Feversham being there, the Duke before the houses designed to be blown up, and my Lord Feversham behind them, they say the Duke had laid the train of powder which was not known to my Lord, but his Lordship urged the gunner that attended him the back way of the house to go in and place the powder. The gunner declined at first, but being reproached with fear by his Lordship, he ventured in, my Lord with him, Captain Barrington and divers others. The gunner spied the train laid by the Duke and gave notice to my Lord to escape, but none of them could be quick enough. The house blew up, killed two or three, wounded my Lord Feversham mortally, as was then thought; but I was just now at his lodgings at St. James', and they tell me there is great hopes of him now, after the second dressing of his wounds, which are in the head, eye and breast. Captain Barrington is not like to live, nor the gunner. A brother of Sir Thomas Fanshaw's of Essex or Kent, being a student of the Temple, and busied in removing his things and helping his friends, was affronted by a soldier, upon which they quarrelled. The officer, Lieutenant Throgmorton, belonging to the King's regiment of guards, perhaps with too great violence parting the fray and justifying his soldier, so spirited Fanshaw with desire of satisfaction (to which 'tis added that the officer with his partisan pricked him in the breast) that without much time lost, as the officer was marching off his men towards Whitehall about noon, Fanshaw came up with him and gave him a josset

at the head of his company. The officer offering to strike at him, Fanshaw with a pistol shot him through the arm into the body, but no mortal wound, whereupon the soldiers fell upon him. Being a very strong and stout man he sustained many blows with the butt end of the musket before he fell. They bound his hands and brought him to the guard at Whitehall, where his wounds were dressed, when after he had told the King the nature of his provocation he was ordered to be committed; but two of the Fanshaw's servants at Court and his kinsmen bailed him.

The King having bit his nail too close brought down a humour into his thumb which filled it so with pain that His Majesty took no rest all last night, and hath been uneasy the most part of this day. Mr. Whittle took about eleven or twelve ounces of blood from him, which hath given him such ease that he was this night in the Queen's drawing-room.

Yesterday the Deputy Lieutenant of Staffordshire sent up several papers that they seized in my Lord Aston's house, amongst which are several letters under my Lord Stafford's own hand concerning the Plot, and some which were writ since the discovery thereof, giving him advice how to order affairs and deport himself. Many people talk as if the fire in the Temple began not by accident; 'tis deposed by the owner of the chamber that nobody had lain there for two nights past. Mr. Montagu is at his own house under £2,000 bail; 'tis said that he is to appear to-morrow at the Council Board and his papers to be read.

My Lady is this afternoon much discomposed with the headache and desires excuse for not writing to you.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1678-9, January 28. Castlemartyr.—I have been these six days past under so ill a distemper that it is with no small pain I pay your Grace the duty of this letter, which is most humbly to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 25th instant, and to assure your Grace with all reality that since you have signified your pleasure to me that to write my private opinion on public things to a few particular friends was disrelished by your Grace I have abstained from doing it, for I am firmly resolved while I live under your Grace's government I will do nothing knowingly, much less designedly, to give your Grace offence; that when I know to whom I have written, and what I have written to any one of them which may in the least have been prejudicial to your Excellency or this Government, I will with heart and hand do my utmost to repair that unintended misfortune; that in whatever your Grace shall command my poor opinion or my services, they shall be presented you with all sincerity, affection and diligence. For tho' I may be so unhappy as in some things possibly not to be entirely of your Grace's opinion, yet I am bound when you have practically published yours to help it to the utmost, as far as well I may, since I am master of my obedience but not of my belief, and I can and will obey my superiors, tho' I may wish they had taken sometimes other measures.

I perfectly join in your Grace's writing that much time ought not to be spent in arguing where the formidable preparations will fall; but since we are not sure but they may fall on us, our whole time should be employed to prepare against the very worst; and I still elect rather (by arming ourselves) to depend on what an enemy cannot do than on what he will not do. In these western parts our Militia is not yet considerable, wanting arms, ammunition and many officers. I doubt our towns have too many in them who wait but for an opportunity to act against His Majesty's government and the established true religion. 'Tis certain but few arms have been brought in or taken by virtue of the late proclamations; that the Papists have more useful horses than the Protestants; that few if any of the Romish titular or regular clergy are departed out of the kingdom; and that none of our garrisons are in a fit posture for defence.

I am glad your Excellency expects a thousand barrels of powder and ten thousand firearms suddenly; both are much wanted, but God knows how little time in case of war a thousand barrels of powder will serve a kingdom. I find we have many more men in this country than will make up twenty-four troops and sixteen thousand foot in sixteen companies. I shall write by an express this day to have all means used for the seizing Dr. Molony and his papers, tho' I doubt it will be difficult to do it, for both his friends and kindred have above these ten weeks confidently reported he had in a disguise shipped himself for France in the west. Tho' for my part I cannot certainly hear that any one Romish Bishop has shipped himself for foreign parts out of this province, only the titular Bishop of Limerick surrendered himself in order to his transportation in that city. That God will be pleased to guide and bless your Excellency's counsels is the earnest prayer of your Grace's, etc.

Postscript.—I humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I cannot but heartily lament at these following words in your Grace's letter, viz., "but I can and must persist in my opinion till I see good reason to change it, that the main things that have been transacted since my last coming to this Government have not met with any favourable interpretations from your Lordship, nor been very candidly represented by you." I hope I may live to deserve a less unfavourable opinion, which I am sure I will assiduously endeavour. And in the meantime I beg your Grace to believe that whenever such things were done, as in my poor judgment were advantageous and good, I did not only joyfully entertain the news of them, but also represented them to the best advantage as well in word as in writing.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678, February 1. Whitehall.—These two or three last posts have brought me none from your Grace, save one of the 13th of January. With the enclosed papers I transmitted the last week letters signed by His Majesty for the four Bishoprics, but am in

much pain to receive nothing from your Grace as to the nomination for Cork, nor whether your Grace would have what the last Bishop governed to be in two Bishoprics hereafter.* I wrote you some posts since the pretences of Dean Murray, but nothing hath been yet concluded positively by the King, upon my reminding him that he had commanded me to tell you he would expect your nomination. Since which I received the note (of which this is a copy) from my Lord Treasurer. I went to the King upon it and put him in mind of his former promise, and nothing is yet positively commanded ; but if something from you do not suddenly prevent it I believe I shall have positive orders very suddenly. The quicker you are in signifying your desires upon such matters I think will be better, and free you from many disappointments.

The Parliament is dissolved and we are all endeavouring new elections. I am invited to stand at Oxford, but am not at present certain whether I shall resolve it or no ; but if your Grace would favour me with your letter of recommendation it would be of great advantage to me in case I did stand there, and may if the wind favour come in time.

What the success of our new Parliament will be I cannot tell. I would I could say I hoped but a tenth part of what I wish. There hath been a meeting this night at the Treasury Chamber to hear Sir James Shaen and Mr. Ryder ; the result I cannot yet tell not having been called to it.

Sir Robert Southwell to John Fell, Bishop of Oxford.

1678-9, February 1. Spring Garden.—I am very well pleased, tho' in the middle of much other business, to acquaint your Lordship that my Lord Duke of Ormond cannot think his grandson anywhere so well placed as in that University and under your Lordship's wing, and the final resolution is taken therein. And I am to acquaint your Lordship that his company will consist of one Monsieur Drelincourt, a French minister, and a person of very good endowments, who is designed to travel with him hereafter when that season shall be fit. He will also be attended with a valet de chambre, a page, two footmen, a groom and two or three horses. He must there also have a tutor of your Lordships nomination—one who may inspire a little Latin and Mathematics with most facility. He must next have lodgings convenient, and whether such may be had as have necessary furniture and whether all must be provided, and in that case whether to be sent from hence or to be procured there. And when these and such other particulars as may occur to your Lordship shall come into consideration it is humbly desired that your Lordship would make some estimate of the expenses for a year, and to return the same with what convenient speed your Lordship can.

* Bishops Boyle (1660-1663) and Synge (1668-1678) had combined the see of Cloyne with those of Cork and Ross. On Synge's death Cloyne was revived as a separate diocese, and so continued until it was suppressed by the celebrated Act of 3 and 4 William IV.

R. Mulys to Earl of Ossory.

1678-9, Saturday, February 1.—On Wednesday last, in the morning, Mr. Montagu was with Mr. Secretary Coventry, and appeared with Captain Titus that morning in the gallery; at night he attended but was not called for by the Council.

In Northamptonshire he stands for Knight of the Shire. My Lord Candish parts hence for Derbyshire to-morrow morning in order to his election for that county as Knight. My Lord Russell and my Lord Bruce stand for Knights of Bedfordshire. Sir Thomas Armstrong is recommended by the Duke of Monmouth to the town of Stafford, where tho' Mr. William Chetwynd (that you met upon the road) declines the invitation of the town, I am told Sir Charles Owsly will carry it from Sir Thomas Armstrong.

By this post you will receive a copy of the speech made in the House of Peers by my Lord Treasurer in his own defence against the six Articles of Impeachment sent up against him by the Commons of England. Some of the late members concerned in that Impeachment have lately told me that they find themselves obstructed in their new elections by my Lord Treasurer's interest. My Lord Latimer offers as standing for Knight of the Shire in Yorkshire; my Lord Dunblany stands at Weymouth. The doubts that arise about the legality of the late dissolution of Parliament was considered in Council last Wednesday night and adjudged to be a good dissolution.

My Lord Marquis of Worcester's servant, Mr. Price, is this day at liberty upon bail; so is Mr. Sheldon, my Lord Castlemaine, etc

My Lord Feversham was trepanned three days since and is like to do very well. Most people are mightily alarmed at the French preparations by sea, and will not be contradicted in it, but that they design upon England or Ireland or both.

The Lords and others in the Tower have petitioned to be brought to a speedy trial, or else that bail may be admitted; but their petition is rejected. One Turner hath this day rendered himself, confessing that he is both a priest and a Jesuit, and one of the persons intended in the late proclamation, tho' not there called by his right name. He is sent to the gatehouse. The idle people of the town is full of the discourse of Sir Edmund Godfrey's ghost appearing when the Queen was at High Mass at Somerset House. A proclamation is here in town sent from Edinburgh for disarming of Papists and seizing of priests, dated about 20th of January last.

To allay our fears of the French 'tis said that lately a ship put in at Dartmouth bound for Brest, and had on board her about a hundred men as pilots from Swedeland; and I know a person who is one of the Duke's near followers who hath made a wager that his Highness within a very few months will be in as much credit and esteem with the English nation as ever he was since the Restoration; meaning thereby that he will declare himself in favour of the Protestant religion. People here are very glad to find that the practices of my Lord of Orrery and the Bishop

of Meath hath had no other effect, but that the Lord Chancellor is notwithstanding made Lord Primate, etc., and that the design of Jephson is ordered to be further looked into.

The formality of the Parliament's meeting on Tuesday next is judged necessary and then to be dissolved by commission. The Duke of Lauderdale is said to be fallen off from my Lord Treasurer and not to signify so much in Councils as he was wont. 'Tis said that his Grace being at play at a noble Lord's in the Court, and talking of news, he swore by God the Father that he neither knew of nor advised the prorogation of the Parliament; that by God the Son he knew as little of the dissolution till the King declared it in Council; and by the Holy Ghost he did believe it would be the ruin of the Treasurer.

Ormond to the King.

1678, February 2.—Dublin.—I received your Majesty's of the 15th of January but yesterday by this bearer. I suppose he will [not] get much sooner to Court than my son Ossory, by whom I beg leave to convey my fuller answer to your Majesty's, and through whose hands I shall hope to receive more particular knowledge of your Majesty's intentions and pleasure in a matter that so much concerns my quiet and interest, which have never yet nor ever shall be put in the balance with the good of your service. God direct your Majesty in [and] thro' all difficulties.

Copy.

Same to the Same.

1678-9, February 3. Dublin.—Those few hours I have presumed to take to consider what your Majesty was pleased to propose concerning my Steward's place in your most gracious letter of the [the] last were not employed to determine whether I should give cheerful obedience to your pleasure or not, for that I can never be found unprepared for; but it was to digest a thing so new to me, and most humbly to propose the accommodation of your Majesty's convenience with your declared purpose that I should not suffer by it; and that I shall most sensibly do, if the world do not as manifestly see as I do confidently believe that my remove from an office of that dignity and advantage is not a mark or effect of your displeasure, which I could very ill support and very hardly dissemble. How this can be avoided otherwise than by your Majesty's assigning for me such a compensation as may show my dismission to be voluntary I know not, nor how the putting of my staff into another hand can be without prejudice to me [consid]ering that I thin[k] here [to] found of any mo[ ] such an office but by [ ] offence taken by the Prince and the displeasure manifested by other circumstances. But since I conceive your Majesty will believe that whilst I am in this station contending with many difficulties raised against your Government, and against me for being chief in it, the demonstrations of your favour are my greatest support and encouragements, I cannot fear that you will withdraw them

from me, and therefore I do with all assurance and submission lay myself and this whole matter with my life and fortune at your feet.

Copy.

R. Mulys to Earl of Ossory.

1678-9, February 4.—Very little news hath been talked of since my last by Saturday's post. The several contests and candidates for elections is everybody's discourse. 'Tis thought my Lord Longford will lose it in Surrey—Evelyn being invited by the country, for that my Lord say they went too much with the Court. Sir Joseph Williamson goes this week to Thetford upon invitation from that town, so that he is off from prosecuting his pretence at Oxford. I am told my Lord Ranelagh stands in Wiltshire, against whom Captain William Legge sets up with his brother the Colonel's interest, for which 'tis said the King hath chid the Colonel, who, insisting upon the merit of his family in opposition to my Lord Ranelagh, the King told him that William must desist, for that His Majesty wanted speakers in the House. Sir Gabriel [Silius] was mistaken in his news when he said the Parliament was to sit at this day and to be dissolved by commission, the day producing no such thing.

The Grand Jury hath found the Bill, and on Thursday the persons therein named as murderers of Sir Edward Godfrey will be tried in the King's Bench. Touching the Plot, every day produceth one new discovery or other, which is kept very secret. The letters from Flanders speak as if the peace betwixt France, the Emperor and the King of Sweden were signed; but I do not hear that any express therewith is yet come from Nimeguen to the King.

Sir Thomas Clarges is gone to a place called Christ Church near Salisbury, where set up in my Lord Clarendon's interest he is like to carry the election.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, February 4. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace of the 1st of February, I have received two from your Grace, the one nominating Doctor Wetenhall to the Bishopric of Cork, and the other bringing the form of a letter. I have this day got the letter signed, so that if anybody attend it, it may be dsepatched to-night.

For the other letter from your Grace and Council for His Majesty to consider in Council, I shall prefer it to-morrow, and the same will not be amiss, because there is a day appointed for the hearing the Earl of Ranelagh upon the complaint of some poor soldiers that have been long starving and petitioning here. Everybody is very busy about the election. Whether there may be as many made courtiers in this Parliament as were in the last I know not, but I am afraid there will not be so many chosen. We have no certain news yet of the peace

with the Emperor and France, but it is everywhere taken for granted, and that it will be a most advantageous and glorious one for France.

EARL OF STRAFFORD to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 4. London.—I was acquainted by Sir Wm. Wentworth at his coming hither that the day afore he came from Dublin your Grace was pleased to tell him that both my Lady Duchess and yourself were very much troubled at what I had said in the Parliament, and that whatsoever disobligation I could put upon your Grace, you would be sure, for my father's sake, to do me any service that lay in your power, for you had great obligations to him. This was all, as he tells me, that your Grace said to him; and upon my asking him what the particulars were that caused you to say thus, he acquainted me it was reported all over Dublin I had said in the Parliament your Grace minded nothing in Ireland, but playing at cards, dancing and revelling. And my Lord of Arran is said to have been so just to me as to have spoke the same likewise publicly at some feast at the College. My Lord, I do not wonder at strange reports, but though I cannot discourse so wisely as others can, yet I have not been used to make such foolish speeches in Parliament as these, nor have I heard any reflection at all made of you there; and it being so easy to know what passeth in such a public assembly, I may admire who should have the impudence to tell your Grace such great untruths of me, and I think I have cause to complain that you would so easily give credit to so improbable as well as false a story of me as this I have mentioned. I never began an unfriendly thing in all my life to any of my friends, and wish, with all my heart, for their sakes that have ever been wanting to me more than I to them; but, as I have not troubled your Grace with discourses upon this subject, so I shall now avoid doing it, and shall not importune you further, nor had not thus far so late, but that I newly find a letter I writ divers weeks since has not come to your hands. So I hold myself obliged to send this, which is by that means the first and shall be the last trespass I shall make in this kind, therefore I shall hope for your Grace's pardon at this time.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1678-9, February 4. Oxford.—I shall think myself very happy if I may serve my Lord Duke and my Lord Ossory in the great concern of the education of their heir; and by God's help shall endeavour not to be wanting in any thing that may contribute to their service herein. We have at present here several young persons of the nobility, who will be no ill company for my Lord James; and here is also one who, I hope, will be very fit to perform all the parts of a good tutor, and has been practised in that employment—Mr. Aldrich—whom I the rather recommend because he has in his tuition two noblemen, whose conversation I think will be most useful to my Lord James,

and whose example may be most likely to recommend study to him. The personal expenses of a nobleman here you fully understand from my Lord Courcy's accounts; the accessions which will be made by the salary of the governor, the wages and diet of servants, the keeping of horses and other equipage, you will without difficulty compute, the rates of this place being much the same with London. Our accommodation for lodging is such as I think will be very convenient. For the furniture of my Lord's ante-room and bedchamber I presume it may be best to send hangings from London, our rooms being so high that they will receive either six, eight, or ten foot hangings; the governor's apartment and the valet de chambre's will be best provided here. My great concern is that the servants be such whom much leisure will not spoil. When you shall please to signify the time when my Lord purposes to be here, I shall accordingly provide for his reception, by clearing such room as I think most useful for him, and sending the measures. You will be pleased farther to consider whether my Lord will take his commons in the Hall, as the Duke of Southampton, my Lord Herbert and others of like quality did; or else diet more privately; for, accordingly, we shall endeavour to provide for him. In whatsoever other particulars you shall please to interpose your directions and commands they shall be executed.

Postscript.—My Lord Courcy is very well.

SAME to SAME.

1678-9, February 6.—Upon the receipt of your former letter that gave notice of my Lord Duke's purpose to send his grandson hither, I immediately returned an answer by Mr. Young, Chaplain to my Lord Ossory, who I presume by this time has put my letter into your hand. I wait your farther direction, and when I understand how soon you would have my young Lord fixed in this place, shall prepare for his reception. The servants I presume you intend should be at board wages, and the grooms are used to lodge abroad, so that, besides my Lord's own chambers, and those who immediately attend on his person, we shall not be concerned to find lodging in the College. If it stands not with convenience to send down hangings for my Lord's ante-room and bedchamber, upon notice I will see what may be done in this town; but the furniture here is such as may suit with philosophers, and not princes. The materials for a gown must not be forgot, this place not supplying what will be fit for my Lord to wear. That kind of silk which they call brocade is used by our noblemen, and the trimming is only gold and silver buttons and loops; six dozen are used to be put on. I do not foresee that there requires any long time for preparation, so that if it be desired my Lord should be speedily settled, there will be nothing to hinder it. I am sure I shall endeavour to serve all my Lord's interests. I purpose, God willing, by the next post to write unto my Lord Duke, which at present I have not time to do.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678, February 8. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace I have not been able to get your Grace's and the Council's letter read at Council; but Wednesday next is the day appointed for it. You will within receive a letter from His Majesty that your Grace send a deputation for the swearing the members of Parliament. All manner of expedition must be used, for if it come not before the meeting, His Majesty must be constrained to make a Lord Steward *pro tempore*, which cannot be done without some inconveniency to you. My Lord of Ossory is, I hear, expected here this evening, and probably may come before the closing of this.

Postscript.—My Lord Ossory is just now arrived.

EARL OF OSSORY to SAME.

1678-9, February 11.—If I had writ on Saturday last I could only have informed you of my coming to town late in the evening. On Sunday, the King being after dinner at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, he went alone with me into her gallery, where I delivered your letter. He made many professions of kindness, and that he intended only for a time to gratify one with the staff, which he would soon return to you again. After I assured him of your entire resignation to his pleasure, I offered him my thoughts upon what he writ to you and repeated to me of his positiveness in not doing anything in this affair which might prove a damage to you, which would inevitably ensue if it appeared not that you had such a compensation as would manifest your consent. He then asked what you valued it at. I replied that you would submit that to his judgment. He said compliments were to be laid aside, upon which I told him that the place was more valuable both for profit and honour than that of Chamberlain, which was sold for ten thousand pounds, that you did owe a sum of about £13,000 to Sir Robert Vyner, which, if it were made no more your debt, the salary of the place being set apart for payment of it, His Majesty might find his accounts in satisfying you and obliging the person intended for your office. After many things said expressing your's and my gratitude for his great bounties and many assurances from him of his being far from doing you a hard thing, we parted, His Majesty promising that he would not make any farther step without consulting me. Yesterday morning I waited on my Lord Treasurer, but had no discourse with him by reason of my Lord of Canterbury's being with him. As he was conducting me out of his lodgings, he said he would return my visit, being desirous to have some discourse with me, which I will give him occasion of, and shall soon after give you an account thereof. Yesterday, discoursing with my Lord of Salisbury by the fire, as the King was going from the Council Chamber, I observed him to cast an eye upon that Lord, which convinces me with other circumstances that he is the person to be dignified. So you be accommodated, I

am very indifferent on whom the lot does fall. My Lord of Sunderland yesterday took his oath as Secretary of State in place of Sir Joseph Williamson. He has been civil to my son and lived, I think, fairly with you. I leave it to your consideration whether it be improper for you to write him a compliment upon this trust conferred upon him. The paper concerning the Duke is signed, and witnessed by the [Arch] bishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor and both Secretaries, in as ample a manner as could be devised. I find it not divulged here, and therefore I wish you would only impart it to such as will not let it be known, that the notice thereof proceeds from us. I will take my time to discourse with the King upon public affairs, and then impart to you what I can learn from him.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to SAME.

1678-9, Tuesday, February 11. St. James's Square.—I had some discourse with Mr. Brisban a little before his last journey to Paris (where he is now the King's Agent for Maritime Affairs) about the present condition of the Huguenots in France, and what probability there might be (by taking the opportunity of those pressures they lie under there) to invite them over. He told me that several considerable men among them had privately enquired of him upon what terms they might transplant into Ireland, and he desired me to consult your Grace about it. I conceived it might conduce exceedingly to the service of that kingdom both at once to strengthen the Protestants' hands, and in some measure to supply the only things that country wants, multitude of people and manual arts; and, therefore, a little before my Lord Arran went over, I acquainted him with what I had learned from Mr. Brisban, and begged his Lordship to understand your Grace's sense of it, and if you approved of it that I might be privately instructed with such things as I might communicate to him upon this occasion. I have now again heard from him from Paris that the business ripens apace, and that it is highly seasonable for him to be able to acquaint them with what entertainment they may expect. I most humbly submit the affair to your Grace's prudence, and shall myself bear that part in it you shall be pleased to assign.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD to SAME.

1678-9, February 11. Oxford.—Having received notice from your Excellency's hand of your purpose to deposit your greatest treasure in this place, I make haste to return all possible assurances of my sense both of the value of the charge entrusted, and the additional obligation which such a confidence imposes, and shall endeavour by all methods of respect and diligence, to render your Excellency such an account that you may not retract the favourable opinion you have been pleased to entertain of me, or of your counsel in disposing my young lord in this place. I have given Sir Robert Southwell notice of those

little preparations which will be necessary for my Lord's accommodation, which a very few days will despatch, and then I hope he will be suddenly settled with us, to his own present content and future benefit. Although everything about us threatens confusion and ruin, we may entertain hope that Almighty God has mercy still in store for us, in that he has raised up and continues a person of your Excellency's zeal and love to religion now to stand in the gap; and, by supporting one of the Three Kingdoms, exceedingly contribute to the stay of the other. In which station that you have that greatest of earthly blessings, the being long an instrument of good, is the daily and earnest prayer of, etc.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to SAME.

1678-9, February 11. Whitehall.—Both your Grace's of the 2nd of February I have received, and have shewed them to His Majesty; for that of Dean Murray you will find by my last that it is according to your desires; but as to the Bishopric of Cloyne, His Majesty is resolved for Dr. Sheridan,* though yours recommending Doctor Smith arrived before the signing of the letter, which will be transmitted, I suppose, this or the next post at farthest. Had your recommendation come but a post sooner, I have reason to believe you would have had your satisfaction in that as well as the rest.

I wrote you in my last letter that your's and the Council's letter concerning the state of the kingdom was to be read in Council to-morrow. Of the issue I shall advertise your Grace. The greatest change we have had here is that His Majesty hath taken the seals from Secretary Williamson and given them to the Earl of Sunderland, the former having for recompense the money he disbursed for it at his advancement. The cause of this removal I cannot tell you, only thus much, there was none declared, but many conjectured and surmised, as is usual in such evennements. For Mr. Brisban's letter it is true he wrote to that effect, but he wrote what he heard at Paris, and cannot take off from the Lieutenant's report that was an oracular witness, and our Amsterdam letters confirm the Lieutenant's, and that the design is Ireland. I have despatched an understanding person to visit all these coasts, from whom I expect hourly an accompt very particular, and, as soon as received, shall transmit it to your Grace. Yours of the 31st January with the enclosed I suppose were in effect answered before I received them, the Archbishop of Tuam having His Majesty's letter for Archbishop of Dublin, and so I suppose that of the Council followeth.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, February 13. Dublin.—We compute you were at Court the Saturday after you left us, not taking Knowsley in

* Patrick Sheridan, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne 1679—1682. The bishop was a great-uncle of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

your way; but perhaps we computed faster than you rid, as is natural where men are in pain to know the state they are in, of which I must take measure concerning myself by the success of my letter put into your hands. I hope James is by this time gone to Oxford, and that I shall know what provision must be made for him there. Barrington is by this post sent for to return. The last post brought many letters for you, most containing little else than news except what is before this time told you by your friends and by Mulys, I have by this post recommended your Chaplain, Dean Smith, to the Bishopric of Cloyne; if you are concerned for him you must speak to the Secretary for despatch, and if need be to the King. I know no competitor he is like to find but one, Dean Murray, and I wonder how he comes in play, or came to be Dean, being one of the most inconsiderable men in the Church, taking in vicars and curates, as he is charactered by all that know him. I have this morning spoke with Robin Lee about my Lord Chamberlain's affair. He tells me my Lord's counsel are of opinion his case needs no corroboration. If it should, the bill is out of my hands, and no man can so improperly as myself move for any private clause, having humbly besought His Majesty to admit of none. We are, God be thanked, all as well here as we can reasonably hope to be.

Ormond to Sir Henry Coventry.

1678-9, February 14. Dublin.—You will easily believe, and, I hope, find, I made haste to seal and send away the commission I received with yours of the 8th within this half hour. The staff, as slender as it is, is no small support to me in the state of affairs here, and would certainly be a great one taken from me, contending as I do against those that would be glad to see any sign of the diminution of my credit with my master. I shall at more leisure give you further trouble in other matters. I have only in this to add my acknowledgments of your care.

Copy.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678-9, February 14. Dublin.—Our letters of the 8th tell us you were that day got to Court. By those of the 11th, I hope I may have some account of His Majesty's pleasure upon the letters and papers you carried with you. The papers concerned the public, and the letter also in some degree, though it seems more immediately to my private. For whilst I am in disturbance and unease in relation to an apprehension of a public mark of the King's disfavour, it is with some distraction and heartlessness I act or think. I have reason to expect all the attacks of the disaffected party in the Parliament. The place I am in and the principles they know I profess will whet their malice and their ingenuity to find faults in me. Perhaps His Majesty may find it necessary to comply so far as to remove me from hence. In that case to be found divested of my nearer

place to the King would leave me in a posture very ridiculous to the world. To prevent it as far as it is possible, I have sent this bearer express with a commission from me to swear the House of Commons, and I will send a duplicate by the post. The express has a view to stay till you shall return him, and you may let the King know there is an express sent that attends his pleasure for his return.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 15. Sir James Shaen, who has always showed great respect towards you, and unto whom I am much obliged for his civilities, particularly for the assistance he gave me in the business of my grant in Ireland, will this day sennight transmit unto you proposals in order to the increase of the revenue*, and as he entreats your secrecy so he intends that, by your means, these offers of advantage may be tendered unto His Majesty. I doubt not but you will countenance him in things relating to the public, if you do approve them, and that upon my account, you will be ready to show him all just favour if any concerns of his own come before you. This is upon the score of making the Army ten thousand.

SAME to SAME.

1678-9, February 15.—I thought it convenient to inquire His Majesty's pleasure, after the space of so many days, concerning your affair, which I did just as he came from the Duchess of Portsmouth's chamber. His answer was that he had taken no resolution in the thing, and with heart, if not chagrin, said that he would not, without my knowledge, proceed any further in this business. I was willing to know the event of what was designed, not out of my natural impatience only, but because I have been informed, from several persons of importance, that this transaction is in many places discoursed of, and that my Lord Treasurer is to have it upon the Treasury being put into commission. I hope this offer has been made more with haste than good reason, and that, upon after-thoughts, His Majesty may have changed his mind, or at least that none of your enemies will have that credit as to persuade him to do so hard a thing as to displace you without a reasonable compensation. Considering what has passed upon this subject, I think nothing more is to be done than to be watchful, and to act as occasion offers.

As to your commands relating to the concerns of Ireland, you may be sure I will do all that lies in my power, but you know that critical minutes are to be taken, else a discourse of that nature will neither succeed or be well entertained. I am told Mr. Secretary Coventry is to be removed, and that Sir Lionel Jenkins was to have succeeded him; but now that Sir William

* See p. 330 *infra*.

Temple is fixed upon. Perhaps this also may alter, for things are in such uncertainty as resolutions are very often changed. At this instant, writing at Somerset House, while the Queen is at her devotions, I am told that Berry the porter, being condemned, has returned from being a Papist to our religion, which he professed the first part of his life, and that he will make great discoveries. This morning I saw a letter of Doctor Floyd's to my Lord of Clarendon, begging a reprieve for the fellow, but withal saying that the man absolutely denied anything of his knowledge of the matter of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. The King has ordered the execution of this man to be deferred. God knows what this man may say truly, or for hopes of pardon, but I am sure Doctor Floyd's letter seems to believe that these condemned men are innocent of that part of which they were found guilty. I have not anything worth troubling my mother withal. By the next post I hope to be able to give her an account of some of her commands.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, February 15. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 9th of February I have received, and humbly thank your Grace for it and the enclosed in my behalf to the University of Oxford. But I, standing fair with my old borough, and not affecting to change old masters, have acquainted my Lord Chancellor that I humbly submit that your letter for his son may take place.

As to my Lord Ranelagh, he accounts the letter, as I acquainted your Grace in my last, was appointed to be read on Wednesday last, but when the clerk was beginning to read it, the King stopped it and said it must be farther considered of, from what motive I yet know not, but I believe your Grace may guess.

I am commanded by the King to let your Grace know that some information being given him that the Duke of Monmouth has either passed, or was passing, a patent under the Great Seal of Ireland, wherein the King calleth him our son, without any such distinction as the word natural, His Majesty would have your Grace take care that no patent, now or hereafter, pass without that distinction in it. His Royal Highness seemeth concerned in the point, and His Majesty gave me express orders to write to you on that subject.

The Court hath not the usual favour in elections this time. But yet I believe that the major part of the House will be composed of men affected to monarchy and the Church.

Earl of Sunderland to Ormond.

1678-9, February 15. Whitehall.—His Majesty having been pleased to make me Secretary of State in the place of Sir Joseph Williamson, he commanded me to send a letter to your Grace, which was ordered at a meeting in the Treasury Chamber, con-

cerning the farm of the revenue of Ireland, which I willingly obliged His Majesty in, because the business is at last left to your judgment.

ORMOND to GEORGE MATHEW.

1678-9, February 17. Dublin.—By a letter of the 11th of this month from my son Ossory he gave me an account of his having delivered my letter to the King, and of his discourse with him on the subject of it; all very gracious and kind on His Majesty's part, still professing that it was not his purpose to do anything that should be hard towards me. He desired to know what I valued my place at. My son answered what His Majesty pleased. The King replied, "Let us have no compliment betwixt us." Then my son told him of the debt I owed to Sir Robert Vyner, and that if it might be taken from me it would content me. The King took time to consider of it, and at parting assured my son he would take no further step in the affair without his knowledge; and thus the affairs stands, and the discourse ended.

My Lord Lanesborough tells me he thinks he shall have directions from his daughter, who is a young widow in England, to put out about £1,600 to interest, and offers it me. I desire you to consider what use there may be of it, and how it may be secured to her, and to her father for her. I wish that now at the turn there may be an end put to the suit betwixt the town of Clonmel and me; that is, that the arrear may be forgiven them, the almshouses restored to its proper use, and the £9 or £10 a year given them. For I do not desire at this time to appear hard in my own interest upon a Corporation that is poor and will be clamorous.

Sir William Davys and Hartstonge, the attorney, will have order to prosecute Moore upon his carriage, which, with his son's taking his examination at Kiltivan, I suppose was a consequence and of a piece. If a combination to asperse the King and me can be fully proved, and that it is probable a jury will do us justice, I would have it thoroughly prosecuted. But if the proof be not very clear, and that made out at least by some Protestant witnesses, it's better left alone till a fitter opportunity.

Copy

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1678-9, February 17. Dublin.—I think there went a post since I received yours of the 11th, but I had not time to write by it, nor had I much to say, my private concern being brought to the best period I could then expect. What shall be further done in it, I know you will inform me as seasonably as you can, and that you will stick to the main [point] or at least desire that you may have time to consult me in a matter you know I am highly concerned in.

I suppose Sir Robert Southwell has discoursed with you about your son's going to Oxford, and the terms of his reception and

maintenance. I know not whether his governor's salary may not be too much at Oxford, or whether James will need all the servants set down there, for he will need no more at Paris. But I am not so much concerned for a hundred more or less as to thwart any man's opinion, though money is like to be a scarce commodity here, and therefore I hope you have fallen upon your retrenchment. My daughter Arran is well landed, and all your friends are well. I cannot think of anything to say to my Lord Chamberlain.

Earl of Essex to Ormond.

1678-9, February 19. London.—When I left Ireland there was a bridge building,* the completing of which will (as I am informed) cost much more than was believed when the work was undertaken. I do look upon this as a public good, for the enlarging and increasing of the city of Dublin is a matter in my apprehension of no small moment to the safety of that kingdom. Wherefore I do humbly recommend it to your Grace, if you can find anything proper to be applied for the furtherance of so public a work, and in order to it when your Grace shall propose anything hither I shall be ready to give my assistance thereunto.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678-9, February 18.—This is my second letter, having writ the other so as I might show it to my Lord of Essex. I suppose you will, in a letter to him, acknowledge the civility he expresses towards you, his Lordship professing that it is only upon that account that he gives this instruction. The affairs of your staff is more discussed of, though I have owned it but to few. I find the King very kind, and hear no more of the matter. I just now received yours of the 13th, unto which I have no answer to give, having writ you notice of all things mentioned in it. I fear Mr. Smith will be disappointed by Mr. Sheridan's having a promise, but I will use my endeavours in this particular, as also for the future if it is necessary. I wish you had Mr. Young, my chaplain, in your family, for he is eminent both for preaching and good living, and not being troublesome. Besides, he is an Oxford man.

Earl of Danby to Ormond.

1678-9, February 18. London.—This is to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging letter of the 13th of January, and I have very little else to trouble you withal, the business of this kingdom having so taken up His Majesty's time and his Council's that there are yet no other resolutions relating to Ireland than the former ones. Only in this particular, which is the occasion of Mr. Ryder's journey, both His Majesty and

* Essex Bridge, Dublin, rebuilt, and renamed Grattan Bridge in 1874.

all here seem convinced that, if some speedy care is not taken, the present farm of the revenue in that kingdom must break in those hands which now manage it. But yet we are sure everything there is so safe under your Grace's inspection that we do with an implicit faith conclude the farm is so too, if your Grace shall continue to be of that opinion. I am sorry to find your Grace does not think it fit to call a Parliament there till you have seen the issue of one here, because as I think that kingdom is in more danger of a foreign [attack] than this, so there is more need to be quick in their defence, which I fear cannot be without a Parliament. I doubt not but your Grace has had an account of my Lord Ossory's safe arrival here.

Extract from Letter of Sir William King to Orrery.

1678-9, February 21. Limerick.—I have laid out several ways after Doctor Molony, but cannot hear anything. There came one lately to my Lord Broghill and me, to tell me that he heard he was about Galway, and that he did not question but I should, if there, find him out. I gave him some money and sent him away. He returned suddenly and told me he was within two miles of this place in disguise, and in a white periwig. I sent one thither that could know him in any disguise, and one in whom I could confide; but he saw no one there like him at all, or in any disguise. I am assured by some merchants here that he is gone beyond seas, for they tell me that he went towards Waterford in order thereto.
Copy.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678-9, February 22.—Last post I received your letter of the 14th, and this day I showed it to the King, who I do believe has altered his resolution as to taking from you the White Staff. He said that upon my discourse upon that subject, I might see he had done nothing more in that matter. Upon my expressing my thoughts upon the present affairs, and that I believed those who were not well inclined to the Government would endeavour to remove one so firm to it from so considerable a post as yours is in Ireland, he replied that it was his part to look to that. I was sufficiently satisfied with this conversation.

What will become of affairs in general God knows. Elections go on very untowardly. Few of the Court, I do believe, will be chosen. This afternoon I had a long discourse with my Lord Treasurer in order to the affairs of Ireland. I showed him how those motives which inclined you to advise calling Parliament varied, but withal told him that you did not despair of rendering service by it, though with more difficulty than when you first made the proposal; and that, as you looked for unpleasing motions, so you did not despair of carrying your point, so the King would do his part in ordering

you, or else, by a letter from himself, assure them that what more they should give should be employed for the strength and security of that kingdom. This method he approved much more than the manner of appropriating supplies in the body of the Act, as I perceived plainly by his desiring me to explain whether the twenty thousand pounds reserved to the privy purse was intended to be kept from coming hither he apprehended. To which I answered that it was no way imagined to divert that sum, but perhaps more may be added to it, so the people might see the intention was not to drain Ireland so as to make it anyways defray the charge of England, but what they should give would be employed to the ends before mentioned. I beseech you to be careful not to grate upon so sore a place, as I told you this would be when you writ to Mr. Secretary upon that subject. The other part of his discourse was about the twenty companies, which I said you would be glad to have, and some reasonable time before the Parliament meeting, which you did believe would be an evidence that their aids would be applied to their own benefits. He desired I would know the King's pleasure soon, so that something might be resolved upon. I answered him I would do it with all possible speed, and that if he pleased to give me the opportunity, I would do it in his presence. This was left dubious, and as I see cause I shall alone or before him let the King know your mind. I was told he had some designs of accusing my Lord of Buckingham, and upon my assuring him that I would be as zealous in that as he could be, he said he was not out of hopes of procuring something very material against him. This he pleased to keep secret; for I undertook, whatsoever happened, that it should not be divulged by me.

I here send you papers relating to those unfortunate men who lately suffered; and though they may have suffered according to the forms of law, yet I believe them altogether innocent of the part laid to their charge.

I had an extreme kind letter from the Prince of Orange congratulating my return, and assuring me he was not only very much ashamed that my establishments were not settled, but that he would not rest till they were perfected. He made a present of six thousand ducats in gold to Overkirk without being solicited. The Princess, I am afraid is not with child, though they all expect her lying in within a month.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, February 22. Whitehall.—The gentleman your Grace sent express with your deputation to the several Lords for swearing the Parliament men arrived here two days since, and it is delivered to my Lord Privy Seal. I must confess the parting with your staff seemeth to me to have great inconveniency attending it, both in relation to His Majesty and yourself. But it is what the King heareth only particular counsels in, and, though it is everywhere talked of, it is nowhere avowed. The world hath generally parted my seals and me, but His

Majesty has not yet signified any such resolution to me, and I am in the state your Grace left me, only so much older, and consequently more disposed to a retirement, which will neither injure nor displease me, so it be not with any mark of His Majesty's displeasure, and he hath lately promised me that shall not be at any time. The great choice now approaches, and I suppose a little time will show what we have to hope or fear. I send your Grace an extract of Mr. Bristowe's last letter. I send likewise His Majesty's letter in recommendation of Sir Nicholas Armorer, but that for Doctor Smith came too late.

ORMOND to the EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1678-9, February 22. Dublin.—The first assurance I had of your Lordship's being Secretary of State was by yours of the 15th of this month, else I had sooner congratulated that mark of His Majesty's favour and trust, as I now very heartily do. The letter your Lordship mentions concerning the revenue of this kingdom ordered at a meeting in the Treasury Chamber was not, as I suppose, prepared when you writ. When it shall come to my hands I will, by your Lordship, give His Majesty the best account I can of his commands. There lie many despatches and representations concerning that matter with the Lords of the Council, my Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary Coventry, which I suppose the interposition of other affairs of nearer and greater consequence has not allowed time for. Yet it is my duty still to acquaint His Majesty with the state of this kingdom, and to attend his leisure for the signification of his pleasure. Many things which sufficiently manifest that the ill-humours reigning in England is conveyed hither I omit to trouble His Majesty with, choosing rather to endeavour to assuage the distemper and to prevent the prejudice it may do, than to molest him fruitlessly with every circumstance of that nature. I wish your Lordship all happiness and success in your present station.

Copy

SIR JAMES SHAEN'S MEMORANDUM on the STATE OF THE REVENUE.

1678-9, February 22.—Mr. Ryder went yesterday, and Mr. Stannion this day for Ireland. The latter carries with him materials to induce the Lieutenant to continue the commission, that is, preserve the farm according to the latitude given him by His Majesty's last letter. In pursuance to the Farmers' agreement with Mr. Ryder that for his own, Mr. Gurney's and Mr. Jones' shares he should be paid what remained due from the farm to him of his original advance, and lent money with Irish interest from the time of payment to the repayment thereof, Mr. Ryder did appoint one of those that had half a share with him to prepare and draw up an account between us, which he did, and delivered duplicates to him and us, with liberty to either party to make their exceptions. By that

account the original money remaining due unto Ryder and those concerned with him did amount to £16,662 7s. 6d.; but by that the exceptions given in by the Farmers, the same was reduced to £8,825 16s. 1d., the particulars whereof shall be sent by this next post. But Mr. Ryder, finding how his noble was like to be brought to ninepence, and that *bona fide* there was not so much due to him from the farm as the money he borrowed from others, broke off abruptly, and unknown to us betook himself to extraordinary means to force us to comply with him on his own terms, and hath obtained His Majesty's letter without our being summoned or heard; and, it is reported, is fortified with other strong recommendations to his Grace. We hope that the same reasons which induced his Grace to support the farm hitherto will prevail with him to protect it against the storm, especially considering the matter is left unto his own breast.

Since Ryder flew off, his said partner, John Stannion, (who was both ashamed of Ryder's carriage and assured that Ryder, who had grossly abused him by concealing his withdrawing of his money, would both ruin it, himself and partner), hath sold us his interest in the farm, whereby Ryder's original money in the farm is reduced unto £5,575 16s. 1d., and Mr. Sheridan tells us that when he makes up his account he will surcharge Ryder with above £3,000, which will bring Ryder's original money to a Welshman's button. The copy of the assignment from John to Lawrence Stannion is here enclosed.

Before Shaen left Ireland the Lord Lieutenant asked him his advice, not as a Farmer, but as his friend, what Shaen would do if he were in case, to which he answered: "That which was safest for the King and best for the kingdom"; and the Farmers could not do amiss which begot the order of the 22nd of March and other rules which have preserved the revenue hitherto. And because Shaen is not there now, he doth enclosed send his naked thoughts what he would do if he were in the Lord Lieutenant's case upon this occasion, which Shaen will incline his partners to comply withal, and submit to so much thereof as his Grace shall think fit to enjoin them to observe; but his partners will take it ill if they know this came from Shaen. But this is lent for the King and Kingdom, and all the Farmers who mean honestly, and will answer all objections.

If the enclosed account of the revenue for the first three years, as it certainly is [ ] there is a fair prospect of the farm, it would not be amiss if the truth thereof were thoroughly examined by the Commissioners and Inspectors, and Ryder's and Gurney's objections (if any) to it put in writing, examined and reported.

The paper intended to have been sent this post under the Earl of Ossory's letter was shown him, but, being late, cannot be transcribed time enough to go this post. Nobody must see that paper nor this, or the expedient, but the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Chancellor, Stone and Reynolds, if it be thought fit, under promise of secrecy, to avoid inconveniences.

There is nothing but the damned disappointment of Ryder's in flying from his bargain (which I always expected he would and never really intended it), but if the Government stand by us he will be forced to it, for all his friends here and brothers there will desert him if he be not advised by them to take his money). I say Ryder's not going off is the only thing that hinders our proceeding in this affair we so long and often discoursed of; for all things else are in a readiness, which will prove much more to His Majesty's service than Heron's proposal, of which I pray send me a copy.

The execution of these expedients will satisfy the Government that the Farmers of our party are honest men, and the farm in a good condition, and His Majesty is secure; and, therefore, though it seems an imposition on the Farmers and a distrust of them, yet nothing can do them more right than a true knowledge of all things relating to the farm. Neither can anything be more for the vindication of the Government, whose reports and representations have not met with that due respect and credit which they deserved..

The first part of the expedients are agreeable to, and, indeed, directed by the order of the Council of 22nd March, 1678-9, and the second part is according to his Grace's intentions in the latter end of the letter to the Lord [ ] 5th November, 1678, and the King's last letter was sent by Ryder in order to the full knowledge of the state and condition of the Farm, and of the solvent and insolvent arrears.

The two thousand men, from the first of May next, if this continue only as they are at present, may be constantly paid with the present revenue over and above the present establishment; but *majora canamus*, of which by the next.

All this bustle which Ryder makes is in short to get Pigott, who is neither a patentee nor really concerned in the farm, either in profit or loss, nor without consent of the seven Farmers (which he will never get) cannot be a Commissioner, to be put in the Commission, and Shaen, Muschamp and Neill, who are patentees, and by Ryder's own covenants are to be Commissioners, to be left out, and one that he may have a quorum of three to do what he pleases with the farm and Farmers, which may prove above £100,000 damage to His Majesty. And it is believed the man is not worth £1,000 in the world, and *impar negotio*. And if this Commission should be vacated because it is illegal, all the present and former Farmers, and their officers, wives and children, are ruined.

Ormond to [Earl of Ossory.]

1678-9, February 25. Dublin.—I have both yours of the 18th with my Lord of Essex his remarks upon the commission, wherein he states the matter very right, and just as it has been stated from hence upon former occasions, as might have appeared at the Treasury Chambers if Mr. Secretary Coventry had been there, or if the despatches from hence upon

that subject had been called for and considered. I have seen a copy of the letter intended to be sent hither concerning the commission in question, and the whole farm, and do conceive it to be a draught of Mr. Ryder's or his counsel's, and not produced from any deliberate consideration of the whole matter as it stands represented from hence. When it comes I shall in a short time lay before His Majesty all that may give him light from this side on that affair. I am well assured of Sir James Shaen's respects and friendship to me, and he shall find I am very sensible of it as occasion shall serve. It will be enough that you assure my Lord of Essex of the value I set on his friendship and on the assistance he is so ready to afford me in this Government.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 25.—Just as the King was at supper he commanded me to let you know that he would send you over twenty foot companies with all possible speed. I showed him the paper you gave me for to help my memory, so that he knows fully your mind. How they will be paid will be your business to consider, if orders be not sent you for calling a Parliament. I wish you would contrive any way to do this without touching that fund laid aside for the building of Windsor or other privy uses. Of this I spoke largely in my last; and shall now give you no further trouble. Mr. Hungerford desires you to permit his brother the Captain to come hither for a short time, it importing much to them both.

[REV. PETER] DRELINCOURT* to ORMOND.

1678-9, Fevrier, le 27. A Oxford.—Monseigneur, quelque vif et quelque profond ressentiment que j'aye de l'honneur et de la grace que vôtre grandeur m'a faite en me donnant la conduite de Monseigneur vôtre petit-fils: cependant la crainte que j'aye de vous faire perdre quelques uns de ces precieux moments que vôtre grandeur employe si utilement pour la gloire et la conservation de tout un grand royaume, m'empêcheroit de mettre la main à la plume pour vous en rendre mes très humbles remerciments, comme je fais à present, si ce n'etoit en même tems pour vous dire des nouvelles de l'état, et de la santé de milord James, et selon l'avis que my lord Arlington m'a fait l'honneur de me donner à Londres, d'informer votre grandeur de vôtre arrivée et de nôtre reception en cette ville. Mon jeune seigneur y arriva la semaine derniere en très bonne parfaite santé, fort gay et fort vif, comme il est à present,

* Peter Drelincourt (1644-1722) author of 'Les Consolations de l'Ame contre les Frageurs de la Mort' (Geneva 1669), a work better known in its English dress through its association with Defoe's 'Apparition of Mrs. Veal.') Drelincourt later became chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, and was subsequently appointed Dean of Armagh.

grace à Dieu. Mr. nôtre Excellent Doyen nous fit l'accueil le plus obligeant du monde, et nous donne les meilleurs logements que nous pouvoins souhaiter dans le Collége, et milord James couche dans la chambre où le Roi déffunt couche pendant tout le séjour qu'il fit autresfois icy durant les guerres civiles. Milord est fort content de demeurer icy autant qu'il plaira à vôtre grandeur. Il est plus gay et plus robuste que je ne l'ay jamais veu, et sans le flatter, il me paroit aussy joly et aussy aimable enfant qui se puisse. Il est fort doux, et de fort bon naturel, et jusques icy, j'ay fait de lui tout ce que j'ai voulu. Il est déja sur un meilleur pied que celuy où il étoit avant son arrivée à Oxford. J'ay commençay non seulement à le fortifier dans son latin, qu'il faut que j'avoue qu'il avoit un peu oublié; mais aussy à le conduire doucement à la partie des mathematiques qui est le plus facile, et qu'il peut entendre à le age où il est. Il apprend a conter aisement et en peu temps les nombres les plus grands, à quoi il réüssit deja fort bien, et il me semble que cela n'est pas inutile à une personne de sa qualité. Je prends soin de le faire écrire chaque jour, afin de fortifier sa main, dont il n'avoit pas l'exercer souvent jusques icy, à cause de l'incommodité qu'il y avoit. Il doit commencer bientot l'histoire et la geographie, dont il a eu quelques petits commencements. Son précepteur qui est un homme savant vient l'enseigner tous les jours; nous nous aydons l'un l'autre. J'ay soin que milord employe bien son temps avec luy, et de luy faire apprendre et de luy rendre aisé et facile ce qu'il faut qu'il apprenne. Je tasche a luy inspirer outre les sentiments d'honneur de vertu, à faire un bon usage de son argent, et, a le dépencer à propos Mr. nôtre Doyen m'a donné les contes de la dépence qui à été faite en garnissant les logements de milord, et en luy achetant ce qui etoit absolument nécessaire dans le Collége. Je les ay envoyé à Sir Robert Southwell. Pour ce qui est des trente livres sterling qui m'ont été mises entre les mains, on de ce qui me pourra être confie cy après j'espère s'il plait a Dieu en garder et en rendre un si bon conte, qu'il ne s'y trouvera rien de manque. Je demande très humblement pardon à votre grandeur si je vous entretiens si longtems. Permettez moi cependant d'avouer que je fais continuellements des voeus très ardents pour la santé et la prosperité de votre grandeur, et que par mon assiduité, mes soins et mon zéle pour le service et pour le bien de monseigneur votre excellent fils, je me rendray le moins indigne que je pourrez du précieux depos qui m'a été confié si obligeament.*

French.

Rev. John Nicholas† to Ormond.

1678-9, February 27. Oxford.—This opportunity of acquainting your Grace that the Convocation has obeyed your letter for Mr. Solicitor Finch‡ has made it my duty [to inform you] he

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.
† Warden of New College, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.
‡ See page 618 *infra*.

was this day chosen burgess, although not without some disputes that required a better management than his who is now in your Grace's service. There is none that more readily employs his strength in the rules your Grace prescribes him. But now two years' experience almost has satisfied this place that you want a fitter agent. Wherefore I cannot but crave that your Grace would make some inquiry after another that this place might less suffer by. By which your Grace would find one conveniency, that for a shorter time the burden would be more willingly embraced. This proposition attends your Grace so early because I know at this distance inquiry is necessary that the person you recommend may be worthy your approbation. Whomsoever your Grace is pleased to require of, I must say that no person is so unfit to succeed as is the same Vice-Chancellor to be continued; who hath no preferment or estate to fit me for one year's employment, and therefore hope your Grace will accept of two, and not require of me what no consideration enables me to bear but that 'tis the commands of him that none more honours than your Grace's, etc.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 27. Oxford.—Having an opportunity of writing by an express messenger, a good and learned man, of our next neighbour College, whose relations and business call him over to Ireland, I lay hold of this occasion to signify to your Excellency that my Lord James is now perfectly settled and a gownman among us. And his first diversions of seeing the place being over we begin to fall into a method of study, which we shall endeavour to make so easy and pleasant that he shall have no cause to prefer the diversions of idleness before it. He begins with very good courage, and has the company of ingenious and diligent young noblemen of his age and stature, so that I hope he may continue to do everything that may tend to his own advantage, and your Excellency's and his other friends' both ample and lasting satisfaction. By God's help I shall not omit any performance which may contribute to this most desirable end.

SIR HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1678-9, February 28. Whitehall.—Mr. Ryder being to go for Ireland I could not refuse the recommending of his person to your Grace, though I doubt not but he is sufficiently known to you already. Concerning his negotiations here he will best acquaint you himself, for I have not of late been invited into any of those meetings. We are very busy now in preparing for the next Session of Parliament. What the temper of it will be I dare not divine. But I believe it will not be so easy as we, at least, would desire, and it may not be so morose and intractable as many believe. I do not find the preparations in France are so great as they were reported, and Mr. Brisban is still very confident that there is no preparations big enough for such a general apprehension.

Earl of Orrery to Lord Chancellor Boyle.

1678-9, February 28. Castlemartyr.—I most humbly thank your Grace for the favour of yours of the 25th and the paper which was in it. One of my letters adds that not only in the point of fortifying Naarden the towns of Holland have stuck to the Prince, but that they have some thoughts to resent some high carriages of that city.

Since, as your Grace writes, many believe the French design their army for Ireland, is it not undoubtedly advisable to put the kingdom into the best posture it can be put into, and that without delay? 'Tis hardly to be with reason believed that they will engage in such a design but on assurance of a great party in this place either to join with them at their landing or to surprise some good places at remote distances for them against they come, or a little before their invasion. And how easy that is to be effected is but too apparent, since I know no considerable seaport in this province or near it but has many more Irish Papists (and that of the loosest sort, apt for any mischief) even within the walls, than there are soldiers and Protestant inhabitants; except the city of Cork, which though within its walls it is pretty free from such dangerous people, yet the suburbs north and south are stuffed with them. Limerick especially, Waterford, Kinsale, Youghal, Dungarvan, Galway, have crowds of that sort of people. Then as to the country, especially westward and northward, what their numbers and strengths are cannot be unknown to his Excellency and your Grace, and what their inclinations are is but too evident. For the heads of their septs live amongst them, though for the last rebellion they have forfeited their estates. And in such parts generally the Romish clergy of this province, who have disobeyed the late proclamations by not removing out of the kingdom, conceal themselves. And when the bulk of the common people are influenced by their lay chiefs and by their spiritual guides, how ready will they be for rebellion, especially if to those two powerful [motives] there be the accession of a French invasion, accompanied with declarations of restoring them to their forfeited estates, and their clergy to their honours, dignities and revenues ecclesiastical, according to the articles of that peace of which some of them brag the French King is the guarantee, and whom two of their bishops do still attend to mind him of it, and to press him to act for it accordingly.

And when to all the dangers from our enemies, foreign and domestic, our present sad fortune is thoroughly considered in all the parts of it, and which is but too well known to the discontented Papists, it may well and loudly call for speedy and effectual resolutions, which I doubt not are taking by those in authority on this fresh alarm, which seems but too well grounded; the general peace being made and signed by the greatest enemies of France, and which consequently must necessitate the less to hasten on their own agreement. And then the sudden disbanding of those vast forces the French King has will cut him out work at home, if he does not cut out work for them abroad; and where

abroad is there room to do it unless in His Majesty's dominions, for with all others he has, or will have, newly made peace. And too probably he may resent our having not only helped his late enemies, but also our having recalled those of His Majesty's subjects which we had formerly lent to his assistance; to which may be added not only our having so provoked him doubly, but also our not being in a posture to resist the effects of his resentments for such provocations, which last may be at least as operative with him as the former, since princes are most prone to revenge when they can attempt it with little hazard, and have more than hopes successfully to act.

And indeed, my Lord, what part of this European world lies more hopefully fair for his invasion than Ireland, or will be of greater use to him than Ireland will be, should he get it. For thereby not only he would be master of the best harbours in the world, to obstruct all the best harbours and navigation of it, but also he would as it were tie up the hands of England and Scotland from helping his enemies in case of future wars (which are not out of prospect since such a shameful peace is huddled up that the princes which made it will endeavour by arms again to recover the territories and honour they have lost by it, when they have taken a little breath), I say tie up His Majesty's hands, having Ireland for a back door to infest England or Scotland should our King interpose again in helping his enemies; besides the lasting war which the loss of Ireland would too probably entail on England till it be again restored to the rightful king of it.

Two things more seem to be motives, and powerful ones, to his attempting this kingdom (to omit others of less weight), that what ever else he should conquer it must drain his own country and men to maintain what he has subdued. For the subjects of all other princes of Europe (whether Protestant or Papist) had rather live under government of their lawful sovereign than under that of the French. But 'tis doubtful generally if the forfeiting Irish had rather live under the French yoke than under their natural King's government, for by their rebellion having forfeited their estates, and the King having by law disposed of them, they cannot expect to be restored by him, but may, nay do, to be restored by the French, together with the addition of the Protestant estates. Nor can they expect from His Majesty an allowance of the pomps of their religion, nor of the revenues ecclesiastic; but will expect both from the French, and in consequence will be for him who will do more for them, especially when their spiritual guides preach conscience, and their wives, children and dependants preach interest to incite them to it. Lastly the French [King] wants men, and Ireland (if he become master of it) can best supply him of any kingdom in Europe, for that his conquest here will get him armies, but any where else will swallow up armies to maintain.

I know not how I have been drawn on to write this long letter on this subject, but since I have written I dare not in duty but send it. A sure hand has positively writ to me that Sir John Narbrough and his fleet are sent for home, and it is an evidence

unless we were certain of troubles on our coasts we would not neglect guarding our trade in the Mediterranean, on which our honour and our profit does so much depend. God guide his Excellency's counsels, and the counsels of those in authority in this Government, and send that they may be speedy and for the best, for should Ireland be the design you will not have much time left to look about. I wish the elections may be as advantageous as some think they will be. A few days will now probably give us rises to guess by.

Postscript:—If your Grace think it fit, be pleased to read this letter to my Lord Lieutenant.

Endorsed:—Copy of my Lord Orrery's letter to my Lord Chancellor, ult. February, 1678-9: received out of Ireland 19th March, 1679.

John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, to Ormond.

1678-9, February 28. Oxford.—I yesterday gave your Excellency an account of my Lord James, his being perfectly settled in this place. Since that time the election of our Burgesses being past, wherein you were pleased to interpose, I make bold to signify that according to your Excellency's recommendation we have chosen the King's Solicitor, Mr. Finch, and also in pursuance of your command, put Mr. Bourchier in possession of Alban Hall: The bearer hereof* informing me that by your singular favour he is received into your Excellency's service, I am in his behalf, and their own University's, to acknowledge this repeated instance of your patronage and goodness to us, adding my heartiest prayers for the continuance and increase of all honour and blessing to yourself and family.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678-9, March 1. Dublin.—The last post brought me more from you. By the next I expect what Sir James Shaen promises will much inform me concerning the revenue here.† Mr. Ryder is arrived, and has brought with him the King's letter for vacating the present Commission by which the Farmers act; but it is left to me to represent my thoughts, if I find any detriment like to of the revenue of Ireland is now in the hands of my Lord Treasurer, come to His Majesty by putting his commands in present execution. Haste is required, but I must take time enough to make a return in so delicate a matter and for which I may be answerable. Since you have not all this while found time to show the King the paper I put into your hands, I fear you will henceforth find less opportunity. I am sorry you omitted it. I send you the copy of a letter of intelligence which was sent from hence into England.

* The letter is endorsed in Ormond's hand "by Mr. Hinde": doubtless Rev. Thos. Hinde, of Brasenose, who in this year became Ormond's domestic chaplain, and Precentor of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and who a year later was appointed Dean of Limerick.

† See p. 330 *supra*.

What may be said in refutation is in the hands of Sir Robert Southwell. I have not leisure to be punctual in every particular, which would require a volume.

THOMAS PRICE, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL* to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 1. Cashel.—I received a letter lately from Dr. Andrew Sall from Christ Church College in Oxenford, whereby I perceive that his infirmities do continue and so prevail over him that hitherto he hath not been able to travel, otherwise he had been here ere this, where his desire is to spend the remainder of his days, hoping that (by God's help) he might be an instrument of reducing some of his seduced countrymen from the darkness and ignorance wherein they have been bred unto the knowledge and acknowledgment of the Gospel. For this it was that he excused himself unto His Majesty for refusing preferment in England, which by His Majesty was proffered to him, of which he writes that your Grace hath been informed by his Grace, the good Lord Primate Margetson. Whereupon he grounded great hopes that your Grace would have had him in your thoughts as occasion should offer. But seeing that there has been so many vacancies lately and that no provision is made for him, he concludes that it so cometh to pass because my Lord Primate is dead, who promised to put your Grace in mind of him, being now in want and destitute of means to provide remedies for his distemper. Surely our adversaries will take notice of the small encouragement such as may be persuaded to come over unto us may expect, when a person of such eminency as Dr. Sall amongst them shall be so little regarded. All this I leave to your Grace's serious consideration. I beseech Almighty God to be your guide in all things. God keep us.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 1.—To-morrow morning an officer of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment will be despatched to you, giving notice that his regiment is to embark at Harwich in order to their transportation to Kinsale or Cork, or both places if one is not big enough to quarter them upon their landing; and by your pleasure they may have notice before they leave their ships. The day proposed for their setting forth, weather permitting, is the 8th of this month. I wished this recruit had rather consisted of English than Scotch. But the King was positive in this matter, saying that no reasonable man could have jealousy of those who forsook good fortunes in France on account of their loyalty, and who consisted of soldiers and officers all of our religion, and who were so well disciplined, and whose behaviour had been so good as he was resolved to be so far from parting with them as he would have

* Thomas Price (1600-1685), Archbishop of Cashel, 1667-1685. Sall who had been provincial Superior of the Jesuits in Ireland, became a member of the Anglican communion largely through the instrumentality of the Archbishop, by whom he was in this year appointed Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Cashel.

them have all manner of encouragement. Besides he added that if the rest of the army would lay aside pride and laziness, faults natural to the Papists, and learn from them the use of arms, the whole army might be much benefited by their having among them so good and so old a body of men. The charge and detail you will receive by the officer despatched from my Lord of Dumbarton. The King intends to send you as many as to make up the number of ten thousand, but this consideration he has deferred for a time.

You will hear of a journey the Duchess intends on Monday next into Holland upon account of visiting the Princess of Orange before her lying-in. I have it from good hands, though not from the Duke, that it is in order to his following soon after, and that upon a friend of his arguing upon the whole matter he only replied "What can be done since it is the King's pleasure?" By this you will see how uncertain all men are of their present stations. I hear not in the least of any purpose of removing you from any of your employments; but the course you have taken in preparing for all such changes is certainly most prudent, especially in such times as these. I beg of you to keep secret this latter part of my letter. Guesses of what I write you may have from many, but I believe you will not have it authentically from any other hand. My Lord Chamberlain would have writ to you had he anything of moment to impart to you.

Ormond to George Mathew.

1678-9, March 1.—I know not what to judge of affairs in England. The elections are not so bad as we feared, nor so good as some hoped. I think Monarchy will not be struck at the root, but I fear it will be very close lopped. I am in hope the Duke has found his error and will return to our Church. He has admitted the conversation of some of our bishops, as it is said upon that point, and I believe so, for I know not what other business he could have with them. The discourse of my parting with my Steward's place is very public in England, and I think does me no hurt or my Lord Treasurer much good; but my son Ossory does not say the matter is any farther advanced.

Copy.

Richard Aldworth to Ormond.

1678-9, March 3. Newmarket [Co. Cork].—In obedience to your Grace's commands at my late being at Dublin, laid on Capt. John St. Leger and me, I now presume on this boldness to acquaint your Grace that on Saturday last one Mr. Teige Callaghan came to me, and in the presence of another justice of the peace did very seriously inform me that in some late discourse which he and one Lieut. John Chinnery (a justice of the peace of this county) had about the Dublin Apprentices' late design of putting down the Mass-houses there, the said Chinnery said your Grace had done ill in suppressing or preventing that design of those Apprentices, and that your Grace will be questioned or called to account for it,

or words to that purpose, Which being spoken in way of a saucy and censorious reflection on your Grace's actions, I thought it my duty to inform your Grace herewith, humbly craving your Grace's order, if you think fit, for my taking the said Teige Callaghan's said information upon oath, to be suddenly afterwards transmitted to you.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1678-9, March 4. Whitehall.—Mr. Secretary having been confined to his bed by the gout these five or six days, whereby he is disabled from writing to your Grace, makes me presume to trouble you with news which I presume will be as surprising to your Grace as it is to us here, viz.: that yesterday His Royal Highness, together with the Duchess and most part of their family, embarked for Holland. The Duchess's journey was talked of several days before, but it was not known that His Royal Highness would accompany her till Sunday, at which time His Majesty wrote him a letter desiring him to go with all convenient speed. I presume their stay in Holland will be no longer than to see how the Parliament approves of this matter, and then accordingly to take their measures. Yesterday in public Council His Majesty was pleased to declare and sign under his hand that he was never contracted to any other woman, but only to his present wife Queen Catherine, which doth generally give satisfaction to people's minds upon that point.

The letter from your Grace and Council concerning the state put there by His Majesty's order. His Lordship told me he would speedily examine into that matter, so as there might be an answer resolved in a post or two; but I presume the meeting of the Parliament will supersede all other business. My Lord Longford has just now returned from Surrey where he has lost his election, though he has spent, I believe, at least £1,500 or £2,000; but is pretty well comforted that he lost it by tricks and foul play, and not for want of interest.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678-9, March 4.—I received this morning your letter of the 25th of the last month, which was an answer to some of mine. Sir Robert Southwell will inform you of my son being established at Oxford, and of what passed yesterday at Council upon the King's declaring and ordering to have an entry made in the books, his declaring with asseveration and formality that he was never contracted or married but to any Queen Catherine his present wife. The Duke commanded me to assure you of his being a constant friend to you and yours and to send you the enclosed. I left him last night at Gravesend, there being but two yachts, one for the Duchess the other for himself. The wind blew high and directly against them. I am in much apprehension for the Duchess, who is not well in her health, which joined to her great affliction and the terrible sharpness of the weather may,

I fear, hazard her falling into some dangerous sickness. To see them go away on the sudden moved very much compassion. I hope from thence some mitigation and sober counsels may arise to diminish the hardness of their condition. The King went this day to see a new ship, the *Windsor Castle*, launched.

From my Lord Ranelagh you will have a long account of the expense of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment, which is to embark very soon. It is an admirable body of men, but I could have wished rather they had been English. I doubt not many will attack them upon account of religion, but they have all taken the oaths, and cannot reasonably be suspected to love France, having quitted it to their loss.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, March 7. Whitehall.—Since my last to your Graces of the 2nd inst., I have [learned the recommendations] of those Lords to whom the King committed the consideration of the points in your letter of the 22nd of January concerning the things likely to be demanded and fitting to be proposed in Parliament, which are the following:—

1. His Majesty resolveth a Parliament shall be called in Ireland as soon as the necessary forms will allow it.
2. That in it the Decrees of the Court of Claims may be confirmed by Act of Parliament.
3. That means may be found to free the entails from the vexation of Commissions of Inquiry.
4. That there may be a remission of all debts and forfeitures due to the Crown, but a particular care taken that this so doing may not bring demand of defalcations upon His Majesty, or at least, if it do, that the *quantum* of that be ascertained, and His Majesty informed of it.
5. That all ease that can be reasonably desired be given the people from the vexatious clauses in the Chimney Acts.
6. That such Acts be prepared for the settling and securing the Protestant religion as shall be approved by the Lord Lieutenant and Council.

For the other side His Majesty expects from the Parliament a grant of subsidy, which he is willing shall be wholly and entirely appropriated to the building and repairing of the fortifications, and the furnishing of stores; and therefore leaveth the naming of the sum necessary for those uses to your Graces and the Council with you.

Upon many accounts His Majesty finds it also lately necessary to increase his army in that kingdom, that when it is so there will be the less need, upon any sudden occasion, to arm either the Scots, the Nonconformists, or the old Militia; none of which can be done without some danger. He judgeth that seven thousand men effective, besides officers, is the number he would constantly maintain there. He

estimates that increase of men cannot be maintained without an addition of between thirty thousand and forty thousand a year to his constant revenue. Therefore he requireth that your Grace and the Council prepare one or more Acts for imposing such new and additional duty upon commodities exported or imported as may increase the revenue to that yearly sum, still provided that care be taken that no rash impositions may either prejudice the trade of that kingdom, or entitle the Farmers to a demand of defalcations. In the preamble of such Act or Acts His Majesty is willing it should be declared that what is thereby granted is the better to enable him constantly to support such an army there; and for the further satisfaction of the people that he desires the increase of his revenue for that only use, he would have orders given out before the meeting of Parliament for raising the recruits necessary. His Majesty likewise desireth your advice whether it will be more advisable to increase the army by filling up the old companies, or by raising new ones, and that you send an estimate of the charge along with your advice.

His Majesty is fully resolved to employ that part of his new revenue which is made over to repay the money lent by Mr. Bridges for the constant supply of his stores there, and such other public arrears as shall be thought necessary, the said repayment and such other debts which must unavoidably come upon it being first cleared.

ORMOND to [EARL OF OSSORY].

1678-9, March 6.—I hope my other letter of this date will not displease you or anybody else that shall see it. Unless in my Lord of Ranelagh's behalf I come not near the money that must not be touched to save a kingdom, neither do I endeavour to set a value upon the skill I must use to provide for the twenty companies there being no stock for it, a thing much harder to do in such a time as this than if there were an actual war. Besides what I have proposed in my other letter, I wish the officers that shall be sent away be well chosen, and that if it be possible one company be sent without a Captain, that Sir Nicholas Armorer, who is designed by the King to command the new fort near Kinsale, may be put at the head of it.

I know not well how to understand my Lord Treasurer in two particulars. He has long had a great mind, and so have both the King and the Duke, that the management of the farm of the revenue should be put into the hands of Mr. Ryder and his party, who are in a state of war with Sir James Shaen and his friends who now have it. It is to me most indifferent who does it, only I incline to Mr. Ryder because the King does. But I am not willing to advise to have it done in breach of covenants under the Great Seal, nor to be answerable for the disorder the shifting of heads may produce, especially at a time when trade is become very low. And yet my Lord Treasurer will suppose that if I stick at changing the hands (if the Farmers break as they are more

like to do than to hold) I must be in the fault; and if by changing the hands any inconvenience shall happen, or if those who shall be put into the management shall break, which they may do as well and perhaps sooner than the other, I must also be answerable for that if I comply with the King's declared inclination. This is a difficulty I think scarce fairly put upon me. The other seems to be no less ensnaring, but rather more, concerning my calling a Parliament here, the delay of which he would fix upon my advice; but how unjustly will best appear to you by the copy of his letter and my answer, which you will receive herewith, to be made use of only when my Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary, and you, shall think necessary.

I have acquainted Sir Cyril Wyche with the King's purpose of sending twenty companies over, and, have thought it necessary to speak of it here, so that there is no secret nor in any degree unpleasing here.

Same to Same.

1678-9, March 6. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 22nd of the last by Barrington, and that of the 26th by this post; and though the latter something surprises me, because I never proposed the sending of any reinforcements to this army but upon a supposition that a Parliament would be called here, yet I will not raise difficulties, nor trouble His Majesty with those I foresee I shall meet with to provide payment for the twenty companies he thinks fit to send, but apply myself the best I can to prepare for their reception. I shall only beseech His Majesty to remember that there being yet no surplusage of funds to answer this increase of charge, it must necessarily follow that, till there be, the rest of the army must fall into a proportionable arrear, which it is my work to persuade them presently to bear; for if this should be forgotten it may hereafter fall out, as heretofore it has done, that my Lord of Ranelagh, or some dexterous projector that would have a good office, to obtain it may come with a specious undertaking which shall appear like a plain demonstration of former mismanagement, gain the place, and after five years trust to providence and dexterity to shift the examination of the performance.

In order to the receiving and dispersing of these men I desire that I may as soon as possible be informed when they will be ready to march towards the place or places of embarkation, that they come with their arms and new red coats and hats; for if their clothes be worn out they may suffer much this next winter, and will be in worse condition in that particular than the rest of the army; that the whole twenty companies may be landed in the West betwixt Kinsale and Waterford, including those two ports, because that is the most important part of the kingdom, and there is the greatest apprehension of an invasion, as may partly appear by the copy of a letter from my Lord of Orrery to my Lord Chancellor intended also for me.*

* See p. 336 *supra*.

I send Mr. Secretary Coventry some letters to gain me as much credit as I can have without money, and to justify some payments I have been forced to make by His Majesty's command beyond the Establishment, of which the greatest part was for the Northern expedition the last year. It will be considered that the bare pay of this recruit will not be the only charge it will bring. They must in time be again clothed, and they will immediately increase the consumption of ammunition of which our stores are ill provided. I choose to write shortly on this occasion, because I guess my letter will come in a time of much business. When I first proposed the sending of twenty companies, I showed that five hundred supernumerary soldiers might be distributed under the command of the officers, to be taken out here and set to the several companies of the army in place of so many old and unserviceable men, which I still wish should be done.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 8. London.—The hopes and expectations of being befriended with some justifiable excuse of either news or business to give countenance to my addresses to your Grace hath hitherto betrayed me to silence, and consequently exposed me to the suspicion of being guilty of an ungrateful neglect of my duty to your Grace. In my own defence, therefore, I must presume to give your Grace this trouble; in which (to render it the more tolerable) I shall wrap up as many pertinent papers as I have on the sudden gleaned together, presuming some may have escaped other hands. As for that which contains King James his charge to his judges, I the rather lay it before your Grace, because it was shewed to the King by a great Lord, to whom His Majesty gave this gracious answer: "As his grandfather had said, so he would do." And as for that paper which gives so romantic an account of Father Whitebread it needs this account to keep it company, that I am very well assured that it is literally true. As for the King's letter to the Duke, obliging his departure, though I cannot doubt but that last Tuesday's post conveys it from better hands to your Grace (since which time I came to town), yet (*ex abundante*) I presume to enclose it, never thinking I do enough (much less too much) where my employment aims at your Grace's service. I presume its being exposed to sight was part of the design of the letter, because the Duke not only communicated it to such Lords as paid him their farewell duty, but also permitted them to take copies of it, out of one of which I transcribed this. Certainly it was the most unexpected and most universal surprising circumstance that of late hath happened, not the dissolution of the last Parliament excepted. In the generality it hath given great satisfaction, as being a signal assurance that His Majesty will allow of no whispers to alien or withdraw him from Protestant counsels. Yet such is the toad-like temper of some amongst us (who turn all things though never so

wholesome, into poison) allowing it no better a construction than the removing of him out of the reach of justice, though themselves were the violent addressers for his removal from the King's presence. We are now got into our new Parliament almost (of which my brother, by the unanimous consent of the Corporation of Gloucester (with old Sergeant Seyss) is one member). On Thursday morning they met and, by your Grace's commission were sworn in the inner Court of Wards. Before noon the King summoned them up to the Lords' bar, where he entertained them with the enclosed gracious speech, and the Chancellor with this eloquent one. When those parts relating to Popery took their turn, they were echoed with great hums of applause, demonstrating that to be their greatest concern. As soon as they were returned within their walls, Colonel Birch anticipated Sir John Ernely (who was to propose Sir Tho. Meres for Speaker) and nominates the old Speaker with a blunt, subtle harangue on the experience they had of him, whose hypocritical denial and excuses served turn to give encouragement to Sir Tho. Lee and some other members to force his willing body into that desirable chair, and so adjourned till two in the afternoon yesterday. The King's hour of three being come the Black Rod fetched them up to present their Speaker, who saith he was the night before with the King, to acquaint him with the proceedings of the House, and to know His Majesty's pleasure, who owned great satisfaction in the choice the Commons had made. And accordingly, with a remarkable confidence (nay, beyond his own usual proportion) he delivered a short account to the King that in pursuance of His Majesty's commands, the Commons had met to choose their Speaker; and that he was the result of that choice, and that, if he pleased to approve of it he would serve both them and him as well as he could, omitting the usual form of pleading his infirmities to argue his being excused, which was much wondered at. But the Chancellor, having liberally magnified his great parts, and multiplied his signal services, closed with a "But that his Majesty designing him for other parts of his service, excused him from that, and commanded them to make a new choice by eleven this morning." This great surprise to most so warmed them, and they the rest, that as soon as they returned to the House debates grew high; but, to nip them in the bud, the House adjourned till this morning, ordering precedents to be searched, whether ever any Speaker had been so refused. Besides the offence many took at Mr. Seymour's haughty behaviour (as they called it), most were dissatisfied that he closed so roughly with these words, that if the King would approve of the choice he would serve them and him, not styling them so much as the Commons, nor him so much as the King, and postponing him to them, which though charity might have allowed to be a mistake in another, yet seeing it came from so florid a speaker, and was so all of a piece with the rest of his deportment, was ill enough taken from him. Yet this unexpected refusal of him in the morning, who was so

well received by the King but the night before (as he himself affirms and most believe, though for some reasons I am yet none of those), hath occasioned many satirical reflections on a friend of mine. This morning, when they met they found their task too hard for so sudden a despatch, and therefore sent this enclosed address by my Lord Russell, accompanied with my Lord Cavendish, Sir Robert Carr, and Sir Henry Capel, for longer time. The King used them so obligingly that they boasted of it to the House, lengthened their time till Tuesday, and did insinuate into them that the best expedient would be to decline both Seymour and Meres, and pitch upon some third person, which it is thought will be Powell, if a third person be admitted of. Thus, I have presumed to expose myself, if not to your Grace's approbation, yet I hope to your pardon. If during my residence in these parts I may in any way be useful to your Grace, there is no employment that can be more my duty, nor so much my delight or design.

Enclosures referred to in foregoing letter.

I.

KING JAMES [THE FIRST] HIS CHARGE TO THE JUDGES BEFORE THEY WENT THEIR CIRCUITS.

I protest with you, nothing can grieve me so much as men's taking away from religion in my days, and nothing so much joys me as when religion increaseth under me. God is my witness I speak nothing for vain glory, but speak it again; my heart is grieved when I hear recusants increase. Therefore I wish you judges to take it to heart as I do, and prevent it as you can, and make me known to my people as I am.

There are three sorts of recusants. The first are they that for themselves will be no recusants, but their wives and families are. And they themselves do come to church but once or twice in a year, as is forced by law, but more false to God than the other sort. The second sort are they that are recusants, and have their consciences misled, and therefore refuse to come to church; but otherwise live as peaceable subjects. The third sort are practising recusants. These force all their servants to be recusants with them; they will suffer none of their tenants but they must be recusants; and their neighbours, if they live by them in peace, must be recusants also. These you may find out as the fox by the foul smell a great way round his hole.

This is a high pride and presumption, that they for whose souls I must answer to God, and who enjoy their lives and liberties under my will, not only be recusants themselves, but infect and draw others after them. As I have said in the Parliament House, I can love the person of a Papist, being otherwise a good man and honestly bred, never having known any other religion. But the person of an apostate Papist I hate. And surely for those polypragmatic

Papists, I would you could study out some severe punishment for them. For they keep not infection in their own hearts only, but also infect others our good subjects.

And that which I say for recusants, the same I say for priests. I confess I am loath to hang a priest only for religion sake, and saying mass. But, if he refuse the oath of allegiance, which (let the Pope and all the devils in hell say what they will) yet (as I find by my book and divers others) is merely civil, those that so refuse the oath, and are poly-pragmatic recusants, I leave them to the law. It is no prosecution, but good justice. And those priests also that out of my grace and mercy have been let go out of prison, and banished on condition not to return, ask me no more questions touching those, quit me of them, and let me not hear of them. And to them I join those that break prison, for such priests as the prison will not hold, it is a plain sign that nothing will hold them but a halter. Such are no martyrs that refuse to suffer for their conscience. Paul, nothwithstanding the doors were open, would not come forth; and Peter came not out of the prison till led by the angel of God. But these will go forth though with the angel of the devil.

II.

Address of the House of Commons to the King.

That an application be made unto His Majesty to acquaint Her Majesty that this matter yesterday delivered by the Lord Chancellor, relating to Mr. Speaker, is of so great importance that the House cannot immediately come to a resolution therein, and therefore humbly desires His Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to grant some further time for this House to take the matter into consideration, and that the Lord Russell may attend His Majesty with this message.

III.

An account of him that goeth by the name of Archbishop Whitebread in a letter.

In answer to your request in two several letters to your brother, know the gentleman you mention (more than twenty years since) came to Oxford, under pretence of a Jew convicted by some eminent divines of the Presbyterian way in London; but in Oxford he pretended to a further light by joining with and hearing the several churches and services of Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Owen, and some others of the Independent and Congregational way. But not steadfast there long (pretending the Apostles' rule, to try all things) he fell to the Anabaptists and thence to the Quakers, then challenging Dr. Owen and several others for their principles, wherefore it was thought worthy the consideration of the learned convocation there, by whom he was censured as a Jesuit, or some other Popish seminary, and thereupon imprisoned in the castle there, where he pre-

tended a distraction and personated the madman so exactly that in a few days some friends of his procured his liberty. I saw him several times running up and down the streets with his hat under his arm, and throwing at every small bird he saw. But ere long I met him at a Papist's house, where I heard him discourse very gravely, learnedly, and discreetly, where I got not only an acquaintance with him, but familiarity also, in so much that several times (in change of habit) he came to visit me, and several other young scholars, in Magdalen College; but at length, being again suspected, and like to be apprehended, he got privately away for London. I brought him five miles on his way, and so left him to his designs. In six months after business called me to London, where, after a day or two, I heard a report of a famous preacher amongst the Quakers near Charing Cross, and there met the same gentleman, so much saved, going to speak in an old fashioned pinked fustian jerkin, clouted shoes, breeches faced with leather, and a carter's whip in his hand, altogether disguised from my knowledge of him; but he knew me, and spake to me, renewing our acquaintance. At present he went about his intended work; the next day he came to my quarters in a neat habit of a London minister, and carried me to his lodgings with him, the precincts of the Middle Temple, where I had a good entertainment and a view of several strange habits, in which he disguised himself to the several sorts of people he insinuated himself into. I saw also his orders from the Roman Court, and an instrument wherein he was assured and ordered to receive of certain merchants £100 per annum, besides a yearly allowance of £80 per annum from his father. I am sure he was born at Wittenburg, his father's name was Jo. White, and in his writing is styled John Hans de Albo by the Court of Rome. He was both Jesuit and priest in orders. I went with him by water and visited some ships, and in one house in Southwark he celebrated the Mass in the Popish mode to more than forty; the same day he visited several Presbyterians and others, and I continued in his company the space of a month, till he was apprehended, and by a special order from the then Protector, imprisoned in the Tower of London, where I endeavoured, but was not permitted, to visit him. Two years after I understood by a friend of mine and his that he was freed from his durance within the space of six months, and within these four or five years (as near as my friend could judge) last past, tampering much with the Independents in and about London, and was seen several times by a friend of mine at Dr. Manton's private lectures in or near the Lord Wharton's house, still known by the name of John White. He speaks as good English as any native, and knows all cities, towns, villages and (in a manner) all hamlets in all or most part of England. Sir, this is the sum of the relation I made to your friend. I bless God I was never noosed in his snare, but rather confirmed in our Christian principles, in which, pray God, continue steadfast both you and your loving friend, J.W.

Endorsed—A minister of a rectory of the Church of England.
Undated

IV.

His Majesty's Letter to the Duke of York.

1678-9, February 28. Whitehall.—I have already given you my reasons at large why I think it fit you should absent yourself from me for some time beyond sea. As I am truly sorry for the occasion, so you may be sure I shall never desire it longer than it will be absolutely necessary both for your good and my service.

In the meantime I think it proper to give you notice under my hand that I expect this compliance from you, and desire it may be as soon as conveniently you can. You may easily believe with what trouble I write this to you, there being nothing I am more sensible of than the constant kindness you have ever had for me. And I hope that you are so just to me as to be assured that no absence, nor anything else, can ever change me from being truly and kindly yours,

Charles R.

Copy.

Lord Chancellor Boyle to Earl of Orrery.*

1678-9, March 8. Dublin.—I pay your Lordship my most hearty thanks for the honour of your Lordship's of the 28th of February, and beg your Lordship's pardon that I made not my acknowledgment thereof by the last post, for your letter came so late to my hands that I had not time to write before the post went out.

Your Lordship's opinion that the French King will send his forces into Ireland is founded upon such strength of meaning that I shall not pretend to argue it; nor can it be much our business to question it, since we ought to be prepared against it as well as we can, and to put ourselves into a posture not to be surprised as far as we are able. The enclosed paper, being an extract of a letter from our envoy in France, seems to lessen our apprehensions in that point, for that the great preparations in France are intended for other services, as they tell him. But suppose it should be otherwise it is not the first time that they have broke their word—witness their great attempt against Flanders. Besides Mr. Brisban's conclusions being often doubtful premises they can be but conjectural at the best, and he may be mistaken as well as others. I am therefore clearly of your Lordship's sense thus far, that we ought not to depend upon our enemies but upon ourselves for our own preservation. We ought to prepare ourselves as well as we can. Then the question to be considered at present is only this: supposing the French have an intendment to invade us, but we are uncertain of the time, whether this kingdom be not put into as good a condition of defence as it will

* Much importance seems to have been attached to this letter as a statement of the views of the Irish Government regarding the internal situation of Ireland at this time. No fewer than three copies of it are among the Ormond Papers.

bear at present, these following circumstances considered: that no war is actually declared; that no monies can be raised but by Act of Parliament; that the charge and discharge of the revenue is made over by the Establishment; that many (very many) things may be wanting for lack of money which the Government cannot supply; that by law and by instructions we are bound up to such rules and limitations which must not be transgressed; and that the trade of this kingdom runs much lower since we have been invaded by the apprehensions of war than it did before. Notwithstanding these things the standing army is well paid, the militia is in a much better posture than ever it was, and so far improved in number that in several places of the country they begin already to find them burthensome. And such care is taken by the Government for the speedy supply of arms and ammunition, that although His Grace and Council have licensed merchants to bring in arms that might answer their desires that would have them, yet His Grace, not willing to depend upon them, hath procured a ship of arms and ammunition to be sent from London, which is already at sea and is expected every hour in this harbour. The King's forts are put into as good a state as the revenue will allow, and perhaps a better; the fort of Rincorran having cost already £5,000 at least. The chief cities (which are the garrisons of the kingdom) are as well secured as the standing forces and the militia would make them; Mass-houses are not permitted in any cities or walled towns; markets are removed without the walls where there may be any apprehension of danger; the regular clergy are banished, the Papists disarmed, but such as are particularly licensed for the security of themselves and of their houses against the Tories; and as additional to our security our Lord Lieutenant expects daily the landing of two thousand men well armed out of England, which doubtless will contribute much to the satisfaction of the English and the defence of the kingdom against all sorts of enemies, whether foreign or bred at home.

Yet after all this it may perhaps be said that some things are left undone amongst ourselves, which may conduce to our further preservation; as first, though the regular clergy are banished, yet not a considerable part of them are gone away, but still continue in some private recesses of the country to influence the people into rebellion upon the first opportunity. This certainly cannot be looked upon as any failure in the Government, if it should be so, for they have done all they could for their expulsion; they have not only published strict proclamations for their banishment, but have likewise authorised and encouraged all officers, both civil and military, to make the most diligent search they can for their discovery, apprehension and imprisonment. And by late advertisements which have been sent up by the Council from several parts of this kingdom, we do find that many more of that sort of people have been shipped away to foreign parts than we supposed, though perhaps not in equal proportion to those that stay; but what further course can be taken to make the proclamation for their banishment more effectual I cannot well imagine.

It may be said that the securing of the principal heads of the most considerable septs who have lost their estates may conduce to the safety of the English; for the chief of their septs being restrained and in our power their followers would not presume or adventure to run into rebellion. This was seriously considered at the Council Table, and upon a full debate it was looked upon as a very moot point whether such a proceeding would not rather quicken a rebellion than retard it; the numerous followers who depended wholly upon their master's interest and authority for the support of themselves and families being angered and affrighted at the ill-usage of their heads (as they will term it) and being loosed from all dependencies would (perhaps) rather put themselves upon some unlawful way of living by turning Tories (which would be equally mischievous to us, and especially to the English dispersed in their dwellings in the country, as a small rebellion) than entrust themselves to our protection, which they can expect no longer than it may be agreeable to our pleasure. These and the like considerations prevailed with the Council at present to lay by the thoughts of taking of their heads and leaders of their septs, being doubtful of the consequence. Besides the taking up the heads of their septs by way of hostages may be thought but of little advantage upon this reason: if their followers be but few, they cannot do us much hurt as they are, if so many and numerous that they may do us any real inconveniencies, how easy would it be for them to surprise such English gentlemen in the country as would redeem their hostages; and thereby not only render our care in that point uneffectual, but would likewise pay us in our coin, and after our own way of mintage.

But why are not the Corporations, especially those which are garrisoned, drained from these number of Irish Papists that live amongst them, which would, as is supposed, in a good measure quiet the English in their thoughts, and secure them against any surprise or private conspiracy? To the resolution of this query, another question may not be impertinent. How came the great numbers of Irish inhabitants and servants into those towns and garrisons? Were they not all expelled and thrust out by several proclamations from the Government, and very few, as to the numbers complained of, licensed to return? It is not therefore to be doubted but that the English themselves received them in again for their own advantage; they knew not well how to live without them; they wanted tenants and they wanted tradesmen (for of such are their numbers constituted) and the Irish Papists supplied them with all these; and the English did not conceive this sort of people to be as dangerous as beneficial unto them. But though this hath been done by the English themselves, and for their own conveniencies at that time, yet I do not doubt but that the Government would again require their exclusion, if it could be resolved on how far their exclusion should extend, either to part of them or to all of them, and how they could carry on their trade and services without them. This likewise hath been debated at Council; and upon this occasion I think myself obliged to acquaint your Lordship that I have often heard my Lord

Lieutenant to desire the Lords of the Council that they rather would consider and propose what they thought further conduceable to the safety of the kingdom than what hath been already done, and that upon a concurrence of the Lordships' judgments he would readily comply with them. And I am well assured that nothing of that nature can be offered to his Grace by any person whatsoever but he will very thankfully accept it, and put it as forward as can be reasonably approved.

It is now high time that I should beg your Lordship's pardon for the rudeness of this length and conclude your trouble. But being entered upon the subject I could not without much abruptness break off sooner, and I was willing to let your Lordship have a review of what hath passed here on this occasion (though I doubt not but that you have formerly had some accounts thereof as they passed in particular) that we might have the assistance of your Lordship's great judgment and experience, in case anything hath been omitted that might be thought necessary for our condition and which we are capable of performing.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

MICHAEL ARMACH, C.

Endorsed by Ormond:—" Copy of my Lord Chancellor's letter to the Earl of Orrery in answer to one of his of the 28th of February, 1678-9."

ORMOND to EARL OF STRAFFORD.

1678-9, March 8. Dublin.—I own the discourse I had with Sir William Wentworth as to the substance of it, but I do not think I mentioned my wife, because I do not use to engage so much as her name in things of that nature. I also own what I said of my obligation to my Lord your father, and my resolution to serve your Lordship in what did or should lie in my power. It is further true your Lordship had said something in the Lords' House concerning the multitude of the Popish clergy in this kingdom, and the insolency of the Papists, which though your Lordship might well know it could not reasonably or truly be imputed to any remissness in me or favour to them, yet you thought fit at that time to say it, whereby an ill impression might be left with the Lords of me in a particular very subject to misconstruction, especially of one in my condition and station. As to the revelling and dancing I know not where Sir William got it; I am sure not from me. Nor am I only careful of clearing myself of this imputation. Thus your Lordship has all I know of the matter, which I have not told you with any purpose of engaging you in an useless correspondence.

Postscript:—This letter had been sooner sent, but that Captain St. Leger who undertook the delivery was long stayed by contrary winds.

ORMOND to EARL OF CLARENDON.

1678-9, March 8. Dublin.—It has been written to me out of England that I am accused of having neglected to make any

answer to two or three of your Lordship's letters. One, and that of the 14th of December, I own to have received, and no more, since I last came into Ireland, nor that till the first of this month or thereabouts. I own also the promise I made in behalf of Mr. Lovett, but do not remember distinctly what discourse I had with my Lord Bishop of Oxford concerning him; but do think I was told Mr. Lovett was well provided for in some living which could not regularly consist with a headship in Oxford. And though it be true that the late Archbishop of Canterbury recommended Dr. Bourchier to me, and that I had great deference to his Grace's commands in what concerned the University, my being Chancellor there having been the consequence of his dominion and power, yet even that consideration could not have prevailed with me to Mr. Lovett's disappointment without the other. And to let your Lordship see that in the least as well as in the greatest things that may concern the memory of my Lord your father, I will endeavour to manifest to the world how much I value the credit of having had his friendship by all the services I can do his family, and if Mr. Lovett can be content to change his residence into this kingdom, and if I continue in this government for a little while longer he shall find his account in the conclusion, and I shall in some measure repair my inadvertence. *Copy.*

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678-9, March 8. Dublin.—The last post brought letters of the first of this month, but none from you, as I suppose it would if what is written in the newsletter and other private letters be true of the speedy sending hither of Lord Dumbarton's regiment, and of that Lord's and my Lord of Ranelagh's conference with you about it. It is not unknown what my Lord Dumbarton's religion is, and that tho' all his men and officers should be Protestants, yet their having been much under his command will render them suspected, and consequently very unwelcome at this time. Those who take the boldness to asperse my Lord Chancellor and me as Papists without any colour will lay hold on such an instance as this, and be able to make worse use of it than of anything that has yet happened; for it will not easily be believed (as true as it is) that such an election and reinforcement would be made without consulting me and without my inclination. But writing as I do only upon coffee-house news and loose intelligence, I have written enough till I know more, and cannot judge what use can be made of my letter.

Ormond to George Mathew.

1678-9, March 11. Dublin.—I suppose there is difficulty found in England to give me the satisfaction I demand for my Steward's place, and I think it will not be taken from me without my own consent, which I shall never give without present payment, or such security as shall be next best. The Duchess going as she did with all her family into Holland, and the Duke's declaring

that he received no satisfaction from the discourse he had with two of our Bishops in order to his return to our Church, looks as if he meant to follow if he does not like the complexion of the Parliament towards him, as I fear he will not. What violent declarations, if not Acts of Parliament, that may produce, and what further consequences that and other things in agitation will have, it is not possible to guess. But if such intelligence from hence as this whereof I send you a copy shall gain credit in the House of Commons, I have no reason to expect that my stay here will be long; and therefore I am to prepare for a remove, and make myself as light as I can for it, though I cannot say whither it shall be. Upon the view of this letter most of the Papist Lords and gentlemen forbear coming to the Castle. Half of that discretion at first would have been more useful.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678-9, March 11.—I should not have troubled you now but that it is to give you that account which I promised you concerning the clothing of the soldiers in the Holland army which I received from Sir Alexander Collier. What use you may make of it as to the army in Ireland I leave to your consideration. I am confident it is a true state, but how far you can imitate it will be hard to guess. Our pay and theirs is not very differing; but those of our guards everywhere far exceeds theirs. As to the common men there is nothing new among us but what you may learn from the Gazettes. You may be sure I shall not fail imparting anything to you which I think may anyways be useful. Nor have I anything worth giving my mother the trouble of a letter.

W. Ellis to George Mathew.

1678-9, March 11. Dublin Castle.—I lately received command from the Earl of Ossory to put you in mind of two wolf dogs and a bitch which his Lordship wrote to you about for the King of Spain. He desires they may be provided with all convenient speed, and that two dogs and a bitch be also gotten for the King of Sweden.

Ormond to Rev. Peter Drelincourt.

1678-9, March 15. Dublin.—I received yours of the 27th of the last with great satisfaction, as I did the first notice I had of your having undertaken the charge of that youth, promising myself that nothing but some natural defect in him can frustrate the hopes I have of his becoming a man of virtue and honour under the conduct of my Lord Bishop of Oxford, and by your industry and prudence, to which I have entirely given him up; so that you can have full power to regulate his servants, to dispose him to his studies, to abridge or enlarge his expenses and recreations, and to do whatever you conceive to be most conducing to the ends aimed at in him, namely, piety, loyalty and honesty. I shall be glad to hear frequently from you.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 15. London.—The last account I presented your Grace with of our indigested affairs here ended with the last week. This therefore begins with this. Sunday was hotly alarmed with four fires. The first was only a chimney near St. Clement's Church in sermon time, which, though soon extinct, yet served to kindle so great a fear in that congregation that it endangered many limbs and occasioned some miscarriages. The next was more dreadful, it beginning in a corner draper's shop in Paul's Churchyard, which consumed two good houses. The third was in Crede Lane, which being close might have suffered very much had not eight engines been in a readiness, and my Lord Craven to guide them. The last was in Fetter Lane, but all things being in a readiness it was almost as soon out as in. It was very fortunate that so great danger ended in no more damage. That I might act ever in my own account of such a concatenation of ill accidents, I addressed myself to my Lord Craven himself, whose opinion I also craved whether design or chance were in the matter. He, full of mercy and justice both, was for hanging half and saving half; two he thought chance produced, but suspected they gave the advantage to the wicked to kindle the other two. At one a boy was apprehended, and being whipped was dismissed, which I thought too much or too little justice.

As for Parliamentary affairs, when on Monday morning the Commons met (for the Lords did not sit that day), they renewed their debate of the election of their Speaker, and talked themselves into a confident belief that it was an undoubted privilege of theirs to elect their own Speaker, and only formal for the King to approve, and thereupon that day ended in the delegating a Committee to draw up (not an address but) a representation of their right to this choice, which I here enclose, and which on Tuesday the 11th was presented by Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish (both which are grown sufficiently moderate, and the latter the darling of his father), Sir Robert Carr, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powell, Sir John Ernley and one more. The King no sooner heard it read to him by Mr. Powell, but he gave this short extempore answer "You do but lose time; return to the House, and do as I have directed." This surprising answer when reported to the House kindled some heats, which at present were raked up by an adjournment of the debate till Wednesday morning, which was early resumed, and they soon resolved on a new address (which I also here enclose), whose contents need no paraphrase, the burden of which being to beseech His Majesty's review of their former representation, in which the King gratified them, deferring his answer till next morning. In the meantime reflecting on the difficulty that the new Commons were brought into by the subtlety of the old ones, he was most graciously pleased thus to extricate them: Thursday morning the King in his robes summons the House to the Lords' bar, where by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor he prorogued them till Saturday morning (this morning). It was a prorogation that all things begun and unfinished might be annihilated, and

but for a day, that no time beyond what was absolutely necessary might be lost; fitting a plaster so exactly to the sore that when they next meet they might without galling their own privileges proceed to the election of a new Speaker. One unforeseen advantage I overheard the learned (as my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs and Lord Shaftesbury) concur in opinion resulted from their prorogation that I thought pertinent early to impart to your Grace, which is the determination of the Irish Act for Cattle, which was to continue until the determination of the next session of the next Parliament, and it hath been an adjudged case that the prorogation (though no Act passed) makes a session, which more than once happened last Parliament.

This morning His Majesty in his robes summoned the Commons by the Black Rod to the Lords' bar, where in a short speech His Majesty advised them not to lose time because they had much to do, hinted the reason of the prorogation, and referred them to the Chancellor, who in a few words also reminded them of the great opportunities they had to do national good, of the King's readiness to concur with them, referred them to the steps he had made already, particularly in this very prorogation, mentioned the great preparations our neighbours were making, referred to his former speech, and concluded with hastening them to choose their Speaker who (to avoid loss of any more time) the King would expect should be presented to him on Monday morning at ten o'clock. The Commons, as soon as they were returned and crowded into the House, which will not hold them all, there scarce being a member wanting, and for several places yet four sit on double returns, my Lord Russell broke the ice, took notice of the difficulties they had hitherto been involved in, the proper expedient the King had contrived to extricate them out of them, and that now he conceived their proper work was to choose their Speaker, and proposed one Serjeant Gregory as a proper person for that employment (who had been marked out at Court without any exceptions being made against him). My Lord Chancellor seconded it, but Mr. Sacheverell stood up, owned his adherence to the former choice, and that since he foresaw he would be singular in that opinion craved leave to withdraw. Immediately (to confirm his belief of his own singularity) each corner of the House echoed "Go! go!" and my Lord Cavendish confirming Lord Russell's choice, they two forced Serjeant Gregory to the chair, interrupting his just pleading his own insufficiency; who craved their leave, since they would not excuse him themselves, that he might beseech His Majesty to dispense with him. He being pressed to the Chair, the House was immediately adjourned until Monday morning. This day's proceedings hath much battered our hopes and prospects of future happiness, moderation being like to be most in fashion. I have presumed to swell the bulk of this packet with a list of our new members, which may divert your Grace a little for the present, and probably be useful hereafter when I shall have occasion to name any particular person, for I determine every Saturday, till your Grace forbids me, to pay this tribute of duty.

Ormond to John Fell, Bishop of Oxford.

1678-9, March 15. Dublin.—Since my last to you I have received three of yours, all concerning my grandson's going and reception at Oxford, and from other hands I am informed you have been pleased on that occasion to take some trouble upon you I should not have had the confidence to have expected. But your Lordship's descending to afford your care in these particulars is a very satisfactory argument to me that your directions in things of more moment will not be wanting. Monsieur Drelincourt has full authority to govern the servants, and upon any neglect or disorder in them that may deserve it to remove them and take in others. By what I have heard of that gentleman I have reason to hope he will discharge himself of his trust with good ability and prudence. Yet it sometimes happens that men are thought fitter for employments before they are in them than they are afterwards found to be, though persons of integrity and very capable of other business. If it should so happen in this case I will not doubt but I shall receive intimation from your Lordship.

I shall, by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, return my thanks for their choice of Mr. Solicitor to serve them in Parliament, and if there shall be any service to be done for them there I hope they will have cause to be satisfied with my recommendation. Mr. Vice-Chancellor is earnest in his address to be freed from his employment, and tho' I hear he has acquitted himself with much ability, yet I think it may be reasonable to ease him of his charge and trouble, and that it will be fit betimes to consider of a successor.

Copy.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1678-9, March 15.—I have it from authentic hands that tomorrow my Lord Treasurer will resign his staff, and that my Lord of Essex, Sir Philip Morris[?], Sir Humphrey Wynch, Sir Edward Deering, and another whose name I could not hear, are to be Commissioners in his place. The Prince of Orange waited upon the Duke at the yacht and treated him with all the decency and respect imaginable, defraying him till he goes to Brussells. And when he showed the Duke and Duchess his guards and regiments of horse and foot he saluted the Duke twice with his sword at the head of his guards, notwithstanding the Duke's doing all he could to hinder him. I have not anything more worth informing you, nor anything to trouble my mother withal.

Ormond to John Nicholas, Vice Chancellor of Oxford University.

1678-9, March 15. Dublin.—Though 'tis very well known it was not possible to discharge the employment you have had in that University with more general approbation than you have

done, yet since it will not be reasonable to continue the trouble and inconvenience upon you for the advantage and satisfaction of others, I shall desire to be advised by those who can best do it who may be fittest to be chosen against your time shall expire.

I desire that upon the next fit opportunity the Convocation may know I think myself very much obliged to them for their regard they have had to my recommendation in regard to Mr. Solicitor, and that I do not doubt that upon any occasion of their service, in or out of Parliament, they will find they have made choice of a thankful and useful person.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1678-9, March 18. London.—The extraordinary occurrences this is to give your Grace an account of must excuse the extraordinary trouble it gives you, which otherwise I designed but once weekly. It seems my Lord Treasurer, perceiving the severity of the Commons still increasing towards him, his enemies being re-chose into this Parliament, the rather because they were so, and his friends kept out because they were so, and considering the fatal consequence of it, either the Commons giving no money or at best not entrusting of it into his hands, and so diverting the common channel of Exchequer, last Sunday at the Cabinet Council convinced the King to accept of his white Staff, urging that he could neither answer it to God or man or his own conscience that he, instead of serving His Majesty in that employment, should so absolutely obstruct his service by continuing in it. It is said he hath laboured to effect his own degradation with the King's consent for near these last past twelve months, but His Gracious Majesty rather chose to try all manner of expedients first, but at length must submit to invincible necessity. My Lord is ordered to even all payments and accounts by our Lady Day, and that day to resign up his employment with its badge and white Staff, the latter into the King's, the former into the hands of Commissioners, the King having declared that his Treasury shall be so managed for the future, but not who these Commissioners shall be; directing a Commission to be drawn up with blanks, which with his own hand he will fill up. But (tho' many sets are made by others, yet) those in the King's eye (which your Grace will receive a better account of from better hands, to whom I might refer your Grace wholly were it not that I resolve to do my best in all your services) are Lord Arlington, Sir John Ernely, Sir Edward Deering, Mr. Secretary Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. How far these will satisfy time must try, since those who gaped widest for it will be unsatisfied missing of it. It seems at the same time the King declared he should not go off without a badge of his favour, and so directed a patent to be drawn for his being Marquis Danby, and granted a pension of £5,000 per annum to him, during pleasure (I presume), notwithstanding all the arguments my Lord could invent and urge to the contrary. I confess for both their sakes I could wish neither had now been done, or

not known to be so. For yesterday, soon after the Commons had presented their new Speaker and returned to their own House, (the manner of which shall follow next) it is said my Lord Shaftesbury took notice that he heard a person under so black a character as high treason was to be promoted, instancing in the particular, and that my Lord Halifax took his turn next, presuming it so improbable, nay so monstrous, that he gave no credit to it. Indeed it happened to go no further, as we understand, without doors, but it seems what was said was in the King's presence.

The Commons then presented their Speaker. The King, etc., being all robed, he acted his part to the life (Sergeant Gregory by name), in deed and word pleading his own insufficiency, ill becoming what he said and yet not becoming that employment. Much to seek how and what to say; but what he said was that the Commons, notwithstanding all he could say against himself had chose him, and if His Majesty could not relieve him he would serve (not them and him as Seymour said) His Majesty and the Government as best he could. The eloquent Chancellor (who needed no such foil) told him the King understood him too well, and especially coming with such credentials, (the Commons' choice), to release him, and that His Majesty preferred innocency and integrity before greater accomplishments without it, and confirmed the choice. He then as well as he could expressed his resolution to serve His Majesty in that and all things, and proceeded according to custom (though not with customary confidence or eloquence) to petition for those three essentials, liberty of speech, liberty of persons from arrest, and of access to the King's ear, all which the Chancellor, by the King's order, granted most graciously, and concluded with this expression: "As for yourself Mr. Speaker, you may be sure that he whom the King hath created by his power he will preserve by his goodness." At which it is reported my Lord Shaftesbury afterwards took offence, taking notice of the great care that ought to be of avoiding all exasperating and offensive expressions, and that some had fallen from the Woolsack, both before and now, which might bear so ill constructions that he wished they might not be entered in their journals, and that my Lord Chancellor should reply he would consent that no more should be entered than that such a day the Commons offered a Speaker and the King refused him, and that such a day the Commons offered him their Speaker and he approved him. Thus ruggedly all things begin.

The Commons immediately began swearing their members, (the taking the Test being a previous duty to all other business) in which by their industrious despatch (going over three parts of four of the whole House ere they rose, though by the Act all are to take it in the House between the hours of ten and five) they showed how sensible they were of the time they had lost, and how willing to redeem it. The Lords rose early, that a Committee appointed to sit in the House at four might consider how far the impeachments were affected by the dissolution; who, to show their zeal to detect and punish criminals, boggled not at some mistakes which were urged by some to be in the order, but voted

the impeachments needed no renewing, and this morning reported it to the House. But it happening to be re-debated, the result was respited till to-morrow. Some Committees were named in order to despatches of depending business, and it was proposed that days might be appointed for despatches; but ('tis said) my Lord Shaftesbury opposed it, giving for the reason that he expected the House of Commons would employ them with other works. And though the Lord Chancellor reminded them that if such cases should happen they were masters of their own orders, yet 'twas thought fit rather to rise early than make such appointments. The Commons only finished administering the Test. Their delay proceeded not so much from the number of the members, as their irregularity in coming to take it. Mr. Seymour now bids fair for Duke of Somerset, the young Duke yesterday falling sick of that fatal disease to that family, the small-pox, and if he miscarries there is nothing but his father betwixt his worship and his Grace. We shall soon now see what to expect from this new Parliament, who yet seem very moderate, unless my Lord Treasurer's name come cross them. Be the results what they will, it shall be my care, as punctually and impartially as I can, to represent them to your Grace, as long as you shall please to indulge me with the leave and honour of addressing you.

Earl of Burlington to Ormond.

1678-9, March 9.—The Parliament business takes up almost all our time here. Yesterday the House of Peers sat all day before the consideration of the House of Commons' Address to His Majesty (wherein they desired our concurrence) for His Majesty immediately declaring a war with the French King, and recalling his Ambassador from France, and sending away the French one from hence. To the word immediately and to the pressing the King presently to send away the French Ambassador we consented not, but did to the rest of the Address, and with these amendments sent it back to the Commons, who this day after a long debate and a division of the House carried it for adhering, and thus at present stands that business. What the Commons have done more I have not heard. To-morrow the King comes to the House to pass the Poll Bill; and on Thursday come fortnight my Lord of Pembroke is to be tried before the House of Peers for the killing of Mr. Cony. The trial will be, I believe, in Westminster Hall, my Lord Chancellor being that day to be Lord Steward. Both the Coroner's inquest and the Grand Jury have found it murder; but as the fact is represented to me (who have very little kindness for his Lordship) it will not in my opinion be found by us more than manslaughter. I am now preparing for my journey for Ireland, which I hope to begin about the middle of the next month.

Anonymous Accusations against Ormond.

1678-9, March 20. Ross.—Coming to the sight of them twenty-four scurrilous things which I look on as a great calumniation of

your Lordship and family yesterday, I thought it my duty for to acquaint your Lordship of the same, and from what hand they come last post to this town, which do much discompose the minds of many other people. Captain William Ivory of Ross had them sent him in a letter for news, from the Castle of Dublin, by Mr. Sumner, who I am told is a clerk and writes under one of your Secretaries, Mr. Gascoigne, and Ivory spreads them all about the country. Your Lordship knows this character and your noble promise not to make known the name of him that is your Grace's most humble and faithful servant, W.

Here follows the document above referred to :—

1678-9, February 5.—Sir : I cannot forbear letting you know your and our sad condition before we became acquainted with the discovery of the horrid Plot.

(1) The Irish, who had perfect knowledge thereof, told many of their friends that most woeful bloody times were at hand. By that and several other actings of our Chancellor we were aware the mischief was near. An Irish gentleman lately fell out with Peter Talbot, and thereupon told a Protestant person of quality that he could prove Talbot a traitor if he were carried to the Chancellor, who bid the gentleman commit it to writing, which he did and delivered it to the person of honour, who gave it to the Chancellor. In twenty-four hours the party told the person of honour that he had undone him, for Talbot had the papers.

(2) Such is the familiarity and correspondency between Papists and Duke and the Chancellor, that against the time of the discovery of the Plot, the Duke went to Kilkenny, and left but six companies in Dublin, drawing all the rest from it.

(3) He quartered a regiment of Irish rogues at Rathcoole and the Naas, and the Guards then again are left without powder and ball.

(4) The powder is left at this time with only twelve men to guard it without the City of Dublin.

(5) The Duke sent to Captain Bryan to take Peter Talbot the 10th of October, who was at Colonel Talbot's. The Captain took Colonel Talbot's word and he left Peter Talbot and his papers ; the 11th of October the Duke came from Kilkenny and had Peter Talbot brought to town, but not his papers.

(6) The Duke did consult Colonel Talbot about disarming the Papists, and it can be proved this proclamation for it was drawn as he agreed it with the Duke, as also for banishing the regular priests.

(7) The Duke had commanded the arms that were taken from the Papists to be restored them.

(8) The priests that we take up are immediately discharged.

(9) In Tipperary and Kilkenny, and all places where the Duke or Arran hath to do, they employ Papists.

(10) The Farmers put also Papists into places as fast as they can, especially for the hearth-money and excise, whereby they have opportunity to scorch our houses and cut our throats.

Feb. 5, 1678-9
Letter is among more accusations against Ormonde

(11) The proclamation forbidding Papists to have houses in Dublin, yet that week Colonel Talbot, and the Earl of Clanricarde, took houses there, and most of the Irish nobility and gentry are now come to the city.

(12) The number of ruffians that were there in November is incredible.

(13) Most of the Constables even in Dublin are Papists.

(14) Where the Duke or Arran could influence, Papist schools are set up, at Tully, Kilkenny, etc., and popish postmasters are put in for the country.

(15) Lord Dongan, Clanricarde, Purcell, Dempsey, Luttrell, Lord Dillon, Netterville, and many more, with Sheldon, an English Papist, notwithstanding the proclamation for going out of town and not coming into the Castle, yet are every night with the Duke and Arran at play till 12, 1, 2, and 3 o'clock in the night, and these come through all guards and gates with their coaches, give the word to the guards, and if stopped draw on them and hector them.

(16) They are constantly advised with, and so are the Talbots, about all affairs, and specially about the Protestant religion.

(17) The Papists here told us before Christmas that your Parliament was to be prorogued or dissolved before the 31st of December; yet the Lord Ossory would come hither that but a part of your army should be disbanded, that more should be raised privately, that the King would take away no new blood, that in a little time the King would declare the Plot a Protestant Plot, that Oates and Bedloe should be again examined apart, and if they diverge in the least from the former, it should be made use of to invalidate the whole discovery.

(18) Masses are more public here and more frequented than our Churches. We hear my Lord Ossory's business here is to—— how ready the Papists are to admit the———and their brethren in England.

(19) We understand they are all commissionated and ready; but whether our throats or yours are first to be cut we know not, or whether the meeting of your Parliament be the time to do both we heard not.

(20) The Duke gave licences to Bridges, Levett, etc., to import arms for your militia and powder, but his Grace hath recalled his licences.

(21) We look upon him, his son Arran, and the Chancellor to be Papists.

(22) Colonel Fitzpatrick told him that notwithstanding the discovery of the Plot, he should ere long see him with a red cap on his head, at which he only smiled and drank to him in a glass of sack. Those are the devils we fear more than all those in hell, or all those in earth besides. We see your danger upon us.

(23) We hear the Commissions taken at Chester were to raise the Irish to cut the throats of the Parliament, yours and ours. God deliver both. Take this for truth, for so it is. For the rest that is intended you may read *The Massacres of Paris*, printed in octavo, 1655, chap. 6, 7. Take notice that this is lightly suggested

to you. Look well about you at your Parliament meeting or you are all undone; but your Englishman is wise after his business is over.

(24) Eleven days since the River Boyne, which runs from Trim to Tredagh,* dried up so that the fish lay dry (which is most sure) and then it was on a sudden three foot deep in water. God warns us every day. Let our eyes be to Him, for we have none else on whom to look.

Ormond to Colonel Edward Cooke.

1678-9, March 20. Dublin.—According to our new way in correspondencies of this nature, let us leave out the formalities of titles in the beginning and subscriptions at the end of our letters. I do not wonder that yours of the 8th instant is the first I had from you a good while, or of intelligence which you can best judge when it is most useful to your friends. You were in the right when you supposed some of those papers you sent me would be omitted by others, as that remarkable one concerning Whitebread was. He seems to be another Clancy in divinity, and like him is coming towards his proper period.

In all your long letter I find not one word of Horse, Hawk or Hound; not that I believe you have reformed your course of life, but other things fill your head and perhaps will do till buck-hunting comes in, but then your old road will take place. I am here in my old station, pulled at on all hands. Time was I was somewhere believed too much an enemy to French and Papists. Now I am said to be absolutely at their service. But I feel myself just as I was. *Copy.*

Ormond to [Earl of Ossory].

1678-9, March 20. Dublin.—Yesterday I received His Majesty's of the 4th instant, underwritten by my Lord of Sunderland, for receiving the regiment late my Lord of Dumbarton's and putting them upon the military establishment of this kingdom, which shall be obeyed, and the men provided for the best I can. In case the King's affairs shall go on smoothly in Parliament, after all he has done and professes himself ready to do for their satisfaction, I shall have time enough again by his ministers to represent to him the state of his affairs, upon this increase of charge. In the meantime I will not venture to perplex him with difficulties I conceive he cannot for the present remedy, and which it is my duty to contend with the best I can. I expect according to the disposition of the time that the new regiment will be aspersed, and that it will be endeavoured to create a disgust of them in the old army upon the point of emulation, and of some advantages these new companies have of the old. But I am prepared to meet with any demonstrations of that nature as soon as I can discover

* Drogheda.

them, and to proceed as severely in the beginning as the case shall require. For though I might wish the recruits had been otherwise, and more frugally, as well as more plentifully composed, yet whilst I am in this Government I will see His Majesty's commands obeyed in the best manner I can.

I find my friends there much alarmed in my behalf by the many libels spread abroad and put into the hands, as they say, of Parliament men, and they advise that answers may be ready to oppose to them. Most of them I have seen are so false, and the rest so foolish, that no man that knows me, my way of life, and this country, but is able to refute them; and surely no man will be condemned unheard upon libels, though they should be brought into a speech in either House or Parliament, or shaped into Articles; so that I do not think it is fit to anticipate my defence by answers any further than I have done in letters to some friends which they can announce when and where they think fit.

Postscript:—I see nothing in my letter but what may be shown the King, and I think you will do well to ask his advice concerning the libels, and whether he may not think fit to command those he depends upon in the House of Commons to be ready to get me fair play at the least. It is certainly best not to be mentioned there; but, if that cannot be avoided, I cannot doubt that I have friends enough there to prevent any addresses against me till I shall be heard. For though I am less in love with this place than I should be at any other time, yet I would not be thought unfit for it upon the grounds that may be given for my removal. I saw your letters to your mother, and do think you may do well to send your wife and children hither, if it can be with her satisfaction. But then if you continue other expenses and save nothing by it, you had better let it alone. I send you a letter for my Lord Dumbarton.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1678-9, March 22. Dublin.—There was no news of the regiment at Kinsale on the 18th of this month. I fear the poor men will have suffered much in their vayoge, if they had not large accommodation, or the good fortune to put into places of refreshment. I am told my Lord of Ranelagh has designed how these men shall be supported, and I suppose he had rather it should be any way than by calling a Parliament here, which he has no reason to be fond of. But I doubt all other shifts will be chimerical, or at the best will serve only to give the army bare pay, and that is but one of the things that can make it yet. I send you herewith my answer to the letter you sent me from the Duke. Our Munster letters are just now come in, but bring no news of the men. I am told my Lord Ranelagh has projected how that regiment shall be paid, and something you say to that purpose; but I yet hear nothing of it, nor have received any orders but those from the King, my Lord Dumbarton, and yourself. It is well the regiment is not yet come. The enclosed is an extract from a letter from

the Lady Ranelagh to Captain Fitzgerald her nephew. I desire to know what you suppose it may mean, and that you would call to mind what discourse you had with him when you were here.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1678-9, March 22.—I received at once your letters, one of the first of this month, and one of the 6th and another of the 8th. My answer to the first is that I failed not to show the King your memorial. The effects of it you see by having my Lord of Dumbarton's regiment sent into Ireland. As to your proposals for a Parliament, he said he had no leisure to think of anything but the present affairs of this kingdom. As to one of your letters of the 6th concerning the affair between Mr. Ryder and the Farmers, the scene is so changed here as I hope you may act according to your wonted principles, and not suffer upon the account of the partiality of others. As to your other letter of the same date I will be sure to show it to the King when I can meet with a time wherein I may hope he will take time to consider of it. I doubt not but before this you have had my letter, wherein I informed you of the resolution of sending to you my Lord of Dumbarton's regiment, which for several reasons was far from my desires or approbation, but was done by absolute order. The expense of that regiment exceeding so much the pay of other companies, by their having more officers though fewer soldiers, made the King slow in sending over more soldiers, though if you desire it again I doubt not that your request will be granted, at which time I think you may very properly motion the calling of Parliament that money may be had to bear the charges of so great an addition.

On Thursday last at the Committee of Examinations about the Plot, my Lord of Strafford spoke of the dangerous condition of Ireland, set on by my Lord Halifax, and my Lord Shaftesbury in his ingenuous manner shook his head and said he did not like the management of affairs there. I was not then present, but being named one of the Committee, I have attended, and will continue to do so both morning and evening. I know not, if the King would allow time to debate of his Irish affairs, whether it would be thought advisable to call a Parliament before one could judge when and how this Session will end. As I know you do not reckon upon having any money from hence, so I imagine you will do without the incomes of the revenue by making every one's particular payment proportionably to fall short, or by some other prudent course to subsist until such time as these helps may be procured. Your recommendation of Sir William Davys I have forwarded all I could. But Ned Vernon spoke to me of a letter writ by my brother in favour of Keating, and that you would be contented he should succeed, upon which I hear orders are given to have him Solicitor, and the Attorney to be made Lord Chief Justice. I assure you I have obligations and desires to serve Keating, but I could not do it in such a manner as may give the

world jealousy of double dealing until I have your orders.* I will not trouble you with public news.

Sir Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1678-9, March 22. Whitehall.—The last post I received three from your Grace of the 2nd, 6th and 11th of March. As to the first the report concerning Mr. Robinson hath been showed His Majesty and referred to the Lord Treasurer for his approbation. The other mentioneth what order you received from the Earl of Sunderland, to which I was never called to debate, and can say no more than acquaint His Majesty of your resolution to comply. As to that of the 11th, I showed His Majesty your letter, who read it all himself, and finding at the end of it that the Attorney had declined the promotion seemed resolved to confer it on Sir W. Davys. But being afterwards put in mind of some former promises he had made for the advancement of Mr. Solicitor and Mr. Keating, seemeth to resolve that Mr. Attorney's modesty shall be overruled, and he made Lord Chief Justice and the other two successively advanced as you there mention. There hath been some mention made of removing Lord Chief Justice Booth to the King's Bench, and the Attorney to the Common Pleas, but not yet resolved by the King. My next I suppose will bring His Majesty's fixed resolution and commands.

You will hear from other hands the *embarras* we are in, and I doubt not but my Lord of Ossory will write you what hath passed in his sphere and something relating to yourself. You will easily guess how little time we have to spare, and therefore will pardon me if I answer so many letters in so short a one as this.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1678-9, March 22. St. James's Square.—On Wednesday last at night I received the draughts of four letters for His Majesty's service, one for employing the surplusage of the Revenue for His Majesty's uses, a second for providing for unserviceable soldiers, a third for annexing the Wardenship of Galway to the Archbishop of Tuam, *in commendam*, instead of the fourth *pars episcopalis* now paid to him, and a fourth for allowing warrants of money given upon occasion of the late Northern expedition, together with the honour of your Grace's of the 7th instant. The next morning I lodged them all four in Mr. Secretary Coventry's hand, who has promised to give them all possible despatch.

I have waited too on my Lord Treasurer with your Grace's to him, which came enclosed to me by the same packet. But

* The suggestions as to legal promotion discussed in this and succeeding letters were occasioned by the death of Sir John Povey, the Irish Lord Chief Justice in the preceding February. The Attorney-General mentioned as refusing promotion was Sir William Domvile. Domvile, like his colleague Sir John Temple, the Solicitor-General, held office from the Restoration until 1686. Their unbroken tenure of the two law offices for a period of twenty-nine years, is probably unparalleled in the legal history of the Three Kingdoms.

things now stand so ill with his Lordship that your Grace can have no more returns from him of public business. The House of Commons on Thursday sent to the Lords to desire he should be forthwith committed on the impeachment depending before their Lordships. Yesterday they entered into the examination of Oates, Bedloe, Tonge, and another about the Plot, when besides the repetition of the former informations, my Lord Treasurer was charged with defaming and endeavouring to suppress the King's evidence and tampering with Bedloe for money to deny what he had sworn in this matter. And this morning, notwithstanding the King's speech to both Houses (a copy of which your Grace has here enclosed), they sent to the Lords to remind them of their last message, and to demand the immediate imprisonment of his Lordship. After which their Lordships at a conference (which they desired) proposed, by way of expedient, a Bill to incapacitate him from any employments and from coming to Court or Parliament for ever. Whether this will satisfy we shall quickly see; but the easiest fall is still to a private condition.

This morning waiting on my Lord Ossory, he put into my hand an information, which he newly received from Sir Richard Rooth now in the [ ] made by Captain Fox. It being a matter of great moment to the quiet of the kingdom of Ireland, I immediately carried it by his Lordship's order to Mr. Secretary Coventry, who promised to acquaint the King with it forthwith, and I have here enclosed sent your Grace a copy of so much of it as was any way material.

Two days ago Mr. Weld (one of the Commissioners of Inspection in Ireland) came to me from the King to command me to wait on His Majesty. When I came His Majesty bid me put your Grace in mind of Mr. Weld's having a commission to be a Captain of Foot in that kingdom, and that it was his pleasure that it should be so, he having had an old promise.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1678-9, March 22. London.—On Wednesday (my last to your Grace concluding with Tuesday) the Committee of the Lords reported their opinions to the House that the impeachments were good notwithstanding the dissolution of the last Parliament; which after a long debate *pro.* and *con.*, the House concurred with the Committee. The Commons spent most of that day about reading and referring petitions in the cases of elections to that Committee, only ordered Sir John Hubert's case particularly to be heard at the bar of the House the morrow three weeks; because great complaints were made both against the Sheriff and my Lord Lieutenant of Northfolk (my Lord Yarmouth) of undue practices, in which the House resolve to be very severe, as appears by the votes of that day, as also of the inspection of the journal, chiefly in order to impeachment, that the new members might see by the light of the old. On Thursday, to show the harmony between the two Houses, both took into consideration

the important matter of impeachment. The Lords (and they of the House of Commons) found this distinction between those of the Lords in the Tower and that of my Lord Treasurer, and so both gave the latter the preference, that in that case articles were exhibited, in the others the impeachment was only in general terms, they being imprisoned before; so that the Lords expected to hear from the Commons in the case of the Tower Lords before they could proceed, but thought in the other case the Commons were to hear from them; and in order to it voted that my Lord Treasurer should put in his answer in a week. But the impatience of the Commons could not delay so long, but sent that message mentioned in the votes by my Lord Cavendish to desire the Lord Treasurer's restraint, a greater politician than courtier saying he was making up his bundles to pack away with the spoils of the nation. If he believed what he said he very much mistook, but it happened before my Lord Cavendish got to the Lords' House that House was adjourned. Both Houses this day expressed great concern and zeal against Papists and Popery. The Lords making ready a Bill to give the first cutting blow for its downfall, for a more easy and expeditious way of conviction. All Committees were elected in both Houses. In one it seems the Government of Ireland was thought fit to be reflected on, and consequently the Governor, as too indulgent to Papists. Some were named, but because the thing is so well known to those who have the advantage to hide persons and things under a cipher, I will content myself with this small hint, and proceed to the important proceedings of yesterday.

As soon as the Lords had despatched some Committee affairs and performed their devotions, the address (or message) was delivered to them by Lord Cavendish for securing my Lord Danby's person; which occasioned a long debate in that House, some who did it not for my Lord's sake opposing it for their own. Since the charge was the same as before, why should not their orders upon it continue the same? And since there was no alteration of the cause, why should the effect be changed? Supposing it an undue levity so easily to recede from their own orders, at length, much daylight spent, they gratified the King as well as complied with their own conveniency, and adjourned the debate and House till next morning. The Commons, after they had questioned a bookseller for printing the Treasurer's speech and Mr. Montagu's letters, and a pamphlet styled *A Letter from a Jesuit beyond Sea to a Friend here*, the bookseller naming the printer he had them from, both were ordered to attend. And so they proceeded to hear what Tonge, Oates and Bedloe could say at the Bar in relation to persons and plots, whose discourses lasted till past ten at night. As to the Plot, all was old, but the new matter related to my Lord Treasurer. Oates said that as he one day passed by my Lord Treasurer in Whitehall Garden, with a crowd at his heels, he heard my Lord say "There goeth Oates, the saviour of this nation, but I hope to see him hanged within this month." But Bedloe goes further, and informs that one day, waiting on my Lord Treasurer in his closet

about his own concerns, he offered him great rewards to step out of the way, and urged it very enforcingly with him; and that he took time to think of it, and coming the second time fixed in his resolution not to revolt to roguery again, my Lord added threats to his former allurements. He first only declared the meeting but refused to name the persons, and was twice bid withdraw 'ere they could draw that part (the most material one) out of him; he urging that his very life would be endangered by it, as he had bound himself by promise never to reveal it. But persuasion prevailed and my Lord Treasurer was the means. This unwilling answer was drawn out of him by this single question, asked by mere chance, whether he had ever received any threats or been offered rewards to suppress his evidence. The Commons, to show their concern for his safety and encouragement, sent my Lord Cavendish and some others with an address to His Majesty to beseech his favour for Bedloe's safety, who received his gracious promise on his royal word to take care of his safety, which both satisfied the House in general, and in particular dispersed all Mr. Bedloe's great fears.

But this hath been as extraordinary a day as I have ever seen. I went to bed last night with an expectation that my Lord Treasurer would stand his trial, and in order to it put in his answer. 'Tis true I heard the King resolved to come in his robes; who did so, and having summoned the Commons to the Lords' bar, (without the assistance of any paper) told both Houses to this purpose—"That he expected some progress in public affairs, but found this business of my Lord Treasurer obstructed all; whereupon he was come to put an end to that, and he hoped to all their satisfactions: telling them he had granted him his pardon before this Parliament met, and that if it should be wanting in anything of circumstance or form, he would grant it ten times over to strengthen it, as, he said, he had always done to such servants of his as were separated from their employments, instancing in the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Shaftesbury, withal adding that for the full satisfaction of every one, he would remove him from his presence and councils. He took notice of the nature of his impeachment, most of which he owned he had given him orders in, and particularly that of the letters, and concluded with his expectation that they should proceed immediately to the consideration of those important particulars he had formerly recommended to them." The Lords, on the debate of the matter, came to this reasonable height, that a Bill should be framed to make certain what the King had promised, with these additions—That he should be absolutely banished from the King's presence, made incapable of either sitting in that House or having any manner of employment or pension granted him this Parliament, particularly the £4,000 per annum, as also any additional title of honour. The Commons flew much higher; sent a message by my Lord Anglesey? to continue their former demand by having my Lord Treasurer immediately secured, and another by Sir Thomas Clarges for a Fast, that they would concur in an address to the King. For once the Lords, instead of answering

in the first case sent to desire a conference. The Commons sent word back that it was unparliamentary to desire a conference without proposing some subject matter of it. My Lord Chancellor said that it was true the Commons were in the right and they were in the wrong; but it appeared that it had often been done; yet that no delay might unnecessarily be occasioned, the Lords sent the Commons word that my Lord Danby was the subject of the desired conference; which accordingly soon followed, when the Lords proposed these five heads for a Bill—banishment from the King's presence, exclusion out of the Lord's House, incapacity for public employment, annulling all pensions granted since the 6th instant, and no addition of title of honour. The Commons returned, and having received an account of the King's appointment for both Houses to attend him at 3 o'clock next Monday in the afternoon to present their address for a Fast, and so both Houses adjourned till Monday. A great instance of the frailty of greatness and of the difficulty of stemming such tides. When things of importance happen, your Grace, till you forbid me, shall read letters as well by Tuesday's as Saturday's post, at least by the last weekly.

ADDENDUM.

A Proclamation against the Importation of Irish Victual and Cattle into Scotland.*

1678, March 15.—Charles, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: To our Loving Messengers, our Sheriffs, in that part conjunctly and severally specially constitute, greeting. Inasmuch as we and our estates of Parliament, by our several acts have (upon divers weighty considerations) discharged the importation of Irish victuals and cattle into this kingdom, under the pains and significations therein contained. And whereas the Lords of our Privy Council have emitted several acts and proclamations in pursuance of the said Acts of Parliament; notwithstanding whereof, and of all the cares and endeavours taken to hinder and prevent the importing of Irish victual and cattle, finding the same is imported into this kingdom; and considering the best and fittest way of preventing thereof might be to commissionate some persons of power and authority in the several places of the country where the said victual and cattle is ordinarily brought and landed. We, therefore, with advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, have thought fit to grant full power, authority and commission to our right trusty and well-beloved cousins and counsellors, Archibald, Earl of

* The compiler of the Catalogue of Ormonde Papers in the 6th Report of Hist. MSS. Commission, having overlooked the fact that this proclamation was printed in Scotland, erroneously ascribed it to the year 1678-9 instead of 1677-8. Hence its appearance at the end of this volume instead of in its correct chronological order at p. 20 *supra*.

Argyle, and William, Earl of Dundonald, and to our well-beloved Richard Murray of Brughoun, by themselves their deputes, servants and such as they shall think fit to appoint (for whom they shall be answerable) to search for, seize and apprehend all Irish victual and cattle, and salt beef made thereof, that shall happen to be imported from Ireland into this kingdom in the particular places after specified, viz.: The said Earl of Argyle in all places from Lochlong to the Mull of Kintyre and round about the same; the said Earl of Dundonald in all places from the Burgh of Glasgow to the March of Galloway on the South, and from Glasgow to Loch Long on the North; and the isles of Bute, Arran, and Comray; and the said Richard Murray from the March of Galloway to the March of Nithsdale. And for the more ready and efficient prosecution of the said commission have granted full power and authority to the said Earl of Argyle, Earl of Dundonald, and Richard Murray, by themselves, their deputes, servants, and such as they shall think fit to entrust in the respective bounds foresaids, to secure all barks or travelling boats, whether Scots or Irish, until the shippers or owners shall find caution that they shall import no Irish victual or cattle hereafter. The said Commissioners or their foresaids are thereby authorised to search all barks, boats, or other vessels wherein any Irish victual or cattle are suspected to be, and to seize and secure the same in case they find the said prohibited goods therein. And for better discovery thereof, all merchants, shippers, and owners of boats, barks or other vessels travelling to or from the places aforesaid, are thereby ordered before they break bulk or liver any goods, to advertise the said commissioners or those entrusted by them, at one or other of the ports following, viz.: at the point of Garvel, near Greenock, the towns of Largs, Irving, Turnberry, Dumbarton, Rothesay, Brodick, Dinoon, Tarbet, Campbeltown, Inverarey, Portpatrick, Glenluce and Kirkcudbright (at which ports officers are established to receive there advertisements) under the pain of confiscation of the said vessels and goods, and being holden as confessed importers of Irish victual, provided that the shippers or owners shall not upon such occasion be obliged to wait longer than one tide's water. If upon pregnant presumptions the said Commissioners or those entrusted by them shall suspect any person or persons guilty of importing Irish victual or cattle, they are thereby authorised to convene any such person or persons before the nearest magistrate in burgh or landwart, and to lead all manner of probation against them for proving thereof; whereupon the said magistrates are to give present and ready justice. All Sheriffs, Stewarts, Bailies of Royalties, Regalities and Baronies, and all Heritors are thereby ordered to give their speedy and ready assistance to the said Commissioners or those entrusted by them, wherever they shall be required, either as to the searching of vessels, by night or day, making open and patent doors, searching of cellars or other suspect places for Irish victual and cattle,

which they are thereby authorised to do. The officers of any garrison are obliged to concur and assist them with a party of soldiers as they shall be desired upon any extraordinary occasion, in case any seizure be made of the said Commissioners or those entrusted by them. The heritors next adjacent to the said place are thereby required to cause carry the victuals to some convenient place nearest until our Council shall give order thereanent. And those so employed shall be paid by the person who makes the seizure for such horse carriage not exceeding 2s. Scots the mile. The said Commissioners or those entrusted are thereby empowered, with consent of the magistrate of the place, to send any person or persons to prison who shall be proved guilty of contravening the said laws, or shall be contumacious in refusing to depone, the magistrates of the place being always free of the prisoners' charges,: in which case the magistrates are to secure the prisoners and their said vessels, and to be accountable for them. And in case any person or persons shall make open resistance against the said Commissioners or those entrusted by them in the execution of the said commission, and that there shall happen bloodshed, mutilation or slaughter to follow through the said resistance, it is declared that the said Commissioners or those entrusted in giving assistance to them, shall never be called in question or pursued therefor, civilly or criminally, in times coming. And further, by the said commission, it is declared that the same shall no ways free or liberate the importers or heritors of Irish victual or cattle or heritors upon whose ground the same shall be imported; but they shall continue still liable to the pains and penalties appointed by the said Acts of Parliament and Council as if the said commission had never been granted, which commission is to begin and take effect from and after first of April next, and to continue till the first day of April, 1679. And to the effect all our lieges and others concerned may have due and timeous notice thereof, we have thought fit that our letters of publication of the same should be direct in manner and written. Our will is therefore, and we charge you and strictly command that incontinent these our letters seen, ye pass to the market corner of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton and other places needful. And thereat in our name and authority by open proclamation make publication of the premises to the effect that all our lieges and other commands may have due and timeous notice of our pleasure in the premises, and may give ready obedience to our commands herein, as they will be answerable at their highest peril.

Given under our signet at Edinburgh, the 15th day of March of our reign, the 30th year, 1678.

Per actum Dominorum Secreti Concilii.

God save the King.

AL. GIBSON, *Cl. St. Concilii.*

Edinburgh, Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the King's Most Sacred Majesty. 1678.

[Printed.]

LETTERS OF

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL

TO

JAMES, 1ST DUKE OF ORMOND,

1677-1686.

1677, September 1. [London].—We are much rejoiced to hear of your Grace's safe arrival and the splendour of your reception, as also your giving to my Lord of Essex so honourable a departure, All the French volunteers but the Duke of Monmouth are returned. And because as yet my Lord Ossory is not, the next post shall carry him a copy of your Grace's of the 19th from Conway,* as also copy of the poetry on your Grace's arrival, particularly the allegory of the Register of the Admiralty, wherein he is deeply concerned, and Sir William Petty hath therein scoured up his old muse to very good purpose. But the truth is, my Lord's friends are here in affliction to see how to his detriment it is imbibed that this galley was not so much upon volunteering as upon business, which is not now so popular. And therefore we all wish him well returned, and hope that within a fortnight it may be so. I am told that the Spanish Ambassador did to His Majesty plainly charge the Prince of Orange since the coming hither of Bentinck with voluntary deviations from the public interest, to which His Majesty with resentment answered that he said nothing to the Prince but what he said also to the King of Spain, and to the King of France in quality of mediator, that he thought not the Prince of Orange capable of admitting dishonourable counsel, and if any thought him capable of giving such, he declared them rascals.

Our Exchange is alarmed with the jealousies of a war from Spain, fomented there as is said on purpose; the Spaniards thinking that they can thereby sufficiently revenge our partiality to France, and our presuming on their impotency, by the menace of a war which our people will so abhor as to frighten the court into anything that may avoid it. It is true that the Ambassador has lately given in two memorials, one

* See Ormonde Papers Vol. II. (1899), p. 263.

of them demanding reparation for what Don Bernardo de Salinas and Fonseca had suffered. The other was of more importance, calling His Majesty into their alliance, offering him presently Nieuport, and that if he named Commissioners for him to treat withal he would further declare what large overtures he had to make. 'Tis not long since this paper was presented, and meeting since in conference with Mr. Secretary Coventry, he demanded an answer thereunto. Mr. Secretary told him he should receive it as soon as he had His Majesty's commands therein, but said he might not reasonably be so pressing, when 'tis above six months that His Majesty by his Ambassador at Madrid had demanded satisfaction against Salinas and Fonseca, and that no answer had been yet returned. The Ambassador replied: "Nor are you ever likely to have answer therein." Whereupon the Secretary told him that until His Majesty had answer therein he would venture to say that no answer would be given to anything. And whether it were upon account of this shock that an express was posted on Thursday night to Madrid, or whether upon other discourse, I cannot tell. For the Ambassador had let fall, besides his pointing at the temper of Parliament and disposition of the people, which is often recited and appealed unto, a computation of £400,000 worth of effects that lay in Spain, which would be of no small assistance to that Crown, or detriment to this, if a misunderstanding should happen: to which Mr. Secretary answered: that if things should ever come to that unfortunate extremity, there were articles to be observed which required six months' notice of a rupture; but if things of that nature should pass for nothing, he hoped the fleet His Majesty has now in the Mediterranean would be able to reprise that loss on Sicily and Naples. But if not there, that His Majesty had 400,000 subjects in the West Indies who might even there make any to repent that should unjustly provoke His Majesty or despoil his subjects.

The Duke of Lorraine is gone post for Vienna, leaving the Marquis de Baden in his place. Some say 'tis to marry the Emperor's sister, but others think it the effect of dissatisfaction in that Court for his not being more successful. And whereas formerly he was voted to govern Flanders, now 'tis said this government will be given to the Marquis de Balbaces, who is Plenipotentiary at Nimeguen, and was before Ambassador at Vienna, unto which Court Dr. Bernardo de Salinas is lately sent in quality of Envoy Extraordinary, so far is he from his being in disgrace upon the King's complaint.

Yesterday at the Tangier meeting, my Lord of Inchiquin's enemies had very little to say; at least they were found so extreme faulty themselves as that on Monday something will be declared to their detriment, and, as is expected, to my Lord of Inchiquin's vindication. Sir Richard Bellings' servant had a letter from Purcell, who was landed at Rohan, and desired supplies from your Grace. Mr. Secretary Williamson, going into Wales to visit his friends, met with an unkind ague, which fastens upon him.

1677, September 18.—I am so taken up in conducting about my old friend the Conde de Castel Melhor,* who finds a most kind reception from the King, Queen, and all at Court, that I have little time to acknowledge your Grace's of the 8th. Nor does there much offer besides the discourse of sending (as my Lord Ossory has invited) all the yachts and some ships of war about the end of this month for the Prince of Orange, who will land at Harwich, and thence in the King's coaches to Newmarket, where preparations are making for him. His Royal Highness is observed to speak high to his advantage in all things; upon which the malice of the world is so great that, none now doubting of the match, some will needs have it a thing of the French King's making, and by that rumour and impression disrelish what has been hitherto the desire of the kingdom. This will extinguish the fear of the Dauphin, and all wild pretensions that have ever been spoken of, but whether the poor Prince will hereby get ground in Holland, where the Spanish animosity and late reflections have taken too much place, time must decide.

1677, September 22.—I have yours of the 8th, and suitable to what I last said of the Prince of Orange's coming over into the caresses of this Court, there is daily confirmation of it. The Duke hath assigned him his own lodgings here at Whitehall, and the young lady is not much startled when the Prince is named unto her. But as all things look cheerful and welcome on that side, so there is a spirit of contradiction prevailing that will needs mix France in the whole contrivance, so that the party who were formerly here so vehement for the Prince are now grown averse. And how things go relating to the Prince in Holland, I shall be able ere long to send you a very material discourse thereof. In the meantime Sir Wm. Temple still continues here, and if the Duke's exception to him was on the Prince's account all that will now surely vanish, and so no difficulty to exclude him from the late pretension, but that which the present incumbent will deserve for his consent.

'Tis certain that Buckingham passes a great part of his time with Nelly, who because the Lord Treasurer would not strive to make her a countess, she is at perfect defiance with him, so that the Treasurer's lady is there acted, and the King looks on with great delight, which has been a fatal prognostic unto some. And the knowledge hereof, together with the revenge, which Buckingham declares gives the Lord Treasurer some trouble of mind, perceiving also that *hz* takes sanctuary at that place, and has all manner of assistance which that place can afford, and all the promises of those that come near it. I am also told that *hn* is there of the party.

On the other side it is observed that *te* [The Lord Treasurer] stands very well with *fi* [The Duke of York], and

* Roderigo, Conde de Castel Melhor, sometime Prime Minister to Alfonso VI. of Portugal. Some letters and several allusions to him will be found in th correspondence of Sir Richard Fanshaw. See *Report on the Manuscripts o f J. M. Heathcote.*

that Monsieur Barrillon is in long and frequent discourse with him, and so on that side he seems very strong.

Yesterday Sir Robert Howard appeared at the Council Board, and his design being to gain time, His Majesty seemed to allow what he desired; so that the hearing of the matter is put off until the third Council day after the King's return from Newmarket. The Condé de Castel Melhor is here at last arrived—extremely caressed by all.

1677, September 25.—There is very little news here stirring but that all preparations are making to fetch the Prince of Orange. Sir Gabriel Silius is going to look after conveniencies for his Highness, who is to come in a new yacht belonging to the Duke, and called the *Mary*. And as most do conclude that all our caresses herein have approbation from France; so how they will find their account herein does not otherwise appear than as by this expedient France hopes for a peace, and that it is of the highest importance for them. But how a peace will import the Prince of Orange looks like a very great paradox. I will refer your Grace to the enclosed papers as a discourse coming in season, though not exposing all the good omens that you wish to his Highness, but I fear there is very much truth in it; 'tis very secret, the author having only showed it (besides myself) to one of the Secretaries, but yet I have his permission to send it unto your Grace for your own perusal.

I have heard it said that the Emperor takes such part in the Queen of Spain's mortifications that Don John, partly on resentment and partly to acquire strength, is meditating a match between the King of Spain and the Duke of Orleans' daughter, and will avoid that proposed with the Emperor's.

1677, October 9.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 29th, and it is no news to me what you intimate of a correspondence with my lord of Orrery; for that a few days since Mr. Robert Boyle industriously took occasion to acquaint me with it, and how civil your Grace had been to his Lordship's two sons when they were sent to wait upon you. The only use and application that I shall make thereof may be to become somewhat more complaisant towards his Lordship, and to write him now and then a letter from hence, which for some years I have not done, and which I believe he takes not well at my hands. I am also told by my Lady Petty that your Grace has discoursed with kindness to Sir William, which is matter of great contentment to her, and all her friends shall be sure to know it. I confess I heartily wish your Grace could lay some particular obligation upon him as to his present difficulties. His talent is very considerable, and he has several admirers of it, and I should be glad to see him remarkably under that badge. My Lord of Essex hath promised to set all things to rights with His Majesty, which by his representation were accomplished.

I hope your Grace received the paper I sent relating to the Prince of Orange. His Majesty read it here with great attention, saying that, in the lump, he had heard of some dis-

satisfactions towards his nephew, but the particular sources of it were never made plain to him before, and he feared that even his nephew was not sensible of all that did concern him therein. The paper was drawn by one Mr. Hill, who had been, for some months, lately on that side. It was he that writ *The Zealander's Choice*, being then minister to the English at Flushing, for which the States ordered his banishment, as a thing judged by them of too much service in that conjuncture to England. But since his late return, he was enjoined to correspond with his friends on that side, and especially to find out the general opinion touching the Prince's coming over. Whereof what his advices amount unto, and what is sent down to His Majesty at Newmarket, your Grace has here in the enclosed paper, which I hastily took, having his allowance to communicate the same to your Grace, for whom, (though unknown) he has a great estimation, as you will see. But first, as to the Prince's coming over, when we heard that the States made some kind of pause thereupon, as a thing altogether new, and they not consulted therein till the day before the arrival of the yachts from hence, it was said by Mr. Secretary [Williamson] that the whole business of the Prince's coming arose from himself, and without any invitation from hence. And as to the point of the marriage, it is a matter altogether as yet in His Majesty's breast. A little time will now explain the whole.

I suppose your Grace has heard of this Mr. Hill I mention, and has seen his book of *The Zealander's Choice*. He is a man of very good learning, and one that is often with me, and knows very well how the world goes. And being a man acquainted with books, and with the press, and meeting (among many other things) with a manuscript writing *The Affairs of Ireland from 1641 to 1660*, in about twenty-four sheets of large paper, and pretty close writ, he told me he had never met with so great a vindication of the late King, in reference to the affairs of Ireland, or of your Grace's government, as in those papers, which he left with me to read. But I, doubting my own capacity, did think Peter Walsh would be much a better judge. And he, having read them over, does assure me that 'tis an excellent history for the truth of all those transactions. And he could heartily wish, for your Grace's sake, that it were put in print. Upon this testimony thereof I discoursed farther with Mr. Hill, and was in hopes that Mr. Walsh would have dined here with him this day, or have conferred upon his subject. But he was hindered to come. However, this is the result of my conference with Mr. Hill: he says he has leisure and good will, and if your Grace think fit, he will take upon him to draw forth, in a more proper and acceptable style, the whole matter contained in those sheets, and that as he draws forth every sheet the same shall be sent to your Grace for approbation and amendment before he goes to the next. And he will first also consult here with Mr. Walsh as he goes on. And finally that he will take care to see it printed as it ought to be. And, says he, when this

is done, all I shall expect for my recompense shall be only his Grace's recommendation and good offices for me with His Majesty. I told him, as to this part, I would be answerable if the work went on that he should not be a loser. He does not tell me who writ these papers, but says it was a person of Ireland who is now dead, and that in time I shall know his name. I guess the papers came casually into his hands, but so as they are now his own. Thus your Grace sees what I here represent. And 'tis left in your own choice freely to say what you think best. I will only add thus much, that Mr. Hill is master of a clear and perspicuous style, and a man indefatigable in whatever he is to do. And I conceive your long life and many years of employment, and variety of fortunes, will deserve a little care, even from yourself, to see that justice be done; since every man is a debtor to his family, and 'tis not enough to leave great heaps of materials behind, if they must be left to the mercy of those who shall not employ them aright; therefore I am so far in the other extreme that I would even press and importune your Grace to have somebody capable of the work employed in nothing else (while you are in the Government there, and have all papers about you), to write the memories of your whole life, and if not to the world, yet to bequeath them to your family. I know your Grace will pardon all my presumption herein, as being assured that I do it with a faithful mind and for your Grace's service.

1678, October 10.—What I writ your Grace by the last is what I would now again write if it had been omitted. My Lord Longford told me that he feared *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick] would not follow the advice that was given him—so that perhaps he might need a letter from your Grace to the same effect. I know *ph* [Lady Portsmouth] wounds *ks* [the Lord Lieutenant] wherever he can be heard on account of partiality to *mx* [Papists]—nay would persuade some that there can be no true settlement of that kingdom unless the same zest may be there enacted as here, or at least that none act as Justices or sit in Parliament but those who take the Oath of Allegiance as well as Supremacy. Since my last *ce* [the Lord Chancellor] was saying to *rs* [Sir Robert Southwell] that at the meeting of the Parliament there would be great looking to see what was done by *ks* [the Lord Lieutenant] in *ip* [Ireland]—to which 'twas answered that there was no doubt but all things that were appointed would be performed.

In tumbling over the papers of information given in by Dr. Tonge I find this note.—"Archbishop Talbot is certainly a mortal enemy to the Duke of Ormond; however his brother and other Popish Irish, by flattery and their dispensations, may obtain the favour of some commissions under him, and so bring him into suspicion with the Protestants." "Also this note: Pacquets from the General to Archbishop Talbot are superscribed to the Viscount Mountgarret, but are sent by special messengers to

West Chester as far as we can learn." 'Tis also said that 'etters to Ireland are sometimes superscribed to Mr. Pipard. And because the Lords here have appointed that all letters coming to the posthouse for any against whom warrants are issued should be stopped, and are accordingly brought to the Council Board and there examined, I have writ to Mr. Secretary Coventry to send his order to Chester to that effect, and your Grace may do well to watch the posthouse there.

Mr. Richard Langhorne, of the Temple, was the last night sent to Newgate upon Mr. Oates his deposition that he was knowing of the Jesuits' conspiracy; but the truth is in all their papers nothing as yet appears as evidence thereof, so that all the care and pains is chiefly applied to the unciphering of Mr. Coleman's letters, which doubtless will cost him dear; being, though of a different, yet, all of a dangerous strain.

I venture to send your Grace copies of two of the letters which came to Mr. Bedingfield at Windsor, which he himself brought to the Duke and the Duke to the King. The originals are both writ in very suspicious hands, and nothing like the usual character of Dr. Fogarty and Mr. Fenwick, as appears by their papers seized and examined. But I send these to your Grace for information only, and if false that you may see what strings are touched upon as the current sense, or what some would make their business to have current.

Yesterday my Lord Arran departed towards your Grace and carried with him some entertainment for your leisure, namely so much of what we expect from Mr. Hill as reaches to the year 1648. He was long before he could settle to it, but now his head is full of nothing else. But 'tis late and I will not now say anything upon this matter, but wish your Grace all the honour and happiness I can desire.

1677, October 16.—I am not able to make any judgment out of the variety of opinions and discourses about the Prince of Orange's being in this Court. Doubtless the States of Holland have sent him out as the dove; for they dismissed him after all with extraordinary tokens of respect. We have a talk arisen of a triple alliance between us, France and Holland, in order to compel the Spaniard to sit down with what we think proper for him, and therein for the peace of Europe. For we think while he is left to himself he sees all things with the spectacles of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, and will never take measure of what he is this day. Some do marry the Prince to the Duchess of Guise; others, who will not hear it so, say she was born in '36 and he in '50. 'Tis here the desire of the people (and none say that either of the parties are averse) that he were married to the Lady Mary, but some will doubt whether the Duke will be so forward as they wish. Therefore time must afford more light.

Your Grace will here enclosed see how far beyond my last motion, touching Mr. Hill and the piece I told you of, Peter Walsh does go. 'Tis surely a matter worthy of your consideration, and as such I will attend your answer in it.

1677, October 20.—The enclosed letter will in the general show your Grace the present temper of Holland in relation to the Prince's journey. His Highness is often here in close conference with His Majesty, as also with the Duke and with my Lord Treasurer; but I hear not of any other that partakes in the secret of what is managed, unless Sir William Temple. And as to the business of the marriage the discourses are not warm in it. 'Tis said the French repent their late success of defeating so many Germans, for that they themselves have lost many more, and their whole army retreated for two days from the Duke of Lorraine, who is yet in hopes to get quarters on this side the Rhine.

My Lord of Canterbury had at once upon him so violent a looseness, with a fever, ague, and the strangury, that the hiccups took him, and he was abandoned by the physicians, so that a certain German was admitted with his potion of *Aurum potabile*, which has had wonderful effects, and gives fair promise of a recovery. However, the candidates look about, and my Lord of Durham* is newly come to town, and spoken of to be in a state of particular favour, especially there where my Lord of London† is greatly in want of it. Nor can his friendship with my Lord Treasurer (as it is said) stem that current, though his Lordship appears more than anybody else gracious in the same place; therefore my Lord of London bends all his industries in favour of the Archbishop of York‡, not only for having been his quondam tutor, but for being a man very positive and intractable in his way, and even older than my Lord of Canterbury that is dying.

Yesterday my Lord of Essex presented His Majesty in Council with some papers showing the yearly disbursements of the concordatum money, and how that upon the whole he had not exceeded his bounds therein, unless in the sum of £187, which was thought a very frugal management. His Lordship has lying by him a short narrative of the state of Ireland, which he thought might have been called for and read at the Council Board, but nobody minding it since his return he seems not willing to make an offer of it.

Enclosure referred to in preceding letter.§

1677, October 22. [N.S.] Hague.—Sir, We are full of joy to hear since the Prince's arrival, the good intentions of your Court of giving the Prince so good a lady, and us a peace. Upon what grounds this is written or believed I know not, but should be glad to understand from you. And indeed we are so weary of the war that our Hogen Mogens are for a peace any way, which it seems the Northern Princes are so jealous of that the King of Denmark, Elector of Brandenburg, and Duke of Lunenburg have renewed their treaty for carrying on the war

* Nathaniel, 3rd Baron Crew, Bishop of Durham 1674-1722.
† Henry Compton, Bishop of London 1675-1713.
‡ Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York 1664-1683.
§ It does not appear who was the writer of this letter.

against the Swede. So that whatever you and we do, it seems they are resolved against peace, till they have got what they desire, fight for, and are in a probable way of obtaining. For the Swedes decline daily, having quitted the Island of Rügen (where the King of Denmark is in person) excepting one small post, which they are not likely to hold long. So that there is no appearance of succouring Stettin, and therefore we conclude (if the weather permit the siege) it must of necessity fall in Brandenburg's hands, as we suppose Stralsund afterwards, that garrison having denied the Swedes from Rügen entrance, and only admitted their cannon and baggage to come in. As for the armies of Lorraine and Créqui, they only seek to tire out each other for want of provisions, without any engagement, and when they have tried who shall stay longest in the field, and drawn into winter quarters, Lorraine goes to the Emperor's Court to marry his sister, the widow of the late King of Poland. Our army is drawing into winter quarters, the Prince's baggage comes hither, so that we expect no more of this campaign. We hear the King of France hath given orders to be early in the field, but we hope a happy peace will make great preparations for us unnecessary. For we presume the Prince's interest will prevail with your Court, that Monsieur Odyke and Van Beuningen (who we hear have the orders concerning the treaty may bring that business to a happy issue. For we are not able to carry on the war for want of money, at least not with those great numbers and vast expense we have done hitherto (and less we fear will not serve) which, considering our small success, hath both exanimated and exhausted us so greatly that a peace becomes absolutely necessary for us. And if your Court can draw our allies to a compliance with us herein, the Prince will gain himself great reputation among us, as the happy instrument of so good a work.

1677, October 23. Spring Garden.—I am not very forward in giving testimonials. but I am now called very heartily into it in the case of Captain John Martin, of Kinsale, who, since His Majesty's restoration, has commanded a company of the Militia there, and was above all other men of the town forward in surprising the fort at the time for His Majesty's service, but never had any consideration. My father did always put him upon whatever employment he could, and particularly (if your Grace remember it) he was sent over on the biggest of the East India prizes from Kinsale, in which trust his care and vigilance was so remarkable and successful, that the Lords Commissioners gave him treble the reward which my father had agreed with him for, and also their commission made him surveyor of prizes for Ireland, but the war soon ended, and he saw no benefit of that favour. His most humble suit at present is that, whereas Hayward, St. Leger's lieutenant, is above seventy years of age, and cannot live long, that your Grace would vouchsafe him a promise when the lieutenant dies that he may have a commission to succeed him. 1

have known this man since I can remember anybody, and he is truly loyal, stout and diligent, and I would not thus recommend him if he did not deserve this, or a better thing.

1677, November 10.—On Wednesday last Sir Robert Howard's business came on He came in upon crutches, being lately risen from the gout. The King spoke kindly to him, and ordered a chair whereon he sat. There was a very numerous appearance. The King's counsel urged home the charge, and produced witnesses, with two letters of Sir Robert Howard's. The counsel of Sir Robert were all heard in reply, and Sir Robert himself, desiring leave to speak, rose up, and from his crutches made an harangue which was more moving than anything his counsel had said, and he kept within the bounds of some heads that were down in his paper, though it was thought he might have spared the declaring himself not to be a man that had raised any great hasty fortune. But it was his business to show how generously he had administered his office, and to disprove, or at least extenuate, the small concern he had in the matters objected. But, as he was calling his witnesses, the King broke off the cause, adjourning the residue of it unto Friday, upon notice then given him by a messenger from the Duke that the Duchess was in labour, and consequent to this we had in a few hours the good tidings of a young Prince, who is named Charles*, which, as is said, puts a little water in the Dutchmen's wine

Yesterday came on the residue of Sir Robert Howard's cause, and with great opinion among his friends from the symptoms of the last day that he should have some taste of victory, his witnesses were all heard, the evidence on both sides summed up, and so all parties withdrew. Thereupon a debate arose of what was fit for His Majesty to do. It was taken notice of that whatever did relate unto the business of the false bags, did wholly rest on the testimony of Sir William Doyley,† the teller, who appeared so infamous a man, not only in breach of trust to His Majesty, but of treachery to his friend, that there ought small regard to be had to that point. But forasmuch as it was manifest that Sir Robert Howard did know the time when Sir William Doyley wanted four or five thousand pounds of his cash, and did not reveal it to the Lord Treasurer until it came to £8,000, and not then neither till his Lordship was by some suspicion put upon the search; and whereas also it did appear that Sir Robert Howard borrowed four or five hundred pounds from a teller, knowing it to be the King's money, though it be true that he paid it justly again, yet the example of such a thing in an officer of his station, and as check over the rest, could not be less than a misdemeanour; so that it was proposed His Majesty should call Sir Robert in to give him reprehension on these two heads, and to leave the prosecution of the whole matter to his Attorney-at-Law. This

* Charles, Duke of Cambridge, firstborn son of James II. by Mary of Modena, b. Nov. 7, d. Dec. 12, 1677.

† Sir William D'Oyley, Bart., a Teller of the Exchequer.

was by others objected against as a kind of sentence presently given which might influence the like doom in Westminster Hall. But if on a more rigorous trial there he should be acquitted, that would not sound much to the honour of this Board; and therefore it appearing that although Sir Robert Howard were blameable in what had passed, yet no man had objected that he was to be any gainer thereby, and that he had said very much in mitigation of the offence, and had very well served His Majesty and the late King, and that to a man of honour nothing could be more grievous than the declaration of His Majesty's displeasure, therefore it was proposed that the whole matter should only be dismissed to the law. But this being much opposed as an unusual method, that after His Majesty had sat so long and heard so much he should say nothing; which would certainly be considered to the disadvantage of his Lord Treasurer, and as if he had troubled His Majesty with a matter of no weight; it was proposed by others that the prosecution of law should be omitted, for that it did not appear Sir Robert had anything transgressed in his own office which might occasion a forfeiture thereof. But for a failure in duty towards others it might be fit to reprehend him here. This motion at last, with some little addition, took place. And His Majesty himself discoursed somewhat largely on the matter, chiefly to vindicate my Lord Treasurer from any imputation of malice, as it was spread, for having known and allowed this thing to run on for near a year and a half; the same being done in order to a complete discovery and particularly with relation to the false bags which Sir William had undertaken to make more apparent. But his Lordship had immediately, upon the first discovery, given His Majesty notice thereof, and therefore the King ordered that (when Sir Robert Howard and the company were called in again) he should declare His Majesty's satisfaction in what my Lord Treasurer had acted in this matter. And in the two points of Sir Robert's not declaring the want of cash when he first knew it, and the borrowing that which belonged to His Majesty, that he should understand His Majesty's great displeasure, and that His Majesty should take it into his own consideration what was farther fit to be done. And this (Sir Robert and the company being called in) was declared accordingly. And so the matter ends with honour to my Lord Treasurer, and without danger of suspension or loss of office to Sir Robert Howard.

Yesterday, according to your Grace's prognostic the good Archbishop† passed into a better life, begging for several days all his friends to pray that he might die, so little ease or contentment had he in life.

I have the honour of two from your Grace of the 20th and 27th past. Yesterday P.W. [Peter Walsh] and Mr. Hill dined with me. I returned him the manuscript and he will fall to work upon it in the manner I have already mentioned, and

† Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, d. Nov. 9, 1677.

they are to dine with me once a fortnight at farthest for the better comparing of notes. I did venture with Mr. Hill into a discourse of the whole subsequent history as mentioned to your Grace, for in this point nothing had been said unto him before; but he was not prepared for any other answer in that matter, though I gave him prospect of requital, than that he would first go through with this small piece, and if therein he could acquit himself to your Grace's approbation he would then better know how to frame his thoughts to the greater work. And I think his answer is not much amiss.

I have waited upon my Lord of Ossory, who most obligingly showed me what your Grace has lately writ, and for the view transmitted by your Grace touching the present state of His Majesty's revenue he bid me call on my Lord Chamberlain for it, which I have done, having had the same request from both to become master of it, so as by discourse to make it easy to them. And this, I think, I am now pretty well prepared to do, and am attending their best leisure.

I send your Grace copies of the concordatum expense as they were lately presented in Council by my Lord of Essex, and if he give in any account of that kingdom, I shall be sure to give your Grace an early copy of it.

1677, November 13.—I do not yet hear who will be Archbishop. My Lord of London seems to have more voices in the public discourse than any other. The Duke, 'tis said, is for the Dean of St. Paul's*, and one that heard your Grace here recommend him took notice that you knew the secret. Some speak of the Archbishop of Dublin. Denny Muschamp apprehends something of it, but affirms 'tis not desired by his Grace, who, having thought of it, and made all calculations, thinks the removal would not turn to his profit. The Prince of Orange sets sail on Friday next; he has been here very close and intimate with my Lord Treasurer, whereof one effect has been to mediate a reconciliation with my Lord Chamberlain, who himself told me somewhat of it, and that the overtures looked fair. Nay, that my Lady Danby had told her Lord that he should not rely on any of my Lord Arlington's renegades, but rather make friendship with himself. I did not perceive his Lordship over fond of the proposal, and so I know not if it will have any effect.

The Lord Feversham is gone for France, Mr. Montagu having prayed to be excused for some little time. That which I hear whispered is as if what has been here debated with the Prince of Orange is to be consulted at Paris; and so, between us the concert of a model peace, wherein the chief care is for leaving a sufficient frontier unto Flanders, and to sacrifice for that Burgundy and the French Comté. But this seems a reckoning without the host, and upon supposition that Spain will swallow that which shall be imposed; but what will be the consequence if they do not swallow I cannot tell.

* William Sancroft.

I am assured from one that received it from an eminent hand in Paris that the French Ambassador, Monsieur Barrillon, writ word two days before the marriage of the Prince of Orange that he had broken it off. And this being mark enough of no concurrence to this matter in France confirms the whisper on my Lord Peterboro's disappearance at that time that he passed over privately to make the best of things.

Sir Robert Howard did not long remain under His Majesty's displeasure, having on Saturday kissed his Royal hand, but withal he was commanded to go and make his submission to the Lord Treasurer, which he intends to do.

I most humbly thank your Grace for purposing good to Captain Martin; he deserves it well.

1677, November 20.—The Prince of Orange, being very intent on his return, did yesterday embark without any favour of the wind, and is likely to depend on the tide alone for a good passage. There go none with him from hence who return again, as foreseeing the want of leisure to spend much time in caresses on that side. What preparations of peace he carries with him (which is generally expected by his country) does not appear, and some suspect that he has no more inclinations for it than is necessary for a disguise, which temper would suit very much to the sense of the House of Commons, but prove very disobliging to France, which aims more at a particular than a general peace. For, if Holland were struck out of the list, the residue of the war would be but a play, since, as it is, he everywhere carries his point. The winning of Fribourg gives him not only fresh quarters but may operate very far to press the Duke of Bavaria into a partnership of the war with him instead of neutrality. And it is said Ypres is even now besieged.

There is a rumour that in Scotland the assemblies of fanatics grow very tumultuous, and that my Lord Fretewell is drawing that way with four troops.

'Tis not yet declared who will be our Archbishop. The general vogue runs for my Lord of London, and the more for the opposition that is said to be against him in one place.

I spent this morning an hour with my Lord Ossory upon the state of accounts sent lately by your Grace from thence; for now I suppose there may be time to look into it.

This new war declared with Algiers will require of necessity a greater expense than we are prepared for, which is a vexatious circumstance of it.

By the enclosed your Grace will see a new model in the form of laws intended for Jamaica, which will give my Lord Carlisle a little work to establish, for the Assembly there flew high and were in a fair way of treading, in time, the footsteps of New England.

1677, November 27.—By the last post I told my Lord Lanesborough of the order for superseding the late commission to seven of the Farmers, and observed to him how sharp some expressions were that fell to their share, little less than as if they were running

away with the revenue. I know not who 'tis has informed that they mean to lay claim to the eighty thousands pounds payable in the two years by the Lord Ranelagh. But on Sunday, before the Cabinet sat, Mr. Attorney attended the King, my Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer at the Treasury Chamber, to justify his draft of their patent as well as he could, and that they had not thereby sufficient title for the demand, and 'twas not clear how far my Lord Ranelagh sided herein with the Farmers. This I heard in great secrecy and 'tis concluded that the Farm must break, and that indeed it is taken at twenty thousand pounds too dear. If this be true there will most of it soon appear.

As yet we hear not of any Archbishop. My Lord of London takes it not himself; but many are so zealous for him as that 'tis said whoever else carries it, yet he will be at the head of the Church.

1677, December 4.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 21st past, where I observe that you were renewing the solemnities of joy upon the birth of the Duke of Cambridge, wherein you outdo not only Scotland but other places which made some expressions on the first occasion, but very faint ones on the latter.

The late purchase your Grace mentions of eight parts just confirms the jealousy I lately hinted as if all parties were agreed, unless His Majesty, for the disposition of that £80,000. I hear it now more openly said that Sir James Shaen did in the very beginning invite partners and comfort himself with that secret of hedging in the said £80,000; but what resolution is taken in this matter I do not yet certainly hear, but an opinion is spread as if the Farm must break.

On Saturday, my Lord Feversham came from France, and when on Monday both Houses met without any expectation of change, Mr. Secretary Coventry presented the House of Commons with a message under His Majesty's hand, importing that he saw some weighty reasons to shorten the intended adjournment, and therefore desired their meeting might be on the 15th of the next month. This is generally interpreted in the sense that every one pleases; and most people do hereupon talk of a war with France. For they tell you (and it is too obvious) that Flanders will immediately be swallowed up, and the French intend a winter campagna to that purpose. Then they undertake to know all my Lord Feversham carried and all that he has brought. They say he went with a project of a general peace, or at least a preliminary treaty importing a good understanding presently to be had between England, France and Holland, in order to that greater work, but hereupon particularly that all the French troops should abandon Flanders and leave that place in a state of security. 'Tis said that these overtures were undervalued, that my Lord Feversham's reception and farewell were very cold, and that His Majesty is very little satisfied with the narrative thereof. I suppose Monsieur Barrillon is little surprised (though he may be troubled) with the shortness of this adjournment, for

he was extreme inquisitive beforehand to find whether the time was intended to be shortened, which implies that his master had taken that in hand which deserved to alarm us.

On Thursday last Monsieur Barrillon made his public entry, and being advertised the night before that what had been lately practised at Paris in giving precedency of the coaches belonging to the princes of the blood to those of our two late ambassadors—the Earl of Sunderland and the Lord Berkeley—the like rule was now intended by His Majesty, who had appointed the coaches of the Duke and of the Prince, to follow next immediately after his own, this message put the ambassador to his wits end. He would have an entry without it, and would have no entry with it; and in this contention and uncertainty he remained even till the next morning. What was affirmed therein by the Lord Sunderland and the Lord Berkeley could not appease him, till he understood that His Majesty was firm in the matter, and then he took an instrument under young Mr. Cotterel's hand, who had been then at Paris, and taken observations of what had passed. And then he sat down and acquiesced in the ceremony, which was performed accordingly.

Upon the opposition continued against choosing the Bishop of London for Archbishop, the report has run strong in favour of my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and that he was actually landed. Some imputed the recommendation of him to your Grace, and others (more generally) to the Duke, and consequently various censures against both, and evil reflections against the Lord himself. And thus it is like to continue until the Bishop of London be chosen, who indeed has the general vogue of all the churchmen for him.

Near Windsor was lately taken a woman who for six months past has acted all the parts of an highwayman, in clothes and accoutrements suitable to the rest that are now seized with her.

1677, December 22.—Your Grace's last was of the 26th past, which I had sooner acknowledged but for some indisposition that has lately attended me. Nor can I now say much but as I collect it out of the various discourses I meet withal.

Mr. Montagu is arrived at Paris, and what answer he will receive from that Court is to be the matter of our highest resolutions either for peace or war. So that all mankind are with impatience attending the event thereof. The discourses take this use that when the Prince of Orange was here there was a perfect model agreed upon for the future disposition and shape of all affairs abroad; that His Majesty's mind herein being signified by the message of the Lord Feversham, but rejected by the King of France, it alarmed His Majesty as one quite disappointed of the trust and credit he valued himself always upon (in relation to the safety of Flanders at least); that seeing the flame start up where perhaps he thought (as well as his people) that it had already devoured too much, he resolves to show some resentment hereof; not only by hastening away Mr. Montagu to expostulate, but calling his Parliament to meet

suddenly to assert that matter, should his negotiation be undervalued. What this answer will be is to most very uncertain, but the discourses are to this effect :—

That by the 6th of the next month that King will march at the head of 70,000 men, effective, some say towards Metz but most others towards Flanders. The soldiers have double coats, and their pay augmented and not a shoebuckle wanting to the purpose in hand. So that whether this powerful prince, who has it manifestly in his hands to seize Flanders, which has been so long within the appetite of that crown, will now desist or not rather leave it to the arts of assuaging us, or the defiance of our pacific temper (if that will not do), is to many a very great doubt. For the accounts I hear of that prince's power are strangely formidable. 'Tis affirmed that he has in his pay by sea and by land 284,000 men, namely, 10,000 dragoons, 48,000 horse, and 226,000 foot and men upon the sea. That the advances of money for this year are as large and plentiful as for any year (hitherto) of the war. That he will this year have no less than thirty galleys and ninety ships at sea. And that he has put forth such invitations for the pay of seamen, and encouragement of strangers to live among them, as has not been known. Sir Philip Percival passed lately at Rochfort (in his way to Italy), where they were so intent on the building of new ships as that no holidays were excused from the work.

There are those who plainly say that France doth both expect our siding with the allies, and is providing for it ; and that the disorders in Scotland may have relation hereunto. All the Irish officers that came hither for recruits are, by the French Ambassador, forbid to raise any ; which some interpret one way, yet some another, and as if that king would not have our Parliament exasperated, and that he will give Mr. Montagu a very good answer, and have mercy upon Flanders, and proceed no further at this time in what must certainly either throw us into war against him, or into auxiliaries that he must connive at.

And thus matters are discoursed without doors, observing the frequent meetings of councils, and taking notice of recruits hastening away to Jersey (together with Sir Bernard de Gomme) for the better defence of that place. And several other instances of this nature there are which imply jealousy enough of what Mr. Montagu's answer may happen to be. Only as to poor Ireland I hear of nothing, notwithstanding the seasonable animadversions that some know have been given touching the miserable nakedness of that place.

The next part of the general discourse runs upon the meeting of the Parliament, and what they are like to do. The discontented cry out that, let France answer as it please, they care not ; the opportunity is lost, and seasonable advice before given being rejected, they will submit to what may follow ; and so neither give counsel nor part with money. But the more wise have other thought. They mean not to die for fear of death, but are likely rather, not only to resent an ill answer from France, but happily the very best that is like to be given. For they may not think it

enough to have the troops of that king drawn out from Flanders, but conclude all lost, or at that king's pleasure, unless he restore and throw up what he has gotten. They may also probably urge an open alliance with Holland, and be convinced that now by the Prince of Orange 'tis more likely than ever it was before to become certain and effectual to either side, and so advise His Majesty to embark.

But when all is done the great shock which can embitter the business worse than anything else is to be apprehended from the unhappy distrust and jealousy touching the management of the war and the husbandry of the money; wherein all good men do however hope that the prospect of the danger will beget a right understanding on either side. 'Tis generally expected that His Majesty will now insist for continuing the additional duty of wine which otherwise expires at midsummer next, and which amounts to about £150,000 a year.

The vote abroad continues still for the Bishop of London to be Archbishop. Yet 'tis affirmed His Majesty had long since declared for the Dean of Paul's, had he not been extremely pressed to avoid the mortification it must be to so many prelates, that none of their whole order should be thought competent to that dignity.

Mr. Hill begins now to enter upon the work I have formerly mentioned unto your Grace, whereof he last night showed me a sheet, appointing to meet P. W. [Peter Walsh] for some information, and I have this day sent him a dozen bottles of sack to enliven his pen.

A most happy Christmas to your Grace.

1677, December 25.—I have just now the honour of your Grace's of the 18th, and since what I wrote the last post, methinks the cloud from France appears very thick.

Mr. Montagu, though but newly arrived at Paris, had time to observe that he was not likely to have a speedy answer, unless to the same effect with my Lord Feversham's. Upon this Mr. Thynne was yesterday despatched to the Prince of Orange, and the night before His Majesty and the Duke were both so hot upon the French Ambassador, as the like had never been heard before, and it was in the Duke's closet. My Lady Portsmouth having been very ill of late is now resolved to drink the Burbon waters, which all conclude a final adieu to England, and place it among the probabilities of the war. They say Dixmuide is invested and Ypres must then soon follow, and the French King will not forego his pursuit of Flanders.

'Tis certain His Majesty is now alarmed with this danger and will speak his mind very freely to his Parliament, and will go very far in the ways they shall advise. Good men hope they will enquire how to get out, and not how we got in, nor take advantage of the King's necessities for their aid. He has long forborn to call for a tax, but could now have held out no longer, even if this new danger had not presented. Besides the war with Algiers is

very galling. So far do the general discourses run upon the war that among them 'tis said your Grace is to be sent for over to be a general. Stettin is certainly taken, but on good conditions.

1677, December 29.—His Majesty has this night declared Dr. Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, and just now is arrived an express from Mr. Montagu signifying that the King of France does on Monday next march at the head of his troops towards Flanders, and that he declares his resolution of keeping his Court at Brussels, so that now no man doubts but that we must enter into a speedy war, and everything as well on the part of France as of our side looks the same way.

My Lord Dumbarton is every day in close conversation with my Lord Treasurer and (as we think) modelling the matters of the war. As he was riding post from Paris hither he was called back by Monsieur Louvois with order to speak with him in the moment of his return; and accordingly he was waked out of his sleep, and in short [Lonvois] asked my Lord if there should be wars with England whether the King of France might not place obligations enough on him to engage his stay; which when he declared the impossibility of, if his own king should call him, the other replied, that he then valued but little a marshal's staff. His Lordship's regiment is sent to the farther side of France in purpose to be harassed, and the Duke of Monmouth's regiment are refused either quarters or pay unless they will subscribe to serve the whole campagne.

Mr. Brisbane is called home from Paris, and everything else shows what we are to trust unto. I wish Holland may be in a condition to stick to us. I saw this day a serious letter as if their hearts were broke, crying shame at the sloth of England to stand by all this while and to see them perish.

I have your Grace's of the 23rd instant, and showed the same to my Lord of Ossory and my Lord Chamberlain, together with the representation of the Commissioners for the accounts of the undertaking, as I will do unto others. The short of the matter is that if Parliaments be called upon for their good will and hearty concurrence now at a time of need they will be better satisfied in these particulars. And I presume there will be no great difficulty to gratify them in several things that are now thought very dear.

1677-8, January 5.—I know not if this milder day will encourage my Lord of Ossory to set sail, who was yesterday persuaded back by the tempestuousness of the weather. But while everybody talks that his Lordship's expedition to Holland tends to war, and that he goes to make conditions for a body of men that he has leave to raise and transport into that service, the last letters from France seem full of that king's inclinations to peace; so at least it is generally voiced, and thereby several of the members of Parliament grown more keen for war than while they thought His Majesty more earnest in that mind. What is said from

Holland to Mr. Hill by a very wise and sober Dutchman in the Government your Grace has here enclosed in English, which gives but melancholy symptoms of their present condition. There passes a rumour as if the Parliament should be for a few days prorogued; that so a late vote against giving money this session might not stand in the way now when so much is expected. And tho' a prorogation will determine also the expense of the corn clause, which has cost His Majesty dear, and is still a continuing charge; yet the same prorogation will also set free a prisoner who is of some consideration in such a conjuncture as this is like to be, when His Majesty may have some difficulties with the Parliament as well as with the King of France.

There came lately to my house Captain Shales, whom I have been long acquainted withal, and still lived in good friendship with him. He opened to me how that two days before the Lord Treasurer (in whose service he is) calling him upon some important matter of accounts appeared in the beginning very cloudy and uneasy; but at last out this accusation came against him that Sir Thomas Erscot having made way to a reconciliation with his Lordship did lay to the Captain's charge that it was by his means that he ever went about to disserve his Lordship; and particularly that the Captain had engaged him to procure from your Grace the station of one of your secretaries, which he would merit by revealing all my Lord Treasurer's secrets, and what else might tend to his Lordship's disservice.

The Captain told me that he was extremely astonished with this sudden accusation, tho' not with the news that Sir Thomas Erscot should bear him ill will, be being a man with whom he had had much to do, first in the way of my Lord Treasurer's service, which he pretended to promote, and during all that time lived in great friendship and intimacy with him, but afterwards in a state of war and enmity when he discovered the ill will and disservices which he began to profess against his Lordship. That true it was when the Duke of Ormond was declared Lord Lieutenant and that there seemed a fair understanding between his Grace and his Lordship, Sir Thomas did tell the Captain what power he had with his Grace, and used many inducements for improvement of his fortune, to stand candidate for a place of secretary; but 'twas as true that in a very few days he answered Sir Thomas that as he could not hope to have any credit or admission to his Grace, but by my Lord Treasurer's recommendation, so considering his want of health and numerous family he did not see how the removing into another kingdom could turn him to account, and therefore gave Sir Thomas in a short time his final negative therein. The Captain farther added to his Lordship that 'twas not credible such a man as the Duke of Ormond would ever admit one to be his secretary upon the credit of betraying another master. Much it seems also passed from my Lord Treasurer upon this occasion touching his suspicions of Sir Thomas Erscot, who has made his way by the Lord O'Brien, and touching other like men that are making fair weather with him. But that which his Lordship more particularly said was

this, that he had writ to my Lord of Ormond touching this matter, and that he was sure his Lordship would tell him the truth.

Now the reason that I trouble your Grace with this whole narrative is first to observe that the intriguing men are never fixed to a point, as you will easily conclude by this new friendship between Sir Thomas and my Lord O'Brien, and so forward. And in the next place I desire your Grace would let me know (if as a friend to Captain Shales you think fit) what it is your Grace may have writ to my Lord Treasurer upon this occasion; or if your Grace be still to write that you be aware if anything can be picked thereout to Captain Shales his disadvantage, it is very probable that he may feel it, which is the reason I presume to enlarge upon this matter, that nothing may happen for want of caution which is not intended.

1677-8, January 12.—Your Grace's of the first instant took a very exact impression of the figure it was like to find us in, for from Sunday last until this Saturday morning the Cabinet Council has in a manner been constantly sitting.

Mr. Thynne is returned from Holland with the ratification of our league and Mr. Sidney Godolphin is hastened over to the Governor of Flanders, and we are in other respects certainly doing all that an approaching war requires, bating the demonstrations thereof.

I observe how willingly your Grace inclines to favour me at Kinsale, in the midst of these probable combustions. But the state of things is very lately altered, for Captain Brett, Mr. Parsons and Mr. Vincent have by proposing to victual at three farthings less in the Mediterranean and one farthing less on this side the straits than formerly swept all before them; especially by adding the offer of £60,000 to His Majesty in loan at 8 per cent. whenever he should call for it, so that they are in full possession of the victualling, and none but they. And notwithstanding His Majesty did on my petition (whereof I presume to enclose the copy) graciously recommend me to them, as also did the Lords of the Admiralty; yet they are men of a flinty nature, who will neither let me hold any part or give me any gratuity for turning out, so that little butter sticks on my bread, and I am not half so good a courtier as I ought to be. But I think the Lords of the Admiralty will recommend me for some good turn to His Majesty when the occasion presents.

Yesterday for two hours at the Council Board it was argued warmly who had the right of disposing the Groom porter's place, Mr. Offley being dead. Tom Chicheley claimed His Majesty's promise of the reversion granted by warrant in my Lord Manchester's time, which his Lordship then opposing, the warrant lay deposited in the Lord Arlington's hands till that right should be decided, which till now was not inquired into. His Majesty was wholly bent to favour Tom Chicheley, and thought his hands too much tied up, almost in all cases, if this should be determined against him; that the superior officer should dispose of the places beneath him; but my Lord Chamberlain spared not also to assert

his right, and to that degree that many hope Mr. Chicheley will give him some compensation for his admittance, as Mr. Offley did just in the like case to my Lord Manchester. My Lord Chamberlain bears all things with the best temper he can. I asked him this morning what he would have me tell your Grace of the public; he told me they were somewhat busy, but that Mr. Secretary Coventry had received orders to impart to your Grace the present state of affairs, and then doubtless your Grace will have everything in its true figure.

1677-8, January 19.—I had the honour to receive from my Lord Arran's hand your Grace's of the 8th instant, together with the enclosed computation of the northern charge, which as to the part that continues was, it seems, by what Mr. Secretary Coventry tells me, all ordered from hence, and as to the other part about the shipping 'tis already at an end. My Lord of London was this day shewing a letter he had from Scotland, where it seems they have lately apprehended and hanged up one Mitchel, a desperate fellow, who having attemped in 1668 to shoot the Archbishop, but hit another Bishop in the arm, came secretly again and took a shop over the way with a purpose to renew the experiment; but being discovered and confessing the fact at the Council Board a jury of fifteen found him guilty; that confession of his not made upon any promise of favour, passing for judicial, and there being farther proof that he attempted to take away the life of one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors (which it seems is their law). The new Lord Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, was very jealous in the prosecution, and it was for too much mildness in such kind of things that the other Advocate is laid aside. Several menaces were sent from the party to this Advocate as to the Archbishops during the prosecution. But it seems things are now there in a way of composure, for that several of the countries had offered to make themselves answerable for any disturbance that should happen, which is the good effect that quartering of soldiers upon them hath produced. I took occasion upon this to say that they saw what a rod was held over them from Ireland, if they did amiss, and how forward all things were put by your Grace to take account of their proceedings, upon which his Lordship took notice that the Lord Lauderdale was troubled that such preparation was made, for that he only desired what had formerly been done in that kind. I told his Lordship that the Duke of Lauderdale and his Duchess also had written in a very different style to my Lord Granard, and that the stopping of the ships was but very suitable to the apprehensions which at that time their Graces expressed. I have given my Lord Chamberlain the full account of this matter, and though Mr. Secretary means to lay it all before the King, yet when he may have opportunity in a thing which is no more thought on but just at the first I cannot tell. Upon Monday I may probably know what he says to the representation upon the address of the Lord Ranelagh's partners.

As to the matter of the war I understand that all things are done which depend on consultation as the calling home our forces from France, the raising new men, etc., that His Majesty does believe it will be a war, and yet is unwilling to declare it himself, but would have it done at the instance of the Parliament. This suspension occasions idle rumours, as if we had received money from France to sit still, and I know not what. The truth is those who love war least, and know how unprepared we are for such an enemy, do yet confess that a year hence we shall be worse, and every year degenerate, and that nothing can ruin us but a general peace, which will only give rest unto the Allies, whose company we may now have and turn the whole stream upon ourselves. We are at this time thought abroad infinitely richer than we are, and all buried in luxury; so that nothing can hinder such a prince who commands 100,000 fighting men, and a hundred French millions a year to support them, from exercising their rapine upon us. Therefore they say the sooner we enter the better we shall speed, for now we shall have allies. We have men and wealth enough, and want nothing but skill and practice to reduce both unto what they are capable of. And therefore though we may expect to be great losers for the first year in our merchant ships, which now overspread all the sea, and the ravage of our plantations and their seizure also had the Frenchmen to maintain them; yet we shall at last come to do as well for ourselves as we do for the French, where 'tis observed that His Majesty's subjects are not only capable of the greatest fatigues, but are made the sheet anchor upon any brunt of service. All which the brave men of France spare not to acknowledge, and envy that toughness of courage, where the soldier sticks voluntarily to his officer without the need of a cudgel, which the French often lament the defect of among their own men, and therefore make not so slight of provoking England as others do. So that I hear his most Christian Majesty is even willing to give us all we ask, bating St. Omer, which he positively refuses; and because that is a key to let him at all times into Flanders, we say he gives nothing if he gives not that up also; so that we seem not to expect any farther answer from thence. But it is from the Governor of Flanders we expect to hear whether he will receive three thousand English in Ostend, which was, it seems, offered to the Spanish Envoy here, but he declared want of powers to accept it. And 'tis, I suppose, to be prepared in some points of this nature that His Majesty made this short adjourning of the Parliament. Some have been angry for it, as if all might be lost in so little a time, but others acquiesce in thinking His Majesty had good reason for it, and will be the better prepared to speak plainly to them. 'Tis believed by many of the Court that nothing but an excise can support the war, and nothing would make His Majesty more willing to engage than a vote to support it for three years; yet with a proviso of ceasing whensoever the peace was to ensue, and even becoming accountable for the regularity of the expense. I presume that the whole labour of the cause will arise from the point of distrust in relation to the management and expense of the war, wherein God Almighty direct for the best.

My Lord of Essex told me that he had put in a word about some care for poor Ireland, where if any attempt happen I expect to be the first man undone, so naked is Kinsale, that famous and approved inlet, left; as if it were abandoned to whatever might happen. I know very well your Grace is in the same pain and I continue here to lament it wherever I can hope for relief.

My Lord Castlehaven is here among us, who says (as many others do) that all the burghers in Flanders are in dreadful apprehension lest we embark in the war, and so continue their misery, who languish to be in the hands of one that can protect them. I am certainly informed that although the King appear doubtful in his resolutions what course to steer, yet the Duke is settled and resolved in the necessity of a war, and 'tis not doubted but that he thinks of commanding all, and hopes that the Parliament will believe him firm to what he once declares, and qualify things which now lie too much in the way of his serving the public.

1677-8, January 29.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 12th, and in return thereof do here enclose His Majesty's speech with the votes which have passed this day. The debates ran very strong that to preserve what remains of Flanders, or to have accepted a peace with the restitution of some few towns, would be destructive to us. For France, whose Government is founded in conquest, would rest no longer than to take breath, and then choose rather to fall upon us, who lie remote and out of the concern of the Empire, than to meddle again with Holland, which would, as it has done, awaken the whole Continent. And therefore the preservation of Flanders could not be of use to England but in its full extent, when the frontier thereof reached near unto Paris, and from whence an easy invasion might be made, as often as it has been, to balance whatever violences that kingdom offered to its neighbours. Therefore nothing less than such a state of safety as appeared by the Pyrenean Treaty was fit to be thought of. And it was necessary to hasten an address to this effect that His Majesty might not now stand engaged by the late project, in case France should upon second thoughts come up thereunto.

The other part of the work relating to supplies will take up a separate consideration; yet many things have already been said, as if the preparations proposed by His Majesty could not be supported for less than £200,000 a month, which the Kingdom is so utterly incapable of bearing as if while war is mentioned it were not so really intended, and that it looked somewhat strange to speak of the duty on wine when nothing was so inconsistent with war as any toleration of that trade. But it was replied that other wines would still be drunk, and that their calculations towards war were not so strictly computed by what we might spare as by what our preservation required in respect of him we fear. And that in truth His Majesty was already under the tie of such preparations by the alliance which between him and Holland is already made. There were some reflections made for not having sooner taken these counsels which were long since

offered by the House, and yet there did not appear much sharpness therein, but even some excuse given, as if the benefit of the trade was a consideration very dear, and that had swayed long with His Majesty, and that the peace he had hitherto been making was rather in his character of a mediator than as it was peculiarly advantageous to himself. And so things passed with some smoothness this day, and I wish the like temper may be found in the rest of the work that is behind.

Mr. Speaker was yesterday very warmly attacked and a charge in paper presented against him as an infringer of the liberties of the House by not admitting them the freedom of speech, but adjourning them as he thought fit. He made a speech for himself which was of use unto him, setting forth how he had always proceeded by the King's command, and what the practice in his search of precedents had ever been on such occasions; that he could not go by any other rules than what he found; that if those rules were mistaken or ill entered he should readily give obedience to such amendment as the House should herein think fit to prescribe; that to those who seek an office there is an exactness of duty to be required at their hands; but if he was put into the chair without his seeking, and did perform therein to the best of his understanding, he hoped that all mistakes would be taken in the most favourable sense. It is believed that when on Thursday this matter comes on to debate as it is appointed, that the House may make a new rule in the thing, but let him alone for what is passed. That which I hear without doors objected to this Pyrenean vote is the engaging His Majesty in a persevering war, when the allies will leave him all alone and catch hold of any peace. But it is answered that this vote will cheer up the allies that were otherwise desponding and rather increase their number than dishearten those that are in.

Dr. Sprat being named to preach to-morrow, the anniversary for his late Majesty, gave occasion to a debate concerning the scandal of his not being more honourably interred. Those of the Court spoke most in this point, others fearing they might have left some reflection elsewhere for what hath been omitted in this particular.

1677-8, February 2.—The enclosed address comprehends more than the first vote, in that part prohibiting others from trade; which in truth sounds somewhat like the decree sent forth by Augustus Cæsar that all the world should be taxed. It was much opposed from the injustice of it towards all, and the inconvenience to ourselves, who must on all occasions make use of the Italian ports; and therefore to forbid the Hanse towns, Portugal, and the Italian princes and even the great Turk from trading with their ally was very hard. But the stream ran so strong on the necessity of wounding France in its great vein of trade, that 'twas replied it mattered little to offend the Hanse towns. As for Portugal it would be enriched by giving them the monopoly of salt and a great vent for their wines, and stop only that trade which is the most pernicious to them. That for Italy the mer-

chants indeed would murmur, but all the Governments there would be content to suffer anything for the humbling of France whom, but for fear, they would rise against. And in short that the other clause excluding ourself and allies from the French trade would signify nothing if any others were permitted to carry it on.

While this address was driving through, it bore this great objection of regarding only future alliances, and supplies to be given upon information that such alliances were made; but what should become of the present alliance actually made with Holland, and the impending danger which could not brook delay? To which it was said as the general sense of that side the House that they could give nothing for what they knew not. That His Majesty had formerly on like occasions imparted to them not only the scope but the very contents of his league with Holland, and they cheerfully supplied him therein. That whatever this league be, more or less, they will take it in as part of a good work which is to be carried farther on; and they will presently vote supplies which may be equal to that and the present occasion. But till they know something of particulars they cannot proportion their votes. And all this difficulty seems to arise from a jealousy they have that this league tends only to the securing of such a peace as may not be sufficient to disable France, but leave him in that vigour as to break out speedily upon us, when all chain of alliance is dissolved. And that it may appear that they mean to be doing they moved for estimates to be presently brought in touching preparations both by sea and land.

Mr. Speaker's business was not mentioned on Thursday and is very like to vanish.

Unto the two companies lately sent to Jersey three more and a troop of horse are hurrying away, upon advice from Sir Thomas Morgan that at St. Malo's great preparations was making of flat-bottomed boats.

His Majesty's answer to the address was that it consisted of several parts, and he would take care to return a speedy answer.

1677-8, February 9.—On Wednesday last the adverse party, finding themselves outvoted, did not as was first intended press further to see the treaty with Holland; but as people that were kept in the dark they resolved, on implicit faith, to contribute a sum to answer His Majesty's preparation in all events; and if, upon a war declared, they should return at Michaelmas, they would then give all the supplies which were fit to support that work. And though somebody named only £350,000, yet they would have ventured as far as £500,000 or £600,000 by implicit faith, and left it to His Majesty's management without further care. But when they found others pressing on the scope of His Majesty's speech for the support of ninety ships, then all the jealousies broke loose again, and the debates lasted till eight oclock on Wednesday night. It was very frankly declared on His Majesty's part that he would only take to himself for indispensable occasions £200,000 from the customs, and the whole residue should be applied as

they pleased towards these ships, which appeared very frank and fair. And yet because that this could not be reduced to any certainty, especially in case of war, therefore they on the other side pressed to be on a certainty, and that the Commons should maintain forty of those ninety, and to leave the rest to the King—which measure was taken from a certain notion affirmed that the customs were all at first given for defence of the seas, computing fifty ships for the summer's guard and thirty for the winter. But upon a division of the House it was not thought fit to leave only forty to the care of the Commons and the rest to His Majesty, but that a sub-committee should take into consideration what the charges of ninety ships might amount unto by the month, and report the same to the House, examining the computations given in by Mr. Pepys, making the monthly charge at £4 a head, besides the ordnance, to amount unto £103,000 per mensem; and what the charge of the ordnance was I cannot well remember—but both are in examination of a committee, who hope to find excesses in the computations of the first, but much more of the latter.

And when all this is returned (as yet it is not), then the House is free to conjecture how much of such charge the customs may bear with the deduction aforesaid, and then how the rest shall be provided for. But those gentlemen do not yet so much as hint the matter how,—only seem, in debates, to renounce the method of a home excise, which they suppose is aimed at, and declare impossibility of doing it wholly by a land-tax, while they compute that what his Majesty has demanded cannot be supported for less than £230,000 per mensem, which they say will break their backs. And thus they go on contending and disputing every particular step that is made, having a greater number of able and contentious speakers, though they are outdone in votes; and declare that since the free and implicit supply that they offered would not be taken, and that since this longer method is insisted on, they are resolved to contend it as men wholly disbelieving any real intentions of war with France—concluding it in part from the sharpness of His Majesty's late answer to their address, which was made with some sort of distrust that he was not so far and so heartily embarked as they could wish, and then by observing some other hints in favour of this jealousy, so as not being convinced that all this preparation was really intended, where they are sufficiently convinced it is needful, they turn it all into poison, as if all tended to the old work of a standing force and the dependencies thereof.

But yet our strength at sea is not matter of so much distrust as what hath followed in the debates of those forces which are proposed by land. The scheme proposed for 30,000 men, viz., 26,000 foot; and the rest, horse and dragoons, according to the narrowest model, were one part of them to be embarked on our fleet to the number of 8,000 men in order to descents in France; 10,000 more for our islands and maritime coasts, and a body of 12,000 or more to be sent over into Flanders. This third branch was generally approved of, so as they might go by way of auxiliaries where others, more experienced than we are, might answer

for the conduct. Many instances on this occasion were shown how happy the English had been as auxiliaries, now lately in Alsatia, before in Portugal, before that at Dunkirk, and higher up to the distressed states of Holland, etc.; and on the contrary how unfortunate at the Isle of Rhé, Cadiz, etc. Then whether horse, but especially dragoons, were necessary to the aid of our foot was much in dispute, but overruled. And then came in the whole argument of the Spaniards refusing us lately Ostend, and their distrust of any reality from us, and how far it imported us to help them, though they were even averse to be helped by us. Upon which occasion it was affirmed that His Majesty had appointed the Lord Treasurer and two Secretaries to treat with their Minister here, who had within three weeks spoke more plainly, and offered more than ever formerly he did, whatever was voiced abroad to the contrary. And how much would yet be finally obtained was hitherto uncertain.

As to the soldiers to be put on the ships, many did question their usefulness, being rather a pest and incumbrance than otherwise, unless they were part of the ship's complement as they were in former wars. But as to the ten thousand men designed for guard of the coast, that was most of all their matter of jealousy, arguing that if our fleets were on the French coast the French fleet would not stir out, and so these forces would be needless; and where they were not necessary they were certainly very dangerous, and that if a third part of the militia of England, where the whole consists of eight score thousand men, were drawn out and trained to answer emergencies this would do the work and give no matter of jealousy.

But after all the matter being put to the question it was voted that while we have a war with France the numbers aforesaid were necessary to support our alliances; and 'tis referred to the same Committee to compute what the charges per mensem may amount to. It was asked whether to all these preparations Scotland and Ireland should not contribute, there being a considerable surplus in Ireland in case it were not diverted.

Thus I tire your Grace with a recollection of what now, as the post is going, occurs unto me, that you may the better know how things proceed in this place, and conclude that there must be some high and important grounds of jealousy that make these gentlemen so disbelieve a reality of a war with France; which they thinking could hardly happen unless they themselves did provoke it, was, I believe, the greatest motive which made them yesterday propose, and it was accordingly ordered, to have a Bill brought in to exclude for three years all manner of things that were either of the growth or manufacture of France.

This day till after five was spent on the Speaker's case, in the matter of irregular adjournments, wherein he made such a defence for himself by precedents in all times as that the House entirely waived any further charge or impeachment of him, and so directed the debate to the settling a rule for what hereafter of like nature might occur. Upon which the men of learning and antiquity showed their parts—precedents there were clear for one side and

some clear for the other, and others which were doubtful were like cannon gained fixed upon those who first drew them into the field. And thus the conflict lasted for many hours, a question being at last pressed hard whether the House could be adjourned by their Speaker but by a question, and upon a vote. Which though all allowed it could not be otherwise, and that the Speaker whenever he did it took their tacit obedience and consent to His Majesty's command, and therein spoke but their own sense, yet how far such a vote might authorise others to resent the King's command and induce him to turn every recess into prorogation, which no man disputed he had the power to do, and which was by him only refrained in favour of the House, and to preserve all their labour in the Bills they had depending; this gave matter of long debate, so that the question being thought detrimental to either side, those of the Court were most willing to leave it without determination; and so, upon division of the House, carried it for adjourning, which, though it were not by many voices, yet I suppose this whole matter is at an end and will sleep.

There is much discourse upon the Duke of Buckingham's being returned into favour, and the consequences this may produce.

1677-8, February 16.—I acknowledge with all due respect the honour of your Grace's two letters of the 6th and 10th instant. In virtue of the first I attended my Lord Arran, who has imparted to me those admirable reflections your Grace hath made for the defence and preservation of that kingdom, and which of necessity must give ease to His Majesty's mind in that great particular. But in truth there is arisen a perfect mist in this great affair, that the keenness and concern at first expressed when the Parliament was called upon and *pb* immediately to depart is since quite blunted, and the friends of *te* [the Lord Treasurer] give out that 'tis by infusing thoughts of quiet and pacification that *bm* [the Duke of Buckingham] makes his Court, therein serving *gq* [France] and pleasing nature.

The Duke of Buckingham is said to go on in the growth of his interest with His Majesty, from which many do apprehend much danger. My Lord of London in his late sermon before His Majesty did so particularly explain the dangers of ill conversation, or the showing any degree of countenance or delight in those who were under marks and blemishes of evil life, that the meaning was very visible unto all.

I did acquaint Captain Shales in general with what your Grace had writ to me in his particular case, wherein he hears no more of his Lord's displeasure towards him. But yet his antagonist makes there his Court, and is struck in with my lady, who is not displeased with a man of intrigue. Major Huntington (whom I take to be a very good man) was expressing to me the great honour he had for your Grace, and how by your Grace's care and favour they did most punctually receive what the Farmers were obliged to pay them. I presume to send your Grace what Captain Shales lately writ me, as intending, I suppose, your Grace should see his thanks.

My Lord Chamberlain did lately desire me to remember your Grace of his late request about a lieutenant's place for one Duncan, whose grandfather was a Scotchman. He has been much in service and I have heard well of him. His father is now travelling with the Duke of Somerset, being a Frenchman. I had lately a very courteous letter from my Lord of Orrery, to whom after long silence I had wished a good new year; his Lordship is very earnest that I should sometimes acquaint him with the occurrences of this place.

I lately met Mr. Wyld attending at my Lord Treasurer's with a patent in his hand which Sir Fretswell Hollis had gotten for the command of Rincorran, and at last he owned to me that he was there soliciting for that Government, having been invited thereunto by his friend the Earl of Orrery. And though his Majesty had formerly put him off with saying there was no fort, but now that one was going to be erected he did hope he should prevail; and that as this new work could not in reason be pretended to by Sir Richard Rooth as dependent on his government, so it would be for His Majesty's service to have a distinct commander there. I do not know what success he may have; perhaps not what he desires. But I did this afternoon (as I had before to my Lord of Arran) represent this matter fully to Mr. Secretary Coventry—how inconvenient it would be for to have anyone imposed on your Grace by a patent, when surely to such a bulwark of the kingdom as that will be your Grace would find out a man of experience and acquainted in arms, especially while we had the prospect of such an enemy at hand. He told me he would not fail to advertise His Majesty hereof, but at the same time plainly owned to me (which I might wonder at as well as he) that in all the officers here now named, the Secretaries had not been consulted for one. He is not only sorry to see how things are understood in the House, but how brokenly they are managed among themselves; one day directions given here and another day there, without adjusting or preparatory care, and yet much dissatisfaction if matters happen otherwise than well. The truth is he deserves highly from His Majesty for his service in that House, and what he says is of credit as well as weight. Mr. Secretary Williamson speaks often, and His Majesty says that he is improved to admiration.

One thing is to be lamented in the present uncertainties and discredits that are thrown upon the pretence of a war, that when we are in earnest, and compelled to be so from the violence and attacks of our enemy, 'twill not be easy to raise up the mettle of the nation to that pitch of fighting and supplying which it now seemed to be warmed unto.

I must most thankfully acknowledge your Grace's remembrance of my petition, wherewith yesterday, in Council, Mr. Secretary acquainted His Majesty, and it goes now referred to your Grace. If you break ground before it comes your Grace has very good title so to do, by whose favour the proviso for the whole was confirmed to my father with this memorable declaration at the Board then when some did oppose and spoke of adventurers—

that your Grace knew not of any greater adventurer in Ireland than Mr. Southwell, who laid down what he had after the King was murdered, and the usurpers in a manner gotten all.

I can assure your Grace the allegations of my petition are exactly true, having no boon to brag of there since my being Clerk of the Council, unless what your Grace got me the other day before you left this place, namely a fourth reversion for one of my children to be Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench.

1677-8, February 16.—I suppose your Grace, being so intent on the welfare and defence of your province, will be somewhat amused to hear how slow we drive, and that no wheels move aright. For this last week there has been a kind of total damp on the work we had in hand, nothing more being passed but a declaration that the charge of the ninety ships would be £108,000 per mensem and of the land forces £49,000 per mensem. But even before this declaration could pass (which is far short of a resolution for the ways and methods to raise it), there was much opposed to the land forces as a matter of great danger to the laws and liberties of this kingdom, and without we were more convinced of a war the militia were sufficient to be relied upon, and that it was matter of sorrow to observe they were not more accounted of, being capable of doing much but never of giving jealousy. Others were for a part of these land forces to be sent in a body of about 15,000 into Flanders; but, considering that His Majesty had now already in pay about 10,000 or 12,000 men, they desired to see no more soldiers at home, and so very many divided against the question, though in vain; for they were outnumbered, which put them into rage, and some into a mind of returning home, though now they seem to alter countenance, upon the success of a vote or two, wherein they have carried the question. The Master of the Ordnance had brought in three papers—the first an estimate of the charge for furnishing and repairing the several castles and fortifications we have in England, the total making £150,000. The second was an estimate of the charge of arms for the land forces amounting to £28,000. And the third the charge of a small train of artillery of twenty three pounders and their equipage to attend His Majesty's forces designed for Flanders, amounting to £55,800, with officers and ministers for the train £46 per diem.

But these papers, what between the incredulity of a war, the aversion to land forces, the bulk of the monthly tax already in view, and some defect of eloquence and persuasion from the worthy hand that proposed them, they were treated by many with very little respect, wondering what should be done with His Majesty's own revenue, if not applied to many such occasions. And so, upon a division of the House, whether those papers should be read, in order to have them considered as other things had been, it was carried in the negative. Yesterday there was read a Bill sent down from the Lords, mitigating the trouble of the late Bill about the Test, but being understood to mitigate somewhat of its force on the Roman Catholics, and it being whispered that a proviso would be offered for excusing a great

person in order to his serving the public, though no such thing was offered, the Bill was thrown out with very great inequality upon the division, in token of which success they presently moved to repeat an address which had been often made by message to the House of Lords, to put them in mind of a Bill long since sent up to their Lordships against Popery, and to incapacitate all of that persuasion to partake of any command or place of judicature. The Lords did upon this message call for the Bill, but others called to adjourn, especially one who thought it not so seasonable. And since I touch upon matters of that House, 'tis said my Lord Halifax brought in a petition from the Earl of Shaftesbury, seconded therein by the Lord Clarendon and the Lord of Essex, and faintly by the Duke of Buckingham and some others; but the Lord Treasurer showing that he had not made due application to His Majesty, as the other Lords had done, and that in contempt of a superior court he had appealed by *habeas corpus* to an inferior, the petition was thrown out.

But to return back to the House of Commons, they had there this day a very long debate touching wool, and seemed to be in earnest to enact somewhat for its more general wear during six or seven months in the year by all, and the taking off the duty on exportation of cloth, etc., with which debate they seemed so well satisfied as that on the report of some late letters that speak of an embargo on our ships in France they did upon a motion agree that on Monday they would enter upon the consideration of His Majesty's supply. This debate of the wool arose from a Bill that was read to prevent its exportation. Upon which occasion much was said of the great quantities sent from Ireland, and how it could not be otherwise, whenas one that had been Secretary to a Lord Lieutenant told A. B. that he himself got £1,000 a year by the issuing of licences, and that his Lord got £4,000 or £5,000 yearly by it. Then that bonds were taken from unknown persons and when from those that were solvent the forfeitures were granted by patent, and C. D. affirmed that he had known £8,000 worth begged in a morning.*

Old Mr. Culpeper was yesterday, by order of Council, sent to the Gatehouse for accusing my Lord Chancellor of injustice and defrauding him—when after two hours hearing he could prove no single tittle of his impudent complaint, which in truth related chiefly to orders and decrees made in the time of my Lord Bridgeman and Earl of Shaftesbury. A noble lord of that name told me he was ashamed that his cousin should have no more discretion or respect, so that he thought him mad; and surely when that noble lord gives testimony your Grace will take his word.

1677-8, February 16.—I must beg a thousand pardons that I make so much use of another's hand, and that even in matters of my own interest and concern. Mr. Tisdall will present your Grace with my petition about Rincorran, and furnish such

* See *Wool Licenses, p.* 665 *infra.*

names as may be fit and knowing in the valuation of those acres, which surely will fall short of being equal in strict justice to the bulk of my pretension; but all I can say for myself is that I beg but seldom and make no great haste to be rich, and so hope to fare the better when I happen to come on the stage. I will send your Grace a very fine draft of the harbour of Kinsale by the first hand, being taken from what His Majesty hath had presented him formerly by Sir Jeremiah Smith. Captain Martin will make there a very good overseer of the workmen, which was the thing he had before, while some preparations were once thought of.

1677-8, February 19.—Yesterday the House voted a million to enable His Majesty to enter into a war with France. The Secretaries made the proposal of a certain sum, in compliance with that sense which had so strongly possessed the other side while they distrusted a war, suspected an unhappy peace, and foretold the dangers of raising so great a force, and were therefore willing only to go to a certain sum, sufficient to set forth; and, if things came to earnest they might meet the sooner and support it to the utmost. So that the length of the debate arose only from the bulk of the sum; some few stuck at six, others frankly came up to eight; but it was by twenty voices carried for a million.

The work of this day has been to show the honour and advantage of saving the lands for a dead lift; and therefore in hopes to throw half this expense elsewhere they have voted the payment of half a year's value on all houses built upon new foundations without London, and within the bills of mortality, since the year 1656; for it seems there was then a tax upon buildings which yet did not produce, as some said, above £40,000, and some compute that this may not now raise above £100,000. I suppose to-morrow they will go upon a Poll Bill—yet so as to make good all uncertainties by the Land Tax, so as that His Majesty will be sure of the million and may take his measures accordingly. But certainly nothing will ever unite that House but an hearty war with France.

Mr. Godolphin is just arrived from Holland. Here is one Evertson, a Dutch Vice-Admiral, sent over to adjust our stations at sea. He was taken prisoner by us in the first Dutch war. All his family have been great commanders at sea, and all dying in that element and the combustions that attend it. My Lord Chamberlain acknowledges some late letters from your Grace, but still reminds you of Monsieur Duncan to be a Lieutenant, whom the Dean of Windsor has known from a youth and gives him a great character.

1677-8, February 23.—This day were reported nineteen heads, which are ordered to be drawn up under the title of a Poll-bill, and which 'tis presumed will afford the greatest part of the million that is voted. Colonel Birch would needs have added the sellers of brandy, calicoes, French and Indian silks, but the

time was thought too precious for new methods; and some think we have already grasped at too many for so sudden a digestion as we need. But the business of a Land Tax was made so dreadful, especially to begin withal in a work of duration, that other expedients were for a time very popular. It was said that not two persons of thirty did pay anything to a Land Tax; that the country was drained of money and of its inhabitants, and all England in a manner run into London; here the Court was fixed, here the scale of justice, here the great trades to the Levant, Guinea, East Indies, etc., were peculiarly fixed, with the exclusion to others; and therefore 'twas necessary to meet with the money where it could be found. Some were at first for an Act of Resumption, since the lands of the Crown were the stock of the nation, and could not be alienated by private grant; but others denied this doctrine and the validity of confirmations in Parliament, saying that this arose not from any incapacity in the grantor, but from words of mistake and insufficiency in the grants. Next that the grants of this nature were inconsiderable, for inland at His Majesty's return there was found but to the value of £19,000 per annum (though Cromwell's officers had taken it in Debentures for £50,000), of which nineteen ten were given by Act of Parliament to the Duke of Albemarle and to the Lord Sandwich for his early repentance. In the heat of this debate there was a hot knight who would needs have this inquiry carried into Ireland, and if resumption could be thought of there was matter for it indeed, but he was not seconded unless by such an other. At last they pass to the thoughts of laying a year or two's value on such grants here, but it being thought unjust to lay that weight unless you confirm the title, that point also passed off, and they went to the new buildings and other heads which have taken up many days' time.

The Secretaries still pressed on for expenditure and the necessity of ready money; upon which it being declared that £200,000 of the Ship Money lay ready without use, it was made appear that all which was ready was by orders already appointed to several immediate uses, which tho' believed did not much mend the pace of those which still very slowly believe the truth of a war, tho' they are told by others that according to the course of things it is not in the wit of man to prevent it. His Majesty has forbidden the ships bound for Newfoundland to go out this year, upon the certain prospect of their being all taken. My Lord Shaftesbury will on Monday answer before the Lords for his *habeas corpus*. 'Tis believed he will beg pardon of the Lords as the only way to escape for offending that jurisdiction, which so many of his judges are not a little fond of.

1677-8, February 28.—Coming late from a Committee I can only touch on the heads of our present concerns and entertainment here. The last night Mr. Puckle came express with ill tidings of Ghent's surrender to the French. It yielded upon summons as most other places will probably do, like men after long storms willing to be thrown upon any shore where

there is hopes of safety. 'Tis said that the French King was about investing of Luxemburgh, when upon Thursday night he received a copy of His Majesty's answer to the late address, wherein the Commons are checked for their intermeddling in matters of peace and war, and collecting thereby the disunion here and the improbability of any resistance from hence, put immediately forward that night towards Ghent, into which by Friday he was received, and 'tis said that copies of that answer translated into French and Dutch have been scattered by contrivance in several towns of Flanders to dispirit them out of all hopes of any relief from hence. The consternation of all that country cannot be set forth. Puckle says that when he left the Duke de Villa Hermosa he saw the tears in his eyes, and this could not do less than it did with us to breed a great damp in the Court last night. To-morrow my Lord Howard of Escrick with Sir William Clark and 1,200 men do embark upon the yachts for Ostend, with hopes to be there admitted, but that is all.

This morning the Poll Bill was read, whereof the heads are enclosed, and it seems Mr. Solicitor, who drew it, did by former precedent insert a clause for enabling the borrowing of money on the credit of that Act; which in truth was not minded by the Secretaries at its reading, nor could they well suppose it there because many had argued against the mischiefs that had been occasioned by interest and seemed to repute this as ready money.

Soon after the reading of this Bill Mr. Secretary Coventry did acquaint the House with the state of things in Flanders and did set forth the strange backwardness of the Spanish Minister here to do things which were absolutely necessary to the safety of Flanders. And when His Majesty offered to send some forces there in confidence that Spain would answer him according to reason, and without any present capitulation, yet this Minister would not promise any reception there unless His Majesty would first sign to a treaty, whereof one article bound him to furnish ninety ships and 30,000 men to be commanded by the allies, and for reciprocal hereof that Spain would furnish what galleys and ships they conveniently could. And at this rate the whole strain of the treaty went, by which the House might judge how it comes about, and whose fault it is that Flanders is in no better a state of defence; that he thought the nation in never more hazard than now since the invasion of '88; that the alliance is in great danger to be dissolved, and therefore proposed that since we might have a fleet abroad by the end of May, if ready money could be immediately furnished, and no fleet at all (especially of the great ships) without it should the House think more seriously thereof. And Mr. Secretary Williamson seconded the same motion, desiring a clause in this Bill to encourage loans, which in truth was already put in.

This dismal account of things and importunity for present money stirred up a very cloudy and ungrateful repetition of things passed, shewing all along our partiality to France, the breach of the Triple Alliance, the engaging with France against

Holland, our aiding of France when we seemed to leave the war, and by all these ways and provocations so affronting the Spaniard and running counter to our own interest, that it was no wonder to see them so distrustful and suspicious as they are represented; that this news from Flanders is not matter of surprise, nor to hear that all the rest is gone, since it was foretold years past by the repeated addresses of that House. That still they are kept in the dark touching the contents of that alliance, which being now said to be ratified also by Holland must be supposed known to the States-General and the States that sent them, and yet thought fit to be still made a secret to that House. That until they saw a war declared against France they could not tell how to interpret anything, or to what purpose the money intended should be given; and that if His Majesty were in earnest there ought to be some other demonstrations than the language of necessity and irreparable damage now impending, for he ought to make examples of those who had been authors of these miscarriages, and not expect to get out of them by the same hands that [ ] the frequent prorogations were here also thrown in to aggravate the account. But for a more mature consideration of all these heads the House has adjourned the debate thereof till to-morrow.

The Earl of Shaftesbury is now freed, having made very humble submissions for his first offence and for the second about his *habeas corpus*. After which 'tis said the Lord Arundel of Trevise acquainted that House of a new offence touching words spoken in the King's Bench by that Earl of a dangerous nature. This engaged the Lords in a long debate, supported with all sort of vigour by the Lord Treasurer and often seconded by the Duke; but when Mr. Blaney, that had taken shorthand, was called on to attest the words, he said Mr. Rushworth had at the same time writ shorthand also; but comparing what they had done they then differed with each other, but at last they drew up something out of both by conjecture, so that he could not say those were the Lord Shaftesbury's words. Whereupon this new matter fell very flat. There are two wicked libels come out. The one is a book shewing (or pretending to shew) the growth of Popery in the management of the late Councils; and the other is to persuade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a new Parliament by giving a list of all those who vote for the Court as labourers in the great design of Popery and arbitrary power, by shewing what gifts or benefits they receive from the Crown, with all scandalous reflections on their persons that could be devised. If I can light on either, your Grace shall see the prognostics that always bode evil—I mean the boldness of these [ ]. The condition of Flanders makes everyone rejoice that is concerned to hear what your Grace is putting forward at Rincorran. I acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 16th instant.

1677-8, March 2.—The news of Ghent's surrender to the French, as soon as looked upon, made on Tuesday last in the house several discontents to arise, and the debate being adjourned 'twas believed

that on Wednesday there would be a prosecution of that anger against the ill conduct of Ministers. But it fell out quite otherwise, for they sat close to the business of the Poll-bill, commuting all at that time for this point, that whereas a particular Bill had been ordered for the exclusion of French commodities, such exclusion should be now tacked on and annexed to this Bill, and so to continue not only during the war, but afterwards till there were such a treaty of commerce settled between the two nations as might give an equal balance to the impositions upon trade, and this passed the House with very little contradiction.

His Majesty, upon the misinformation that Ghent was taken, did presently hasten away Mr. Brisban with letters to the Governor of Ostend and Bruges to know if they would receive any succours from him and to bring information how matters stood, for there is either such misunderstanding or mistakes between us and the Spanish Minister here and Governor there, or of these two between themselves, that 'tis a matter of perfect lamentation. But His Majesty so sent, knowing that if they were in extremity they would consent to anything for their relief.

In the meantime my Lord Howard of Escrick and Sir William Clark, under him, drew out eight hundred men of the Guards, who embarked upon yachts on presumption of their admittance into Ostend. And now the alarm increased, as if Bruges were also taken and even Ostend and Nieuport in extremity of danger; so that 'twas observed that several pressed His Majesty to hasten away a thousand men for the safety of Nieuport as that which would much contribute to the safety of Ostend and preserve the country between for the future footing of our forces. But His Majesty undervalued this proposal, which gave many that observed it some trouble.

My Lord Castlehaven, who passes here for an exalted Spaniard, has frankly emptied his quiver and said many things that men of greater wealth are sorry to hear. He tells the King that the Spanish Minister has instructions for everything he does, that he offers a treaty for the fixing and securing of our alliance with them, and after such marriage will admit of what we please, but nothing beforehand, as not knowing what side we are of; that the Spaniards do as much admire at our counsels as we at theirs; that the people of Flanders attribute all their miseries and ruin unto us, and will the more willingly throw themselves into the hands of the French in hopes of revenge, and to become keener enemies to England than they; that the port of Ostend signified little to Spain if all the rest were lost, and better it should be also taken by the French than delivered to the English; for if any turn of fortune should persuade France to restore that, England might still retain Ostend, but the consequence of France's seizing all Flanders would be an irresistible conquest of Holland also, from whence would follow an absolute dominion of the seas, and then the case of England was very apparent.

The business of the Poll-bill went forward in the House of Commons as fast as the nature of that tax would admit, and the faster for an opinion of danger so generally diffused that in most

it bred a great damp and in many no less than consternation. The matter also of the new levies went forward with as much vigour as people without money could do; commissions drawn with all speed and hundreds already signed in blank; and to show concern in every place the Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Mulgrave, and a numerous train of volunteers embarked on the yachts with eight hundred men more. And yet with all this appearance would not some be satisfied that His Majesty was angry enough for a war, and especially to hear him say sometimes that the Spaniards would themselves lay hold on a peace, and sometimes that the backward and slow proceedings of the House of Commons would constrain a peace whether he would or no. But to aggravate whatever jealousy this gave into an open diffidence, on Thursday here arrived young Monsieur Ruvigny, who had been lately here upon some errand before. He came from the French camp near Ghent, and affirmed the place untaken the Tuesday before. All that he is heard to say is that his master is in Flanders with so powerful an army that he forbears to take all only in consideration of His Britannic Majesty; but what the substance of his errand is I cannot yet hear, yet observe that his coming highly augmented the distrust of peace and secret arrangement with France, than which nothing seems more fatal and abhorring to the generality, and warlike preparations perplex and affrighten too many, while 'tis not demonstrable to them where they shall be applied. But yesterday Mr. Brisban's return put a better face on things than appeared before; he left Bruges on Thursday at ten o'clock. Ghent upon Wednesday was not taken, but on the contrary the burghers appeared in good heart. They made up 15,000 men into regiments, took out of prison Don Velasco, who had been lately confined about a duel, a hot-headed man, and by his courage they beat the French out of a half-moon and from the counterscarp. The Prince of Orange was then at Thermont, eight hours from Ghent. In Bruges were 2,000 Spanish soldiers, very good men, under Don Diego Spinosa, and at Ostend under Don Lewis de Costa 2,000 more, made up of Spanish, Flemings, and Walloons, but none from the Prince of Orange. The burghers were in each place well disposed, all in expectation of aids from England. And the two Governors testified by letters to His Majesty that his forces should be received with open arms. And 'tis believed that my Lord Howard is this day there arrived. He has for this expedition the character of Major-General, and the Lord Feversham of Lieutenant-General, under the Duke of Monmouth. His Grace, with the Duke of Albemarle, took post from Gravesend to Deal. Some orders went after him to call back all the volunteers who were listed for new commissions that they may look after the raising of their men; but whether the Duke will come back or go on is yet uncertain. The Poll-bill is like to take up the work of one day more. The Secretaries this day, to hasten it, told the House that what now remained of Flanders was only to be saved by the English, and whatever forces must do that work were to be raised upon the credit of this Bill.

1677-8, March 2.—I acknowledge your Grace's of the 24th past and shall take notice of your Grace's discourse upon the wool subject where it is proper and needful. 'Tis whispered as if the Earl of Essex were in some disfavour on account of his bearing up so stiffly against my Lord Treasurer in the quarrel of the Lord Shaftesbury. 'Tis said he is no more summoned to the Cabinet, yet I believe not the discourse that he should be discharged the Council. The French amuse us extremely with visions of peace, and nobody knows what really we would be at, so that if at that distance you are uncertain 'tis less to be wondered; but nothing is more probable than that the designs of France will make all your Grace's care and preparations but seasonable.

The Wednesday's last vote against French productions is somewhat round and to the purpose. Old Sir Charles Herbert on that occasion said that a member of the House whom he knew had given 960 bushels of malt for one tun of French wine. There is much discourse here of two bitter libels that are out; the one is of bulk. I can never believe that the Lord Halifax his pen is in it; many also do guess at Mr. Mervin, who surely knows how to employ his time much better. If I can light on them your Grace shall know it.

1677-8, March 5. Spring Garden.—By your Grace's of the 27th past I have the honour to know what you mean to say of my Lord Chamberlain in the case of Lientenant Duncan, who lately came to me with news that he is invited by the Lord Alington to serve in his regiment, and so will not be altogether destitute of an employment. Your Grace is pleased to anticipate the disappointment I may receive in my present suit for abating my quit-rent, to which my answer is as ready, that I desire to be the last man of all others that shall occasion the breach of any rule taken up for His Majesty's service or for your Grace's own safety; so that I shall write now to my agent to be very passive in that affair, choosing rather to be a benefactor to the public if two or three acres for situation will do, and to give all the stones of the old walls and forego the damage sustained, than to have anything put to an unwarrantable strain. Besides, when I consider the benefit which may accrue to me in the security of the small residue of what I there hold, and the difficulties I must here expect from my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Ranelagh upon any report of favour to me, 'tis almost a point gotten to despair betimes. My Lord of Orrery in a long letter of the 19th past offers himself to be a mighty champion for me in this behalf. I will this night acknowledge the favour, but waive the effects. And this I the rather mention for the opportunity to tell your Grace of an old matter which otherwise I should have quite forgotten, but my good father did very ill digest it as long as he lived. He was, as your Grace may remember, a long time very eager to be made constable of this intended fort, on account of its lying in the bounds of his estate, where a stranger might prove unruly, (but surely

otherwise his desires were improper as being no military man). But I remember that nothing did trouble him more than once to hear that my (now) Lord Lanesborough should say that the Earl of Orrery had egged him on to this demand from your Grace, knowing it was unreasonable and would not succeed, that so in consequence he should remain among the number of the discontented. Certainly he died with as great and true a zeal to your Grace as to any man living, and I never could discover that your Grace suspected the contrary. But I humbly beg pardon for this transgression on your Grace's time.

1677-8, March 5.—This day the House went through all the parts of the Poll Bill in the committee, and to-morrow it will be reported. 'Twas an observation made by some that the Secretaries hardly spoke anything this day, not so much as to the point of haste; when Ghent was not taken, as now it is, nor any of our forces on the other side as now they are, their concern did much more appear. There is a wonderful amazement in the minds of most, and very great trouble to think there should be so much indisposition to a war as they suspect. The scope and tenor of this Poll-bill requires expressly in the appropriating penal clause, that all be expended for the use and service of a war against France. 'Tis explained in the House that if the war be declared, then all charge of preparations is well expended; but if no war the penalty enters upon all manner of expense, the same as was in the late Bill about the ships, so that a Lord Treasurer has hereby but an ill office unless a war ensue. Yesterday the clause passed for excluding wine, brandy, silk, linen, salt, and paper; but the following words "of all other things of the growth and manufacture of France" were left out.

Mr. Godolphin went this day to the Prince of Orange, as some say, but others say to the French camp, he taking his last instructions from my Lord Treasurer, who seems to be alone in the secret of what is now transacting with France, and was, they say, called out of his bed at one of the clock on Saturday night to attend His Majesty and the Duke, who had been at a long conference with the French Minister. The late treaty with Holland, which has been kept so secret from the House, and upon which so much disgust has arisen, is started forth in print at Frankfurt and Hamburg, and the allies at Nimeguen having copies thereof seem very ill satisfied, as well at the manner of making it without their knowledge as at the contents thereof, thinking there is too little regard of them therein. And I am told that some of our angry members have also copies thereof, which in due time we shall hear of.

My Lord of Arran has been pleased to show me what your Grace has offered concerning wool, and as soon as my Lord Treasurer can see it I shall receive a copy, and then make use of it as that theme shall in the House of Commons come again into play. I did presume to recommend to your Grace Captain John Martin to be overseer of the workmen at Rincorran. Here is now another of Kinsale, one Mr. Isaac Colfe, who is petitioning

His Majesty for some help to ease a hard bargain undertaken by him about cleansing the harbour of Kinsale, wherein he has several years been labouring. He foresees a little employment which will grow up with the fort at Rincorran, which is to be clerk of the stores, and for which some small allowance will be given. He is fit for it and I presume to recommend him to your Grace. But I need not add any more, if what entertainment I sent by the last post be come to hand.

1677-8, March 9.—Yesterday the Poll Bill went up to the House of Lords, where it was read, and afforded, as it seems, such matter of distaste in the taxing of the Lords, etc., that if His Majesty shall not lend some good degree of countenance to the passing thereof it may easily run danger of miscarriage, or at least delay. The very title of it is an offence to some, as a denouncing of war by the House of Commons, it being a gift of money by poll, and otherwise for entering into an actual war against the French King and an exclusion of some French commodities.

If the Bill should pass as it is and no war ensue I see not how any officer dare issue one penny of this money; and yet the annexed Act would be of force, which provides at large for the exclusion of all wine, vinegar, brandy, salt, silk, linen cloth, and paper for the space of three years, and from thence to the end of the next session of Parliament; this exclusion to commence from the 20th instant, and a year afterwards given for the consumption or exportation of what we have, and then the utter destruction of all, even tho' taken in war as prize. This exclusion reaches to Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Alderney and the Isle of Man, and comprehends not only France but all its dominions and conquests. It was much urged by some to have the word Ireland inserted in the Bill, otherwise the stream of all this trade would flow into that kingdom and make it the emporium of Europe; nay, all the English ships that wanted brandy for their West India voyages would not only call there to be furnished with that, but with all their provisions also, which would soon be felt. But it was answered that the naming of Ireland would in this matter be of no avail to oblige the exclusion there; that the Adventurers were not settled by the Act of '49 which was urged, but by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation which were made by the Parliament of that kingdom; that to dispose of the trade and prosperity of a people that were unheard was not reasonable; that the Acts passed here in favour of some noblemen on His Majesty's restoration had new confirmations there, and if this matter were so necessary it must be wholly left to His Majesty's order and directions. Others added that 'twould be some remedy to the hardships which would befall some particular men of this kingdom in the late return of their ships and necessity of exportation, that they could go and find a vent so near at hand. And so that matter slid off, as also did another contention for lengthening the time of admitting the return of ships coming from Marseilles, when but even nine days more were desired; but to this was opposed the objection of a vast glut of

other things that a few days would bring in, and so the matter passed. Mr. Secretary Coventry urged this point vigorously home as much as any one, nor was there a voice heard to show what a vast defalcation this would presently make to His Majesty's customs, because nothing has been held forth or supposed but a speedy war; tho' nothing seems more doubted of than a war by all that are ardently for it. And 'tis generally observed that for this week past, and especially since Monsieur Ruvigny's being here, the dangers have not been so pressed as they were before, nor do matters proceed with that air that is natural to the purposes of a speedy war, tho' the loss of Ghent and the besieging of Ypres and the dissatisfactions in Holland do not lessen the dangers we are in. But time and the necessity of things will undoubtedly force upon us that which we are not over willing to embrace.

The Commissions are now, they say, all issued and advance money is the next week expected, viz., £500 for a troop, £350 for dragoons, £100 for a foot company.

1677-8, March 9. Spring Garden.—I am apt to think if the exclusion of the French trade proceeds here in manner as the enclosed sets forth it may be seasonable for some motion to be made your Grace and the Council about the free port of Kinsale which has been so long intended, and in which business I purpose to employ in the town's behalf Mr. Richard Aldworth, who is now at leisure and likely to be diligent in it. We shall not press the Farmers to any unreasonable or prejudicial rules, but just such as may make that matter subsist, wherein I pray a word from your Grace. I understand your Grace has appointed Mr. Stowell, of Kinsale, to receive and pay the money about Rincorran Fort. He has a substantial estate, and being also an active man, I am purposing if Sir Richard Rooth be called over, as I hear, to give him during Sir Richard's absence my deputation of Vice-Admiral, there being most probable need of it in that port.

1677-8, March 12.—This day the Poll Bill passed the House of Lords without any sort of alteration, and the speed thereof in that place implying an assurance of the royal assent, I do not see but by this exclusion of so much of the French trade from hence there will (as I formerly observed) in all probability a great flood of it run into Ireland and help to draw away in exchange all the commodities of the country. The Commons sent up this day a Bill to the Lords for easing the vexatious part of the Chimney Bill and a new Bill for burying in woollen is ordered to be engrossed; both of these I think will be good patterns for Ireland.

To-morrow the House of Lords enter into a deliberation concerning the present danger of Flanders and the consequences thereof, being hereunto moved and animated by my Lord Castlehaven, who is this day departed, telling their Lordships that England was not more in danger the month before William the

Conqueror's arrival than it is at the present, with many other expressions thought by some very rash and hasty, and accordingly undervalued, but the more it was stirred the more it took place.

I have not yet seen that which goes about in several hands, being a copy of our late Treaty with Holland, printed, they say, by order of the Elector of Brandenburg as soon as it came to his knowledge, he taking, it seems, high resentment to be so forgotten by his nephew and the States. The heads I have heard mentioned are as follows:—That France should restore back unto Spain eight principal towns for the better security of Flanders or be compelled thereunto. That the Swede have restitution of all he hath lost, which being done Messina was to be restored and the residue of Lorraine, which till this performance was to be detained. Burgundy to remain to the French. England and Holland to keep up a force in Flanders for the enforcing of these conditions; but if assented to on the part of France then all three to join for obliging the rest. These are the points I hear, but whether true or false I cannot aver, having not seen the print. Certain it is that things in Holland are very ill disposed, and particularly with relation to the Prince, so that they talk as if a party were so considerable there as to negotiate a peace with France *nolens volens*. The actions of the East India Company, which is their common weather glass, are fallen from 480 to 305, and if Holland, by their many bridges, be as near to England as Flanders to them, these tidings cannot be good for us.

1677-8, March 16.—I wonder as much at my confidence as how I find time to trouble your Grace with such tedious narratives. But I consider that Ireland lives but at second hand, and must take all things here as they occur for better or for worse. And therefore your Grace may have curiosity not only to know the conclusion but the premisses, and how great or how little the majority is which decides an important point. The Lords have sat this day very long in contention about the address from the Commons for declaring the war, and as I now hear have adjourned the debate until Monday.

The late tidings from Holland put things there into an ill condition; and as if that province were resolved on a peace whatever the consequences might prove hereafter. Some letters speak as if they had even resisted the payment of taxes for the war, and that the Louvestein party made such head as your Grace may remember was formerly pointed at in Mr. Hill's notable discourse. If, by any disorders among those people or incapacity for the war, they should strike up a peace, we should be much to seek about new measures, and perhaps either take any peace that is offered or fight alone because of its refusal; for there want not those who verily think that whatever shows and desires of peace France pretends to maintain with us 'tis all but amusement to hedge in some opportunities, but that they will never lose the advantages now before them to pursue the war.

Just now came in a person who tells me that my Lord of Essex this day began the debate upon the address for war, taking notice

how universally the people were bent that way; yet considering how precious a thing peace was, and how the resolutions of this nature must depend on such preparations as had been thought of by those who were most intimately knowing in His Majesty's affairs, therefore he thought it most properly behoved them to open the debate. My Lord Treasurer took notice that he thought himself hereby called upon, and, as they say, made a very handsome deduction of several things, concluding in the whole that how necessary soever a war might be, yet His Majesty was not yet in a condition to declare it.

One of the Lord Bishops proposed to begin so great a matter with a day of fasting, which was seconded by his Grace the Duke of Buckingham, and at last it was voted; tho', as is said, not with so much gravity and seriousness as the matter required. Doubtless the declaration of such a war as this is a thing that requires the utmost consideration, though all that is left seems only to be about the time when His Majesty thinks the motion of the Commons to be too precipitous, and would have them only advance their money, and he will take care of the rest. God Almighty take care of us all. I send your Grace what passes here for a copy of the late treaty with the Dutch. I suppose it wants not some mistakes.

1677-8, March 19.—Since by the honour of your Grace's of the 7th I perceive you are not tired, therefore, while the heat of this session continues, I will take it for a virtue to be prolix. On Saturday the Lords entered warmly upon the Address from the Commons about an immediate declaration of war—no man more vigorous than the Earl of Essex to push it on, and admiring while the danger abroad was so apparent and the whole tide of the nation set in so strong that anybody could advise the contrary. My Lord Treasurer, looking on himself as attacked herein, and made accountable for the reasons of delay, did openly declare that no man for these two years past had lived with greater apprehensions of France than himself, and more convinced of the necessity of a war. But beginning to tell them how distracted he found the Exchequer; how little has been given since; how much he has done with what there was; and yet how many parts of preparation are wanting to so perilous an undertaking;—he did extremely stagger the House as to their keenness of going immediately on. And upon motion from one of the spiritual lords to begin this great consultation with a fast, that was at length voted, and His Majesty is to be moved to issue a proclamation to that effect, which may perhaps the more slowly issue from the little reverence that accompanied this point during the debate.

Yesterday the matter was again resumed and the debate lasted till after 4. The Lord Halifax, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Hollis, the Lord Clarendon and the Lord Wharton did chiefly support the debate for an immediate declaration, urging over most of the arguments which had been urged among the Commons, as the union at home,

the encouraging of our allies, and resorting frequently to His Majesty's speech at their first meeting about the great dangers we were in and the necessity of speedy remedy. The Lord Chancellor accused the address as a style of direction, by limiting His Majesty to time and pressing on His sovereignty by disposing of ambassadors; that the forces His Majesty had sent over, being but auxiliaries, might go without infraction of peace, and in other respects France would in policy be backward to strike, for it would irritate his own people who have so great a subsistence by our trade. Whereas, if we strike first, it would provoke and unite them; and therefore His Majesty was master of his own time, and it would best answer all our ends to have a little more patience. His Royal Highness urged the expectation of many fleets homeward bound; the great disadvantage of the privateers of France all ready to break out; that 800 good soldiers were on their return from Virginia. But as for the forces we have in France why they did not come over was because the Monmouth regiment and another had been under no capitulation, and so were reformed into other regiments. But for the Scotch regiment and another, making about 3,000 or 4,000 men, their conditions obliged them to stay till thirty days after a war, and therefore no expectation of them till that time. The Lord Treasurer urged the necessity, above all things, of being unanimous at home and having a full supply; showing how that already in preparations for sea and land there is already incurred a debt of £500,000, and that if we jump preposterously into a war the allies will leave it upon our hands and obtrude unreasonable conditions upon us. His Lordship further urged that he had the day before received a letter from the Spanish Minister insisting indeed on the sending of more forces over, but pressing the perfecting of our treaties before we declared the war; and that, by a large discourse with him in the afternoon, he owned plainly that if we set forth before we were in due preparation we might begin with some battle that would rather dishearten the allies and prejudice the cause.

The Lords of the other side did presently lay hold on this argument, importuning very much that this great reason of backwardness in Spain might be urged to the Commons, and then perhaps they might recede from what they had offered. But his Lordship thought this very hard measure when he had candidly and without leave imparted to them so great a secret of the Cabinet. My Lord Essex owned himself convinced with these important reasons, and in conclusion the word "immediately" was changed for the declaring it "with all possible speed His Majesty's occasions would permit," and that clause touching the ambassadors was quite left out. And thus it was this morning sent to the Commons by the two Chief Justices. And soon after the debate began for agreeing or not agreeing with the Lords, and tho' some hours were spent therein by contention on either side, yet I could hear nothing new which had not been urged before; so the House dividing upon the point of agreement, it was carried in the negative by forty-three voices, and reasons are drawing

to support the same. The House received a message from His Majesty to press on the rest of the supply which is promised, and to declare that he will pass the Poll Bill to-morrow.

1677-8, March 23.—Upon Wednesday, at Council, His Majesty appeared much dissatisfied with the usage of the French towards some of our English regiments there, but that he imputed all to the brutality of Monsieur de Lounoy. His Majesty told my Lord Bridgewater that he had nominated him, the Earl of Essex, and Lord Fauconberg (and one of the Secretaries should always help them) to treat with the Spanish and Dutch Ministers, that they might impartially see what could be obtained from them, in order to the alliances so much pressed for, and touching which so many doubts and surmises had passed, as to his backwardness and indisposition therein. Then His Majesty (which had been usually the preamble of other wars) ordered a proclamation to call in all his mariners in foreign service; a general embargo to stop all from going out; with circular letters to the Vice-Admirals for the listing of seamen and doing all other matters necessary for the complement of 25,000 men. Notwithstanding all which particulars there appeared this day in the House of Commons as much doubt of a war and as many jealousies and reflections upon all proceedings as had hitherto been heard. For this morning being appointed to go on with the debate of raising money by the new buildings, it was strongly moved to adjourn the debate until we saw clearer into what was intended, and especially since the address for war had been so tossed in the House of Lords, and disagreement against an immediate war, that it was fit to see in what that matter would determine; for that the Lords had let some days pass without taking cognizance of the reasons also given for adhering to the address as it was sent up; and that until there were a certainty of war there was already enough and even too much given for a peace. To this motion was as earnestly opposed the infinite detriment that a vote of this nature (putting a damp upon the progress of money) would give to all His Majesty's affairs at home and to the allies abroad. And this gave occasion to beat over the field again upon all those topics and through every particular which your Grace has heard sufficiently before; some taking notice as if it had been elsewhere said that in truth there were hitherto no alliances at all, and that was given for the reason for not declaring immediately. Others fell foul with the alliance made, as calculated only for peace, and therefore hurtful and wholly to be rejected. That in all that led to the two late Dutch wars everything was exposed to the sight. That in the Chancellor's speech soon after His Majesty's restoration, it was worthily said that His Majesty would make it the measure of his actions to do things that were suitable and correspondent to the sense of that House. That the victorious Kings, Edward the Third and Harry the Fifth, had communicated in matters of state with their Parliaments, and the latter had condescended so far as to pass an Act against peace with France unless they consented thereunto. But that

now matters were so reserved and so studiously kept in the dark that it manifestly implied that there was neither certainty of war or of alliance; so that it not appearing clearly whether it were better to go forward or backward it seemed best to address to His Majesty for a month's recess, by which time fixed measures might be taken, jealousies cleared up, and a full House to meet, and then only would be proper to make further progress in the matters of money.

It was added also on the other point that there seemed to be greater care in the raising of the land forces than those of the sea, which sounded very ill, while there remained such probability of peace; for there seemed no use of such forces at home, unless to make their parade in the place we sat. That there was some ill-boding cloud a brewing on the other side of Tweed which might deserve timely consideration. That it was a very melancholy dilemma to have the prospect of either being overrun by France or pulled down by a standing army. That we often vote against Popery and forces, but by giving money we advance both; therefore it seemed advisable to adjourn all supplies. That the hearts of good subjects were sunk very low and stood in great need of being warmed by another method of proceedings and a clearer discovery of what was intended, and therefore that it might be even the best way for expedition's sake to adjourn the debate, for we were not (or seem not to be) in the case we stood, either fit to give money or fit for a war. There was thrown in a story for reflection on the ministers that upon Richelieu's death several, making expressions of joy for the deliverance, they were soon discomfited by a grave man that told them that tho' he were gone he had left some journeymen behind that would carry on the work; and such was the experiment still with us that tho' some were removed yet the same ill bias still remained, and there were always some or other endeavouring to divert His Majesty's gracious goodness and inclinations from the zeal and addresses of this House. To this effect the several objections and influences of displeasure amounted, and I shall be fain as promiscuously to set down the defence and answers given for want of time to recollect or well noting how they passed, tho' most things were vigorously retorted and ended with success.

It was affirmed that it was neither an omission in His Majesty or a fault in his Ministers that alliances were not more advanced with Spain and the Emperor than they are, which hitherto could not have been but at this price of letting them slip out as we stepped in. That the copy of His Majesty's alliance with Holland is plainly false in several material points. That it is now fully and formally ratified and agreed unto by the States-General; and whereas 'tis here blasted for a treaty of accommodation, the particular dissatisfaction that arose against it in Holland was for putting them too remote from a peace; and nothing seemed more frightful to them, in the harassed condition they now are, than when they heard of our Pyrenean vote. That the treaty had been fairly and candidly opened to this House and nothing retained by His Majesty on any account so much as its seeming

to be demanded. That the expulsion of the French trade was a notorious manifestation of what His Majesty intends. That he has now 5,000 men ready to annoy the French on the other side, who were tumbled over with such expedition as might show sufficiently they were not designed to be kept on this side. That everybody walking the streets may hear the beat of drums; but if they saw also all the various operations which relate to the preparation of the navy they would say that never in any time was there more earnest tokens of a war intended than at present appear, nothing being wanting but that which is in the power of this House only to supply. That His Majesty has run vastly into debt upon the credit of what this House has said and his expectations from us. That the Poll Bill passed will not defray that debt. Some said that less than two millions yearly would not support this war. That Holland and we must stand and fall together. That without a sudden unanimity and preparation we are ruined. That France will speedily have all without making a peace but constraining it; and such a sort of peace differs very little from a conquest. That to adjourn for a month is a greater respite than any man can promise from France, considering the provocation we have given them; and 'tis very uncertain whether we may not be forced to act as well as prepare within a month. 'Twas also hoped that it could be no man's intention to bring the King into extremities; for so he would be in case the Lords should agree with us for an immediate war and His Majesty be left without any further supply. That all the allies abroad were gazing upon us and calling aloud for help. That our votes had hitherto raised their spirits, and, if when we have promised a million, any vote should pass that looked like a negative upon money (when they know we have not the power of anything else) how fatal a damp would it breed, and nothing but confusion amongst them.

There were many sober expostulations on the hard things said and reflections made upon persons and things, so that at last the House did not divide, but yielded to the going into a Committee on Tuesday next upon the bill for taxing of the new buildings. And when all is done 'tis very probable it may be thrown out, few being in love with the nature of the tax, as likely to produce but little, very perplexing in the collection, and somewhat unjust in squeezing a few in order to a public tax; so that 'twas not for the sake of the argument before the House, but upon the general state of things, that the dust was this day so much raised.

On Wednesday last the enclosed order was directed in Council. My Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer seeming both keener and more in earnest in this matter than ever I had heard before, and there being some hint of the Parliament towards the necessity of having all these matters set right, none but Mr. Speaker put in any kind of softening word. The order as it now stands was yesterday read and approved.

When *te* [The Treasurer] laid such hold as you see on the words of *fg*, it gave him occasion to reply that he did not or

ever should desire any restraint of *wm wy wx xc wm ws wo wx wm wo* in matters of *qf*; so that when the former words were to be noted down as very welcome and surprising *fy* bid *cm*, be sure then to note down what he spoke in relation to *qf* and so he went out. But the Lords upon this advised rather to lay aside the thought of noting the words, as he himself this day did also think most desirable. So this cools a little the point.

1678, April 13. Spring Garden.—I suppose your Grace will receive from Mr. Secretary Coventry that which is ordered touching my Lord Ranelagh's accounts. I find he is unquiet for what is ordered, and expects my Lord Treasurer should be more concerned for him than he seems to be. The enclosed is copy of his Lordship's petition.

Your Grace will also receive a letter from the Board for the impressing of 1,000 seamen. And that your Grace may have an entire view of what hath here passed upon this subject, I send you copy of the circular letter to the Lords Lieutenants of the maritime counties, copy of the order to the Lords of the Admiralty, a general scheme referring to all the parts of this business, another scheme for the method of listing seamen, and another for conducting them to the ports; which comprehends all the methods for the carrying on this work, which I will adventure to say was never in any method before; and the trouble of doing this hath fallen unto my lot. If your Grace give the papers to somebody to peruse, they may afford some hints for facilitating the business there, and I now write to Sir Richard Rooth, my deputy in Munster, to expect ere long your Grace's orders herein. As to the embargo that is here laid, I observe, by a general rule, all ships are suffered to proceed in their voyages who were cleared in the Custom House before the embargo was laid. Favour also is shown to ships laden with the woollen manufacture and with perishable things.

I believe your Grace has been content with the late recess of our Parliament; for so long I have held my hand from giving you trouble. On Thursday the House met, but without any mace or Speaker. They called to go to prayers, and soon after to adjourn till Tuesday, in hopes the Speaker might be well. And great eulogies were given him even by his adversaries; but the drift was for gaining time, and to have a full house in order to reject Sir Robert Sawyer, who, by appearing there in his gown, now out of term, was generally supposed to be the person intended by the Court. And he was by some very unhandsomely reflected on, but yet returned without loss, whatever was said. At length the Secretaries came in, and intimation was made that Mr. Speaker, being in such a state of illness, by reason of a rheumatism, that he could hardly move in his bed, His Majesty left the House to their choice of a new Speaker. Mr. Secretary Coventry just sat down, and then, rising again, named Sir Robert Sawyer, who at first

had an equal cry of the Aye's and the No's. And the dispute renewed again to have the matter adjourned; and then the eulogies of Mr. Seymour grew great, and then whether in case of his recovery he should not be re-established. While this matter was somewhat in the heat of contention, the two Secretaries stepped forth to conduct him to the chair. But there appeared such marks of resistance from the opposite party that they were fain to take much pains, and to argue it amongst them. But at last they were fain to yield that the mace should be brought in, and that the matter should be put to the vote, and the question proposed by the Clerk; upon which the House calmed to that degree, that there did not appear six negatives. So he was conducted to the chair, and made his *nolo episcopari*; and the House adjourned till Monday, at which time His Majesty will give his approbation of their choice.

1678, April 16.—Yesterday our new Speaker attended His Majesty in the House of Lords, where he received approbation of the choice. And forasmuch as His Majesty had not yet advanced his alliance with Holland to that perfection he had hoped, and could not know the minds of the States until they return to their assembly, which will be in a few days; therefore he directed the House to adjourn unto the 29th instant. When the House returned some dissatisfaction was expressed that we were not more fortunate and early in our consultations than to lie now at the mercy of Holland, whether they would join with us in the prohibition of the French trade, and next in an inseparable alliance to lessen the power of France, which are the two great points of consequence now depending. For Holland is tempted with the same prospect of universal trade which we hitherto have enjoyed, which makes them stagger in the first point. And, as to the second, 'tis not to be doubted but that their necessities and poverty makes them almost abhor the thoughts of a longer continuance in war. So that they will very hardly be brought up to that article that seems almost indispensable in an alliance; not to leave the parties at liberty to knock off when they shall please.

But others of the House were as much dissatisfied for not being allowed to sit in order to other matters that were necessary to the kingdom. And thereupon broke out such a flame against Popery, and indignation against any that did but extenuate the jealousies of it, that I have not seen the like. So that, in order to have a conference with the Lords, and to examine farther into the Monmouthshire affair of Popery, a vote passed that the Committee should meet during the recess of the House to ripen that matter, and report it at their first meeting. And there are all sorts of symptoms that this matter will fly high as high can be.

There was one who took notice of the disturbances in our neighbourhood, meaning Scotland, which it was high time to look after. And he did believe that it was as much for the sake of that affair, as for what concerned Holland, that the

House was now adjourned. There are now in town sixty-four of the Scotch nobility and gentry. His Majesty would not as yet admit them to his presence, but assigned some of the Council to receive their complaints. And they are ordered to put all into writing, whereof I hope to send your Grace a copy by the next.

These gentlemen are scandalized at the narrative here published of Mitchell's death, which I send your Grace, because of some undecent reflections upon them, and therefore that a full narrative is likely to come forth of that whole affair, this being only the effect of his Grace's chaplain's good will. 'Tis said this Mitchell gave no other reason for his wicked purpose to murder the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, but because His Majesty, having sent a pardon to those of the Rebellion in 1677 that were unhanged and ten of them yet remaining, the Bishop kept the pardon till they were trussed up. There is one thing these angry gentlemen affirm in this Mitchell's case, which is, that after he would confess nothing by torment, he did, to a select number of the Council, confess all upon promise of pardon, which promise was afterwards flatly denied, though so unfortunately as that from the gallows he threw a copy of the order conceived thereon, given him by the Clerk of the Council; and they say his Grace was troubled that the criminal had so long concealed that plea, and that it looks like an extravagant sort of malice to affect dying for the sake of such a reproach. But it would be endless to tell your Grace the stories that pass, and how much these gentlemen value their loyalties and submission, that while the whole body of that nation cry out against the oppression, no man seeks the remedy thereof but by prayers. But surely His Majesty does not think their complaints well grounded, seeing he hath, since their coming away, writ a letter to the Duke of Lauderdale and the Council there, to approve and applaud every step of their proceeding, which the complainants here seem to be amazed at. The answer to *The Growth of Popery*, called *The Growth of Knavery*, is writ by a good smart pen.

It seems the order concerning my Lord Ranelagh's accounts is not yet passed to Mr. Secretary Coventry, being first to be read in Council, his Lordship hoping that my Lord Treasurer will speak to the mitigation thereof.

1678, April 20.—Your Grace has here inclosed the copy of an order passed the last Wednesday at the Board in my Lord Ranelagh's concerns. It was by order of the preceding day drawn up by the care of my Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Essex and Mr. Secretary Coventry, who all had appeared earnest to have the thing effectually done. But my Lord Treasurer, coming in late, and after the order was read, brought with him a copy thereof, which my Lord Ranelagh had put into his hand, telling His Majesty the very many hardships and reflections that my Lord complained of in that draft, and setting forth the reasons why the place where, etc.; but, after all, to my

thinking, was willing enough, having acquitted himself to his friend, to have suffered the matter to pass. But my Lord Privy Seal and Mr. Secretary Coventry did so justify the wording of it as made his Lordship engage very far into the matter; but when, after all, it was objected how the Lord Ranelagh could so easily get copies of orders before they were approved, and that he might complain more regularly after the order was passed, this was agreed to be reasonable, and the order did pass, but with expectation that yesterday his Lordship would have petitioned against it; and if he had, the Earl of Essex, who now was present, resolved to charge him home and lay at his door the debt of little less than £100,000. But there were so many hearings of other matters that this petition (if any intended) was not read, but I suppose there will be one on Wednesday, for that Mr. Secretary having prepared a letter to your Grace, accordingly Mr. Progers brought him a message this afternoon to stop the same till after Wednesday, at which time 'tis likely matters will be warm, if Mr. Secretary can rise from the gout. But if my Lord Chancellor be there too, who is now also ill of the gout, he will shorten the work, being of late very little satisfied, I know not how, with my Lord Ranelagh's accounts.

There is a narrative printed by Duke Lauderdale in Scotland of all transactions there, whereof some very few copies are sent up hither; but my Lord Maynard says he supposes His Majesty will order it here to be reprinted.

The enclosed are the conditions demanded at Nimeguen by the French king, which have been printed in Holland, but give little satisfaction there; yet are those people not likely either to lead or drive, but incline to do very different from what our interest requires us to expect at their hands.

1678, May 14th. Spring Garden.—The last letter I had the honour to receive from your Grace was of the 7th of March. Nothing, indeed, that I have since written or sent needed any answer, unless what I wrote your Grace a month ago at the desire of Major Huntingdon, whereof he has since enquired if I had any answer, but I told him no.

Of late I have had some sorrow in my family, by the sickness and loss of my eldest son, which has been somewhat sensible to me, so that I have not been well able either to consider or collect anything fit for your Grace's view, though I have passed things of very high shine and much variety. His Majesty did yesterday prorogue the Parliament to the 23rd instant, as resenting the address from the Commons for the displacing of ministers. The most general consequence now drawn from thence is the discourse of a peace, and that the business of the next session will be to repeal the prohibition of trade with France. That which is much to be feared is that this may not only administer excuse to the Hollanders to slide off. but in a sort compel them to take terms from France, when they see how little certainty or dependence there is on us. And the letters of this night from Holland do

speak of a notable change of counsels there, and much better dispositions to the war, if what here we do cause them not once again to recoil. There goes about a letter lately written from the King of France to the States, whereof I enclose your Grace a copy, which seems to imply a better understanding between the King and the Dutch than we are willing to believe.

His Majesty did yesterday make a short speech to the Lords, before the Commons were called up, the word of which your Grace will collect from two divers copies thereof, which are here inclosed. But when the Commons were called up no speech was made, only the bills passed and the prorogation declared. Upon this late address for sweeping away the ministers, there was a gentleman remembered a story of your Grace's concerning a constable, who, coming to ask the justice of peace a question which puzzled him in the law, the justice] ordered a *mittimus* to put the constable in the stocks. So the ministers, having advised His Majesty to ask counsel from his Parliament, what should be done in this difficult state of things, they advise His Majesty in the first place to lay them all by the heels.

1678, May 25th.—Your Grace will herewith receive the speech of His Majesty and the Lord Chancellor, the first of which was only given to Mr. Speaker to read in the House after the delivery, and the other was earnestly called for, being thought by some that heard it an invective against that House from one end to the other. And hereupon a mighty cloud of anger arose, and great impatience to see the speech. But on the perusal of it this day in print, the displeasure was so far lessened that little or no notice at all was taken thereof; but some few of the principal leaders on the angry side began to fall close to the business in hand, proposing that an address might be made to His Majesty to know the state of affairs as they now stood in relation to peace or war, and that if His Majesty thought fit to enter into an actual war against the French king, with the assistance of the Emperor and such other princes and states as would come into the confederacy, that then this House would fully assist and supply His Majesty in such war.

The motives to this proposal were drawn from the dismal prospect of a peace, than which no consequence of affairs, even the disasters of war, could be worse; for that France, so soon as ever it saw the chain of confederacy dissolved could break down the preent barriers given to Holland, and make them tributaries before they knew where they were. That the sense of this in Holland might even revoke the propensity therein to a peace, and bring back Spain, which is also said to be far gone; that here was an army raised, which was now by some called our army, he hoped that care would be taken not to call the peace intended our peace too, for that nothing would be more inconsistent or dishonourable unto that House than to have so contrary a thing imposed on them. That a state of war were much more eligible, though there were no other

confederate but Germany alone. And therefore it was proposed that His Majesty might send an army of 15,000 or 20,000 men, as auxiliaries unto the Duke of Lorraine, a brave prince that fought for his own interest, and not making war his trade; and furnishing him with subsidies and recruiting every winter this body of men, there would lie a way open through this slip of Flanders that is to be left, or otherwise by landing at Embden, to march through Munsterland, etc., into Germany, where the French are not powerful enough on that side to stop the passage. That in this way of fighting His Majesty would be freed from all the censure of ill events, and the House only answerable for the supply of subsidies. That we were still at sea more powerful than the French, having a great superiority in mariners, though not in shipping. That our very coast helps us to make war for us; and, there being no middle way between opposing and submitting to France, they propose therefore as aforesaid.

It was hereunto answered that the Duke of Lorraine was indeed a great man, but there would be little way left to come at him, since if a war went on, France would presently have all Flanders. That it is very hard to suppose that Spain or Holland shall turn back unto us, when they are now actually going, and have been long meditating to go into a peace. And that the Empire hath surely been alarmed thereat, so as 'tis probable they likewise are thinking of the same expedient. So that, in effect, we in the conclusion should come to sustain the whole burthen of the war. On the other side the cause of France's greatness was not thoroughly considered, for it arose from their unity and their money, their revenue not being less than to the value of fourteen millions sterling. That against such a power the charge of bare defence is able to undo us, His Majesty having such vast and dispersed territories to maintain. And if we hope to offend we must support the arms of the Empire, to which Holland contributed before, and also Spain, though these furnished not above one million and a half by the year, and yet seem to be drained by it. Wherefore the proposition being of that importance, and the credit of the House being concerned in the event, 'twas very fit to be cautious and circumspect before any such address were made.

The most which was afterwards said tended to strengthen the difference in the former opinions. That a peace would be as chargeable as a war, and induce the necessity of keeping up a standing army to preserve it, and therefore better to enter with Germany alone than to lie down under the consequences of a peace. Others thought that this declaration would prompt Spain to go out faster and more assuredly than before they intended to their peace, and might serve to enable Germany to enhance their terms upon France, but not prevent their bargain. And if one main scope of our war is for the defence of Flanders, how could we hope to effect it, when Spain has testified so little desire to keep Flanders, or the inhabitants now to defend it.

On the other side it was urged how nothing could bury the jealousies we have at home but a war with France. That herein we should comply with the genius of the whole nation, which did appear in the sudden concourse of so brave an army, but at the sound of France. That should they now be disbanded, they might in distaste refuse to return when they were called. That we had passed a law to declare war, and it would be the greatest reproach to that House if they should now declare peace. That it was our hanging off from the Confederates so long that made them begin to think of peace, and that there was no hopes of supporting that band or any part of it, but by proclaiming that war which we had enacted.

It was opposed that all these matters ought to be left to His Majesty to determine in the best manner he could, for that the uncertainty of things did disable him from giving a clear and satisfactory answer to such an address. For tho' it may be well suspected that when the King of France is at the head of 50,000 men, and the Prince of Orange but with 16,000, there is more in it than a bare cessation; yet this is the only errand pretended and owned by the States in sending their deputies to that King. And if they go to negotiate articles for their allies, without which they will not embrace a peace, however this also is plain, that the Governor of Flanders has sent also to the Hague, declaring that whatever Holland shall think fit to do in the matter of peace, they also will do the like. And 'tis not likely that the two branches of the House of Austria should be so different in their determination. But all this while His Majesty is uncertain of things abroad, which should rule his measures at home, and enable him to return an answer. But certainly as to his own inclinations, they are visible enough from the importunity used by His Majesty to summon the Dutch to a performance of the late treaty. And therefore, till a little more time did enable His Majesty to see clearer into these matters, 'twas most proper to think of some small proportion of supply to enable the Army to live, though it were but from hand to mouth. And 'tis only the want of money has hindered all that are here from being transported with the rest.

Another sort of opinion arose from several that were formerly high for the war, to leave all to His Majesty, and not to press him on to do things that he might see grounds to vary from, and therefore prayed that instead of the latter words of the question proposed, these words might be added: That if His Majesty did not think fit to enter into such war this House would consider of what was fit touching the disbanding of the new raised forces. But about this time, there arising a question of adjournment, and this taking place by nineteen votes, out of hopes in many to see clearer by every post, 'tis taken for granted that on Monday they will further proceed on the debate of the first question with relation to war.

1678, May 28.—The late tidings from abroad about parties, cessations, and peace, have left matters in the House of

Commons under great uncertainty of resolution what to advise or what to speak for these days past. But very many have united in declaring their deep resentments, not only on the insuccess of all their addresses, but the reproof and severities (as they term it) wherewith they have been answered. So as they have seemed impatient to explain themselves, and have appointed Saturday for the reading of my Lord Chancellor's speech, which they pressed for from the occasion this day given them by His Majesty's message requiring a supply of money. Nor does it avail to divert them herein that the thing was spoken in His Majesty's presence, and twice expressed in the speech that it was said by His Majesty's command. For they will not bear or endure that any of the ministers shall say that anything was done by His Majesty's command, if they think amiss of it; for they say the King can do no wrong, and therefore his ministers must answer for what is done.

The vote which concluded yesterday's long debate is here enclosed, as also the answer returned this day by His Majesty thereunto—which was not, in truth, received by many with that respect that such a message deserved. There was a great deal of affected silence and sullenness in token of their discontent, and perhaps the difficulty of the matter did press upon some, as not knowing what sort of advice was best. Some of the wits abroad had lately divided the House into some that would have war without an army, and others an army without war. And certain it is that many within were divided between the fear of disbanding so much on the sudden as might testify they had no mind to the war; and the fear of giving money for the disbanding lest the army should be kept up after the peace. And upon this subject-matter have all the debates of these two days gone. Some would plunge into a war with Germany alone; and that nothing would be so great a blot in His Majesty's reign as to be now the author of a peace. And if that must be, they would not have the shame thereof, and the disbanding so brave an army, to be laid to their charge; urging further how much they had in due time offered advice and money, but how the money was only taken and the advice still rejected; that our ministers had absolutely done the business of France, for by the late alliance made with Holland, the Dutch cancelled thereby all their obligations to their confederates, and so far interpreted that treaty as a foundation for peace, by the terms therein offered to France, that their being now almost ready to shake hands together has only sprung from thence. Whereas we, on the other side, interpreting that treaty towards war, prevailed with the House to have an army raised and a fleet put to sea in pursuance thereof, to the great expense of the kingdom, which must now all sink and fall to the ground, because Holland has made its peace. And then some reproaches passed on those as breathing hot and cold who now inclined to peace, but had before argued sharply for the war. There were many things to confute, or

at least mitigate this way of arguing, and it was pressed that we might on Thursday next consider of His Majesty's supply. But this coming so near the point of money, they would not allow of any but a more general question, which was that on Thursday next the House would consider of His Majesty's message.

1678, June 1. Spring Garden.—I had by the last post to my very great contentment, the honour of your Grace's two letters of the 18th and 20th past. In the latter I consulted with Mr. Secretary Coventry how and where to place most usefully those precautions about the excuses and evasions which are framing to put off the evil day in the great account depending.

But by your Grace's to Mr. Secretary of the 25th, you supersede any further motion in this matter lest it might disturb those orders that are sent which appear sufficient to press on the work. I must confess I took the best care I could to go to the utmost lines of my commission in the draft I made, and brought in therefore the whole debate to justify the same. I know not how matters truly stand between my Lord Ranelagh and my Lord Treasurer, but I happened this day to hear that for Sir James Hayes and Sir James Shaen they were two men my Lord Treasurer declared he never would have to deal withal. As to the first of your Grace's letters I have discoursed with Sir John James and Major Huntingdon, and they do most cheerfully receive your Grace's answer in that affair, and will apply themselves to give it effect accordingly.

I must also acknowledge with very deep respect your Grace's concern for the loss of my son, which is the most sensible one that in this world could befall me—and, as he began his dependence on my Lady Duchess as soon as he was born, so I had and should always have trained him to have exceeded me in reverence to your Grace's family, if such a thing could be possible.

Postscript.—The embargo is here taken off, and ordered to be so in Ireland also.

1678, June 8.—The enclosed votes will show what hath lately past in the House of Commons. On Thursday the Committee of Privileges were as numerous as at a full house, the country party labouring to bring in one Sir Wm. Ellis for Grantham, and to put by Sir Robert Markham, the sitting member, who went with the Court; and they took great indignation that His Majesty should himself speak unto all he met, and set his servants to solicit this matter, which in the bottom is a high contest of that country between the Lord Lindsey and Sir Robert Carr, each drawing in all their strength and relations to support it, and so growing up in the House as a case for trial of strength, and to decide the fate of the session. But the Court was so worsted upon several divisions that having sat till one in the morning, it was urged by them to be irregular, and a new day come on which

the House had not appointed. Whereupon all that side went forth and away to bed, hoping thereby to dissolve the assembly as unlawfully met. But the other gentlemen departed not till they had voted all things as they pleased, and Monday next is appointed for the deciding of this great battle.

But although from the uneven members of that Committee 'twas thought all things would succeed accordingly, yet this day was changed the hope by a vote in favour of the repayment of that £200,000 promised His Majesty on the credit of the Excise. There was long opposition given and many warm arguments used from a deduction of the addresses made and answers returned, which were all read, to show that the honour of the House was not engaged to make good this money; for that the promise of it was but conditional, that a tenderness and respect towards His Majesty in the use of modest expressions ought not to be construed less than what is done between party and party would have been put in terms of obligation. And that His Majesty should, according to their expectation, have stepped into a war, or at least engaged in those alliances which would have constrained an honourable peace. Whereas it was manifest by the proclamation which issued subsequent to the promise in question for putting off the Parliament till April, there was no thoughts of a war, nor, indeed, any endeavours for alliance, but about such an alliance as this House has declared ineffectual, and not pursuant to their addresses. There again it was urged that the late prorogation had extinguished all the good bills that were in preparation, and why should it not also extinguish a pretended promise of money, which by this method might as well be expected from a new Parliament, if this had been dissolved. That the dangers of a real war in prospect, and perhaps not far off, did oblige them to manage the purses and preserve the affections of the people. And that, if bare preparations for defence swelled to so great an expense as comes in now on every side, it will grow unsafe to give any advice at all, and frighten the kingdom from thinking of its defence, etc.

It was hereunto answered that part of the address went only to advise alliances, and other succeeding addresses of later date came up to advising a war. That pursuant to the address which promised this £200,000, there was such an alliance made with Holland as to save a kingdom, a dukedom and many other important territories. And had the peace contained in that alliance taken place it had been double the advantage of what is now like to succeed. That if more alliances were expected by the House than His Majesty could possibly attain to, such a condition, if they insisted on it, was perfectly a nullity—none being to answer for more than what is within their power. That if this money was designed for preparations and, by the accounts, ready to be offered, it appears it has been so laid out; and for the public use they might as well refuse to pay off the army, and the extraordinary part of the fleet,

which had been raised by their vote. And that if upon addresses made for supply, and those put into an act giving His Majesty promise and assurances of money, it should happen after the expense is made by the Crown accordingly the House should not yet think their honour engaged but that they were at liberty to interpret themselves out of the obligation; nothing might prove more dangerous or fatal to the kingdom in a day of distress, etc. Upon the division of the House 'twas carried by fifteen votes that the House stood obliged to pay this debt.

A committee is appointed to sit to see the accounts, and then the way of raising the money will be fixed upon. Sir John Knight, in the heat of this debate, had poured out much of his indignation upon the exorbitant accounts of the navy. Unto which Mr. Pepys made reply, and in demonstrating of his gross mistake did also handle him with that severity that he was fain to beg the pardon of the House for his being so far transported.

We have had here very melancholy news of the Prince of Orange's condition, and several steps of his declination in Holland; but there does not appear any justification of particulars that look so rude and so dismal as were mentioned, though it is not to be doubted but that the Louvestein party, supported by France, are very prevalent. There is much talk of a speech made by a Burgomaster of Holland, whereof the enclosed is said to be a translated copy.

1678, June 11.—Yesterday Sir Robert Markham was voted by the House to be well elected for Grantham, contrary to what had been reported from the Committee in favour of Sir Wm. Ellis. The debate lasted very long, and never was any cause so keenly supported by courting and making votes on either side. It seems Sir Robert Carr, engaging for Sir Wm. Ellis, gave all the country party, as they say, assurances that he would rip up all that had passed in order to this election for the overawing it by the Lord Lindsey, as in drawing up the militia, troops and forces, and several such things that would have sounded very ill in the House of Commons. But Sir Robert, taking calmer advice, would not be provoked into it when it came to the push. So that all those gentlemen that engaged in the matter do now wreak all their indignation against him. I mention this matter particularly because it has made a great noise, and very extraordinary cares have been used on either side for victory in this matter.

This day being appointed to consider His Majesty's late message, Mr. Secretary Williamson acquainted the House with a memorial lately presented by the Dutch ministers, at the particular command of the States, beseeching His Majesty not to disband so soon, lest the great portion of Flanders likely to be saved by this peace should yet run danger by the uncertainty of its event. This threw the House into a large and warm debate, as well touching the points of a peace as the

nature of the army. And hereupon the one side desired to know how England was like to be provided for, and by which side like to be comprehended in their general peace. That the forces we had sent over were looked upon with a jealous eye, according to the present temper in Holland. That they had been unwillingly admitted by the Spaniards and might be an occasion of engaging us in new embroils, being sufficient to provoke a powerful prince, but not to secure us against him. That the French overtures at Nimeguen did set forth an engagement on His Majesty to see the Crown of Sweden satisfied in their expectation. And should this be any of the grounds for keeping up an army, it were surely of all things to be the most avoided. That the Dutch who desert us think their terms may not be so secure or advantageous if we should presently disband. So that 'tis not only the expense of keeping up an army, but the mischief of an army that is now to be distrusted. That whereas the time proposed is but to the 27th of July, there then arise new cessations and new adjournments of the peace in hand, if the fear of France be argument to keep up the army; those fears will doubtless every day arise higher, and be strongest of all when the peace is made. So there will be a lasting argument for an army. For the government of France is founded upon an army, but ours on the laws of the land. And that the standing of an army never ought to have any countenance from the vote of that House. That there have been many dark and indirect colours put upon things in raising of this army; that since they could not disband the ministers that had raised it, and been advisers of such an innovation for their own security, it was safest immediately to disband those that were raised, and so to hasten the bill that was in hand for the disbanding of all by the end of this month. And if His Majesty should see any clearer reason why it were fit to hold on those who were now in Flanders until the 27th of July, there might a proviso be added to the bill for that effect. Some said the argument of Holland ought little to prevail upon us, which was the fear of their peace; for it were worth disbanding to be sure of the continuance of the war, and a calling an army together again to partake in it and support the present chain of confederacy abroad. Some expressed the unwillingness they had to give any advice at all since they had met with such reprehensions for so doing, and wishing that the damp and discouragement which is now put on the spirits of all that desired a war may not have fatal consequences in it, by finding those spirits down and that purse closed when hereafter those may be willing who are now averse unto it. Others on the same side are certain, however, of their right of advising, and as a birthright if sent thither by the people, as certain that their advice was better than the Privy Council's, but the King had followed the Council's, and not theirs, and could England now be said to be well? From these several topics they moved not to change the instructions given the committee for enlarging the time of disbanding

beyond the last of this month. There were several replies made to the sharper parts of these discourses, and many arguments used to assuage the jealousies of any design to keep up the army longer than to attend the events of that peace which is now in agitation. And as to the question of which side we should be comprehended, it was answered that since the King had been mediator, doubtless both sides would (as hath in like cases been practised) invite him and include him out of compliment; and it would be an affront to do otherwise, though as to the manner and form hereof it would be adjusted at Nimeguen. That it would be almost an impossible thing to have the thing passed, the money raised, and the army disbanded by the time prescribed, and therefore it was fit to enlarge it, yet so as not to exceed the 27th of the next month. But upon the divisions of the House it was at last voted that the forces of Flanders might stand till then, but those in England no longer than till the end of this month.

1678, June 15.—I have your Grace's of the 4th instant, and am much contented with the honour of it, and the two former I lately had; for on some pause your Grace had made I began to question myself, but still confiding that if I had done anything amiss your Grace would have told me of it. I do not see that anything likely to fall out here can prevent the progress your Grace hath chalked out, for all the thoughts and prayers we have seem to be for peace in our days, and we shall hardly ever meddle with the sword, if our neighbours do not constrain us to the shield. Your Grace's appearance in such a circuit of that kingdom will doubtless have great influence on the choice of good members for the Parliament; and from harmony there every good thing that concerns the welfare and defence of the kingdom may be reasonably expected. I am sure your Grace will vouchsafe to honour my habitation when you are at Kinsale, for my good mother relies upon it.

I hope your Grace will find all just encouragement from hence in prosecuting the great matter of accounts; for on reading here yesterday the letter of the 31st past from that Board, the subject of it was warmly resented, not only as you will see, in the enclosed order, but by words from my Lord Chancellor for seizing the undertakers in custody, which might also have been part of the order if Sir Philip Lloyd had pleased. His Majesty did think those accountants had much to answer for, without any one word of mitigation in their favour, my Lord Treasurer letting all pass with silence, and perusing a paper that lay before him.

Upon Wednesday His Majesty gave order that Sir Robert Carr's name should be struck out of the Council books, which misfortune attends him on account of his contention with the Earl of Lindsey touching the election at Grantham; he gave a mighty disappointment to one side of the House in not exposing some enormities which he had promised to lay open, and doubt-

less thought to merit at Whitehall by his silence therein. But finding now the same event to attend him as if he had spoken out, and so being a loser on all sides, he is in a state of great mortification, and has not been since at the House. There was spread a great rumour, as if Sir John Talbot should have been sworn of the Council, because he appeared so vigorous in the Committee against Sir Robert; but that report is now vanished, and for the Chancellorship of the Duchy, that Sir Robert holds by patent for his life.

In the late debates of the House and Committee there have been more loose expressions, and calling the parties to account for the same, than had happened in many years before. Among others, Mr. Bennett, who was lately discharged from being the Prince's Secretary, has been very rash towards my Lord Treasurer, bringing in a story of a French marquis, said to be dead, by way of allusion; and then at the Committee, about the election of Mr. Bertie, brother to my Lord Norris, he said that the Berties and the Osbornes would get all the places that fell. It seems my Lord Latimer, besides the public reprehension he had, whispered him to another way of accounting, which it seems he was not so fond to meddle withal.

This day there was much time spent about a negative vote against any motion for new supply after Tuesday next, upon a strong jealousy taken that, besides the continuation of the additional duty on wine, there would other demands for money be made when the House should grow more thin, on account of the present season. And upon a division that vote was carried upon the previous question, first by six, and the main question afterwards by eight voices. I suppose that if only the additional duty on wine be aimed at, it will pretty easily pass, and then all endeavours will be united to drive on these money bills together, so as, at the same time, to be ready for the royal assent.

1678, June 18.—I have much more mind to sleep now than to write, having been all this day till seven o'clock fasting and sweating in the House, and returning at last very little satisfied. But my respect to your Grace awakens me to tell you in such a crisis the considerable things that have passed.

His Majesty came this day in his robes and delivered to the Parliament a long speech which took up a full sheet of paper, whereof I have not time to get a copy. It had in it wonderful expressions of kindness and endearment. It mentioned a demand for continuing the additional impost on wine, recompense for the loss by the French prohibition, £40,000 due to the Prince of Orange for the portion; but that which was the great point of all, that in consideration that it would fall to his share to preserve so much of Flanders as was left, which must be done by keeping an army up in those parts, he earnestly desired them to find out some way of settling upon him an additional revenue of £300,000 per annum during his life; in which case he would consent to the

appropriating of £500,000 per annum of the Customs to the Navy and Ordnance.

There was a great pause and silence after the reading of this speech, till Michael Mallet began with commending some gracious expressions that were in it, and moved for thanks to be returned, which being presently seconded by one that will not see how ill he is heard in the House, the motion was closed withal, with condition that the House would order those two gentlemen to carry the thanks. But this way being urged on the other side as a mark of diminution in so great a thing, it was moved that the Privy Councillors should carry the thanks, and by others that it should be done by the whole House. But after much debate it fell to the Privy Councillors.

After this it was urged on behalf of the speech that a new day might be assigned to take the supplies thereof into consideration. But it was hereunto opposed that the demands thereof were very surprising, coming in at the end of a Session, and when more was already assented to than any could give their country a reasonable account of. And that it was unusual to have more taxes demanded than what were in the beginning of a Session represented necessary. Others said that there might be money enough saved by a method of better husbandry, suppressing pensions and private farms; and that such a tribute as this would bring them unto the case of Normans, and to the wearing of wooden shoes. Others that the demand was formidable and advised by such Ministers as never desired to hear of Parliaments more, and that there could be no safety till they were removed from being so near the throne. Another added that as to the portion demanded, it was to be hoped that they should not have the paying of all portions, and that there might be enough saved out of the unnecessary reformation of new lodgings in Whitehall to satisfy this payment (reflecting on the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, which are pulled down to be built up anew). Another entered into the history of the revenue, as he called it, showing how the people by the bill for building of ships, the Poll Bill, the repayment of the £200,000 borrowed on the excise, the additional impost on wine, the portion of the Prince of Orange, the payments for the Army and Navy—how that all these in a little time would come short of two millions; and that if two millions more should at the same time be settled, which he computed £300,000 per annum at, during a life, it would be sufficient to make all crack. Others added that no other reason was given for this last supply than what France gave when it totally dissolved Parliaments, namely, the delay and inconveniency of calling them together upon any emergency and sudden turn of affairs abroad. That there was no way to support this tax, since all others were already overburdened, but by a general excise, which was the way to introduce slavery, as was apparent from the examples of France and Spain. And that this counsel flowing from the same Ministers who had advised those frequent prorogations, and brought things to the pass they are, it must needs be ruinous to the nation and of utter subversion unto Parliaments. Others urged that the

revenue was already superfluous; that a fourth part of the whole came to the King's Exchequer; that to urge the plenty of other princes abroad was but to plead for their methods of government; that in plain terms the being of Parliaments and a change of our Government was now at stake; that without a mutual necessity between the King and his people our constitution could not stand; that if £80,000 have been lately passed for secret services it is no great token of scarcity in the King's revenue; that the present demand can no ways be answered but by a general excise, and that this demand is calculated to the support and expense of an army of 20,000 men, which will serve rather for terror to ourselves than defence abroad. Whereas our condition is not to be compared with that of other princes abroad, for, having the sea for our defence, we need only to regard the support of our fleet, which the customs granted can sufficiently maintain.

Thus far the general scope of the arguments on that side did run, whenas there happened a great turn to the business by what was moved by Mr. Secretary Williamson, who, having stepped out of the House did soon return back, and made a new motion, which I shall not mention till I tell your Grace (as well as I can recollect at this late hour) what was said on the other side in favour of His Majesty's demand. And there were but very few who spoke, since those who use to be consulted on lesser occasions, and are wont to come prepared, were altogether surprised with this. But it was urged that the only thing now desired was, according to the rules of the House, but to appoint a day to have the matter examined to see distinctly all the branches of His Majesty's revenue, and to let them be judges whether the necessary issues did not exceed the incomes; whether the extraordinary power of our neighbours did not require an increase of power and force on our parts, and that this being designed but for our common defence, would no otherways belong to the King than the highway which is exposed in common to the use and benefit of all; that His Majesty had upon his hands the war of Angiers, which cost him £100,000, etc. But, as I have said, Mr. Secretary, seeing how the House were inflamed, and likely to run, did propose the waiving of this question and debate for the present, and desired the previous question might be put, by which motion and retreat the other side grew more warm and earnest in the sentiments they had, resolving never to have this thing spring up more; and so, without dividing, the House carried it both in the previous and the main question that no such supply should be granted.

When this was thus laid asleep a motion was made for continuation of the impost, which, being expected from the beginning of the Session, did pass without any contradiction, to be considered of in a Committee of the whole House that are to sit to-morrow, yet with intimation enough that they mean to clog this new grant with a good part of what they are to raise for the discharge of the fleet and army. Next came the motion of £40,000 for the Prince of Orange, which had also a pretty fair passage.

But the fourth motion, which was for a recompense to what the late prohibition took away, this endured a stiff debate, it being urged in favour of it that the prohibition was absolutely necessary for us; that a recompense for it would show the French King that it would be permanent, unless he came to an equal balance of trade with us; and that His Majesty in his customs would fall short £250,000 of what the French trade brought unto him. But it was hereto replied that none of the King's officers could say that hitherto any loss had accrued unto His Majesty, but rather benefit by the great glut of importations, and that it would only be seasonable to talk of a recompense at our next meeting, when any calculation could be made of the loss, and that other countries would supply the like commodities so as not to make that loss very considerable. But the matter coming to a question, and the House dividing, it was carried in the negative by above sixty, for the displeasure of the late business stuck much upon their minds, besides the slow progress observed in the House of Lords about the Bill for disbanding the army, which, putting things much out of tune and showing one side of the House what advantage they had in hand by the late indiscreet dividing on the question, they presently began to move for an account to be brought in of all money for secret service since May, 1677, and that the members of the House should purge themselves by protestation, and a test to be taken against the slander and imputation of bribes and pensions for giving their votes.

This was impugned as illegal for any to accuse themselves; that it was like the oath *ex officio*; that it would draw scandal on them from abroad; that it would weaken the operation of those laws they had made and introduce a way of garbling and purging the House as in former time; and that it was rather fit to apply such test and protestation to every member there; that they had no hand in the making or distributing that libel which was printed to the defamation of so many of their members.

This motion was admitted of, but the other also so vehemently pressed, by urging the scandal and crime in any person to contrive any way of attracting and seizing to his pleasure a part of the legislative power, etc., that since this motion could not be resisted there were at least ten other motions pinned on, as namely, that the same committee appointed to draw a test for these two intents of finding out the libellers and the pensioners, should also provide another against all inclined to Popery, all that went to the conventicles all that treated and took rewards from foreign ministers touching business depending in that House, all that solicited for votes, all that kept public dinners, all that were feed to promote business as the chairmen of committees, all that were outlawed, etc.

It did not serve the turn in the progress of these many motions, which were in a sort of tumultuary manner made and admitted, how much dishonour it would draw upon the House to have such things remaining on the books. But all being put to the question, and the House dividing, it was carried by seventy voices that

all these matters should be looked into. After which, it being very late and all tired out, there went away so many from the House, and the Speaker being dexterous, upon a little contention about the naming the committee for all this work, he put it to the question whether a committee should be named or no, and, upon division of the House, it was by a few votes carried in the negative, which seems to dash, by this sidewind, all that had been debating for so many hours together. I have not time to read what is here writ, for the post would be gone, and so your Grace must take it as it is. The additional impost is £140,000 per annum.

1678, June 22.—In this very instant I received the honour of your Grace's letter of the 15th. The Commissioners were then, it seems, intent upon the Earl of Ranelagh's accounts and began to represent things in the colours they find them, which may come as a seasonable counterpoise, which was yesterday appointed, as I conceive, in favour of the said Earl, and the matter lies thus. The late order, whereof I sent your Grace a copy, for process to be issued was, it seems, by his Lordship's dexterity, ordered to be stopped—he alleging to His Majesty (while he was at some meeting in the Treasury) those reasons and motives which your Grace will receive by a copy of his petition that I desired Mr. Thynne to send you. The substance of which sounded to me that his undertaking was of two parts; the one an account to His Majesty, which he had according to duty given in April last, and would abide by the same; that the other part was of his demands from the subject, which, though to obey His Majesty he would declare, yet there lay no obligation on him so to do, and, therefore, he ought to have such time as was necessary for so large a work. These reasons were on Wednesday urged without petition to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer, and seconded by Mr. Speaker, and His Majesty seemed to give in to the same sense. And the Lord Treasurer urged that he could do nothing as to his part of process until the duplicate of accounts came from Ireland, and so the superseding of the late order seemed to be the matter agreed unto. But Mr. Secretary urging some material points, it was agreed that nothing should be done till Friday, when the Earl of Essex should be present and signify his opinion in this matter. Yesterday there was read a petition from his Lordship, upon which the Earl of Essex did urge that by the contract all demands should have been given in in 1675, and within two years all should be collected. It was replied that they being debts to His Majesty all times were free to collect the same. But to this it was said the process then ought not to be in His Majesty's name, but the undertaker to take his venture. Then came other points into consideration as whether His Majesty should allow the full money where it appeared that they compounded the debts; and in proof of composition there was a long letter read, copy of what my Lord of Essex had formerly sent to the Secretary. After this it was said that there did arise several misunderstandings in this matter

by reason the Earl of Ranelagh was not in person at Dublin, and therefore, it might be fit that a committee were appointed here, whom his Lordship should attend to be heard upon the several points that should occur; and of this committee are the Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Bridgewater, Lord of Essex, Mr. Secretary Coventry and Mr. Speaker, and they are to meet on Thursday next. I am apt to think that this committee is what his Lordship hath desired; yet if the representations from that side are clear and intelligent, this committee will not easily consent to overlook the things that may be for His Majesty's advantage.

Mr. Secretary was not yesterday at Council, where it was also ordered that what is doing by the Commissioners at Dublin should still go on, and that if all demands were not given in by a day peremptory to be fixed by your Grace, there should be in the Bill of Subsidies a proviso added for the mortifying all demands of that nature in the future. I suppose this order will go to your Grace this night, but the certainty I know not, for his Lordship is a dexterous man, and much dissatisfied, I hear, when I cast an eye towards any of his concerns. Some do here report as if his Lordship would part with his Vice-Treasurer's place to the Lord O'Brien, and that he is seeking to get into the House of Commons in case Mr. Cofferer's sickness shall make a vacancy.

I do not see anything from hence likely to obstruct your Grace's intended progress first to the north and afterwards to our parts of Kinsale, where, from all hands, I hear the new fort is going on with the utmost vigour, and it would, as your Grace observes, be very unfortunate if the noise of a general peace should beget orders for a general insecurity. But as on the one hand the assurances of peace are somewhat adjourned, so His Majesty does not easily leave off any works of the fortification wherein he is embarked, unless there be strong persuasions to the contrary. But for fear any damp of this kind may hereafter happen, I wish your Grace would make some report to His Majesty on my petition for satisfaction about Rincorran.

1678, June 22.—Herewith I send your Grace His Majesty's late speech to the Parliament, whereof I gave your Grace by the last post the unfortunate event it had, and the discourses and surmises relating thereto have been since very liberal and very loud.

On Wednesday the Lord Treasurer, by His Majesty's command, represented to the Lords what came fresh from Sir Lionel Jenkins, namely, that France would refuse to deliver any of the towns in Flanders until Swede were first restored, and, therefore, that Monsieur Van Beuning was in the utmost anxiety for fear our army here should be disbanded and all things remain insecure. The Lords voted hereupon a present conference with the Commons, which happened not until Thursday, and when the Commons returned to debate upon this point they made no other resolution thereupon but to send up a message to the Lords praying their Lordships to hasten the Bill that lay before them for disbanding the army.

The Commons have been very impatient to see this work effected, and having, though with great struggling and difficulty, agreed to the repaying of the £200,000 borrowed on the Excise Bill, as also to the £40,000 due to the Prince of Orange, they have also agreed to continue the additional impost, to commence from the first of August next, for three years, without applying it to any of the payments in hand. And yesterday, to wrap up all, being very impatient to be gone into the country, they voted the raising of £414,000 towards the extraordinary expenses of the army and navy and for the Prince of Orange, besides the Poll Bill, estimated in the House at £350,000, and the £200,000 settled by Land Tax in the bill for disbanding the army, which makes in all towards a million of money given in this occasion. The House were generally inclined to raise the money which was yesterday voted by a Land Tax, but Colonel Birch prevailed to be heard this day upon other expedients, which, as the House were going into a Grand Committee to hear and consider of, their bill for disbanding was sent down by the Lords with some amendments suitable to a vote yesterday passed in that House, namely that the army in England should be continued till the 27th of July next, and that in Flanders till the 24th of August.

This point received no little debate upon several heads. First, that their Lordships did meddle with the Money Bill, that is, lengthened the time which would increase charge, which, tho' to be paid by His Majesty, yet, in consequence, all His Majesty's wants were to be supplied by them. Next many reflections passed and jealousies urged about the inclinations of keeping up this army contrary to the desire of that House, and that these inclinations had already appeared in divers shapes. However, there appearing (as it was urged on the other side) a moral impossibility to disband by the time assigned, and that there might not such an argument be left for violating the law, besides the declared opinion of the Lords, they did at last unanimously agree to differ from the Lords, but yet to do the thing proposed in their own way, which will be either by proviso or a supplemental bill.

1678, June 25.—What the Committee did yesterday in the House of Commons for the raising £200,000 on all new buildings within ten mile of London the House this day laid it by, and spent much time in debating the raising the whole of the £414,000 by the ancient way of subsidy, which was chiefly affected by those who serve for such counties as are much oppressed with a disproportionable share in all Land Taxes. But the debate being adjourned till to-morrow, 'tis supposed they will, for speed and certainty sake, resort at last unto a Land Tax.

As to foreign matters and the peace which the Dutch were so fondly embracing, there happens an extraordinary jar in that affair—France refusing all things to be done on his part till the Swede be fully restored; and hearing that the Swede was upon some accommodation with the Marquis of Brandenburg, France reproached him of it as dishonourable to his alliance. This puts all into amazement. The expresses come thick from Holland and

Nimeguen. We are sending over five regiments more. Mr. Montagu is expostulating very warmly at Paris, and my Lord Sunderland they say is to be despatched thither. The Commons seem not to take much notice of these changes. They are most of them hasting out of town; and since their advices were not followed they seem not so concerned as they ought to be in what may happen.

1678, July 6.—London.—I have missed the two last posts, having nothing to entertain your Grace withal. The House of Commons having spent above a week in speculative questions with the Lords touching their right of making any amendments to a Money Bill, which but in consequence might draw on money; the point arising on their Lordships adding a month to the time of disbanding the army. In conclusion they both agreed to the thing, but so differed in the manner as that the Bill fell between both Houses, being left in the Painted Chamber, refused by either side, and so taken away at last by a coffee-man. The Commons, by way of expedient, have made the whole matter of that Bill, but as a clause of the other Bill of Money which they had in hand. All which was this day ordered to be engrossed, and will on Monday go up to the Lords, so as by Saturday next both that and the additional Wine Act may be perfected by Saturday next, which will certainly conclude the Session, for His Majesty is grown impatient to be at Windsor. The House also is become very thin and weary of sitting so long; and notwithstanding we are sending forces abroad, and many contradictions appear in other places to stop the expectation and career of a general peace, yet here the most of men think of nothing else, not with delight but rather with despair, as having been disappointed and fallen from their hopes. His Majesty speaks cheerfully of the affairs in Scotland, all things succeeding there in the Convocation as my Lord Lauderdale would have them.

My Lord Sunderland was posting away in quality of ambassador to persuade the King of France to some temperament in the late difficulties about the peace, but his going was stopped by a declaration from the French Ministers here that their master would not receive any persuasions in that matter, and therefore that His Majesty might desist. However, 'tis not unlikely but this Lord may soon be planted as Ambassador in that Court, for Mr. Montagu is in some tribulation and under a cloud. My Lady Cleveland having done his errand for what has passed between him and my Lady Sussex, which makes up a long and dangerous intrigue, sometimes of love and sometimes of jealousy. And who else is concerned and who not I cannot tell; but Mr. Montagu is expected this night, some say to fight a duel with a certain Frenchman, but he comes without leave and had been soon commanded home if he had not.

Postscript.—I acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 22nd past. There have been two meetings of the Committee about my Lord Ranelagh's accounts without much effect. The meeting intended on Thursday last was put off till Tuesday next

because the Earl of Essex was absent. And, indeed, till the Parliament rise, nothing else can be closely thought on. I know not what grounds there are for the reports that my Lord Ranelagh is sometimes selling his place to the Lord O'Brien, then that his ill accounts may endanger the losing of it, in which case 'twill be thought fit for the Earl of Plymouth, who is towards a match with the Lord Treasurer's daughter. But even such rumours as these cannot be pleasing to those that are concerned.

I had lately some serious discourse with Sir John James, who tells me that neither he or his partners are at all satisfied with this noble Lord, but carry it fair and quiet for a little longer, till they get in a considerable sum he has borrowed from them, for which my friend Sir John Champante stands bound. But having cleared that point, they resolve never more to have to do with his Lordship, which, in way of secrecy, he imparted to me, and at the same time enlarged in all the good he could utter concerning your Grace, and that he spoke the sense of all his partners, desiring me to assure your Grace that whenever you should have any need of their service they would give ample demonstrations how much they honour you. And as to the particular promise about your Grace's fees, that should be sacredly observed in the season that is proper.

1678, July 13.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 2nd instant, and now that the Parliament is going to rise, my Lord Ranelagh's committee will have time to sit close to that work, which hitherto they have not done, and perhaps the opinion of your Judges will come timely enough, either for cancelling his Lordship's demands or to estimate his right according to the market-rate his Lordship has sold at. But upon some discourse with Major Huntington I find the purchaser, Sir James Shaen, has taken this in but as another string to his bow, for that if my Lord Ranelagh be judged to have no right, then do the words of the Farmers' contract sweep all in to their advantage, and he hears that Sir James did by his sagacity from the beginning fit and adapt sufficient words for this event.

This afternoon Sir John James, Major Huntington and Mr. Dawson came to my house and read me part of a long letter written them by Mr. Bridges, which enclosed the copy of a late order issued by your Grace to Sir John Champante for paying the Civil and Military List up to the 25th March last, and the Military List, etc., to the 25th June last, and this in preference unto all other payments. They told me that their monthly payments are now in arrear £8,000, which yet did in no degree trouble them to what the sight of this your Grace's order does, because it seems to determine a preference unto other payments, while yet their letters patents both here and there give the preference unto them. And it being for ready money lent to a public service, which your Grace had such approbation of, they think it may weaken the public credit and dishearten others in cases of like nature if their contract, at least in your Grace's judgment, should not be kept inviolable. The conclusion of our discourse

was that they would by the next post write such a letter unto me as I might send unto your Grace, stating the case and praying relief therein. But this much I presume to inform your Grace of by way of advance.

Yesterday His Majesty, in Council, did order Mr. Montagu's name to be struck out of the Council-books, and I think it was the only reason why the Council met, since both Houses were to sit the same afternoon. Thus the badges of honour drop away; for the Embassy of France is granted to my Lord Sunderland, and the more material things are already in the general rumour disposed of, namely, the Wardrobe to the Earl of Plymouth, and the Mastership of the Horse to the Lord Latimore—some say to the Lord Dunblany. His Majesty did, as it were casually, meet at my Lord Treasurer's with Mr. Montagu, who, beginning to enter on the story of my Lady Cleveland, His Majesty told him he knew already too much of that, and bade him declare what affair of state it was that made him quit France without leave. In which point, having nothing to answer, he was thenceforth forbidden His Majesty's presence and the Court. And he is loaded by the women to have done many heinous things—as not only without order to have proposed a match between the Dauphin and Mademoiselle, the King's niece, but to have spoken treason to the Duchess of Cleveland, and contemptuously to have acted His Majesty in ridicule among the French. But where the women engage there is no bounds to wrath, and, therefore, as he himself tells the story, it is thus: That long time past my Lord Treasurer did, by the King's command, commit to his care and industry the compassing a match between the Lord Northumberland and Lady Percy. That the Lady Cleveland was herein ordered to act her part by more complacency and visiting of his Lady, which at length improved into a sort of friendship. But his Lady being (on a visit to the Duchess) forbid admission because Monsieur Chattillean was with her, she returned in high resentment, so that he, seeing the designed marriage in danger, took on him to expostulate very roundly with the Duchess for her licentious course of life with the said Monsieur, which the whole town and country rung of, and brought disgrace to the children His Majesty had by her. The Duchess not enduring this doctrine, and from such a hand, returned all upon him with rage and contempt, and 'twas his only care to get well home. The war being thus begun, and Mr. Montagu contriving how to get some witnesses to speak for him, did so prevail with a nun who conveyed all the amorous letters between the Monsieur and her Grace that he got six of them into his hands, whereof some abounded with gross and unseemly things in the trade of love; some with disrespect to His Majesty, and some of a project to marry the Dauphin unto Mademoiselle. By some chink or other the Duke of Orleans had a hint of this project, and to purge himself from any part therein came to remonstrate his innocence to his brother the King, who, it seems, till that time had not heard thereof, and let fall such expressions on the news as coming to Mr. Montagu's ears persuaded him also to a compurgation of

himself. And so he went to assure his Most Christian Majesty that he was not the author of that intrigue, but had discovered it in the letters aforesaid, which His Majesty desiring to see he gave him copies, having (as he said) sent the originals into England. And this, he says is the whole scope of this affair, and that his service was here first approved when he sent over the letters and informed of the industries used by him to reclaim the Duchess from the liberty she took. And as to any foul play between him and the Lady Sussex he says that at her coming to Paris the Duchess imparted to him her condition, which was so bad in point of disease that he found out both the chirurgeon and the doctor that took her into cure, and she was so sensible of his respects that she refused to take part in the following war that her mother made against him. And to prevent her mother's severity hereupon she resolved to remove unto another convent, unto which removal he gave his humble assistance and that was all.

Mr. Blathwayt was yesterday sworn one of the Clerks of the Council in extraordinary, as a mark of hopes and encouragement to him for the pains he has taken in the plantation business. His Majesty sent him lately to Paris with a letter to Monsieur, and also to his niece, who was brought extremely low by an ague, which had held her eight months. The King persuaded her to take Dr. Tabor's medicine, whom he also sent over to administer it, who, curing her and others with the very first dose, they have looked on him as a man that works miracles, and His Majesty is not a little pleased with this success.

The House of Lords have heard more causes of appeal this Session than in a long time before, which some begin to mutter at. They awarded my Lord Feversham his full £3,000 annuity; £1,500 at present and the residue after the mother-in-law's death. I suppose on Monday, or at farthest on Tuesday, there will be a recess.

I cannot well reconcile the reports touching such resolutions in Holland to prosecute the war, and yet that they should refuse Sir William Temple the quota of their force in conjunction with us; as also not to forbid commerce with France, that is the consumption of their commodities. And lastly not to engage in a league without liberty to go out when they thought fit, which, 'tis said, were proposed but yet refused by them.

1678, July 16.—Yesterday the Parliament was prorogued to the first of August next, with intimation that the state of peace or war was so uncertain that His Majesty would not have the meeting of this Parliament at too great a distance; but that if war should ensue a proclamation should then give them notice to meet in full assembly.

The discourses of war seem to be more warm and resolute than formerly, and we resent very sensibly the not striking of a French man-of-war to the *Dover* frigate commanded by Captain Kempthorn in the Channel. It seems a French frigate of 40 guns having four merchants in convoy, they all struck, but she, for-

bearing the Dover, fired some guns at her. She sent her Lieutenant to acquaint our Captain that they had no orders to strike, but to make all others strike except the English, that they had as much to do in those seas as any whatever, and that they would rather die than strike, etc. Our Captain kept the Lieutenant with two of the boatmen, whose examinations upon oath are solemnly ordered to be taken, and my Lord Sunderland (who yesterday went to Paris) is to be instructed to make warm complaint thereof. Our frigate gave chase and fired fifty guns; the other fired none, but was too nimble for us.

Yesterday His Majesty spoke to the Queen to discharge Mr. Montagu of her service; she made answer that Mr. Montagu having not given her any offence it would be hard for her to punish him, but if he were criminal to His Majesty he had full power to do what he thought fit. This was all which then passed, but everybody concludes that Mr. Montagu will lose that station at least. Mr. Savile is restored to grace, having kissed the King's hand, and is departing in quality of mediator to compose matters between the Duchess of Cleveland and the Countess of Sussex.

I here enclose your Grace a letter given me by the Paymasters of the army here, and there also in some part. I find they are very sensibly concerned about the matter in question, for they have been stoutly called upon here for supplies of money and their credits have been put to the utmost stretch, but they hope to derive all sort of relief from your Grace's own hand, and will remain in earnest expectation of a good answer.

Postscript:—My Lord Chamberlain has written three late letters to your Grace. He could now say that the war looks very much more probable, but because the next post may explain all he reserves himself till then, and in the meantime sends your Grace what he received from my Lord Ossory and his Secretary.

1678, August 10.—I forebore to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 20th past, partly for having been of late somewhat ill, but chiefly in expectation of what your Grace would add upon the business of Mr. Bridges, which I receive in your Grace's of the 3rd instant, and now can tell your Grace what the parties here concerned do say thereupon. Sir John James, upon hearing the case as your Grace did state it, confessed it was just so. And upon hearing your Grace's opinion on the adjustment you have been pleased to labour between Mr. Bridges and the Farmers, he thinks they shall have reason to acquiesce therein, and promised to send me by the next post such a letter as may contain their full sense upon what they hear from their agent and what I tell them as from your Grace.

I read unto my Lord Chancellor the decision of the Judges against the Earl of Ranelagh, to which his answer was: That whatever the Judges' opinions had been, yet so wild a pretension as that ought to have been extinguished by Act of Parliament.

Mr. Cooper brought the Bills last night to Mr. Secretary, and this morning he gave me a large packet for the Lords of the Council, which he said did relate to my Lord Ranelagh's accounts. But

what will be resolved for the despatch of these weighty matters, now that the Council is broken up and dispersed until the end of this month, I cannot yet say; but I shall take notice of what your Grace was pleased to enclose me, and improve the contents thereof with the best address I have. It is a great honour that your Grace wishes that my nephew, Percival and I were at the first of the next session; but he, being now in Italy, will not compass what he has proposed—to be here sooner than in the spring—at which time I have long since promised to accompany him into Ireland, that we may first wait upon your Grace and then go to the settlement of his affairs. Besides your Grace, as to me, knows that since we are here to have a winter session, and are often put to the telling of noses, it may be expected that one should rather come from afar than at such a time go from hence.

This morning Justin MacCarty arrived with news that the Prince of Orange and Monsieur Luxemburgh had fought, so it seems the Governor of Calais told him without enlarging upon any of the particulars. And tho' this were here received as very improbable, where we only abounded with the story of the peace, yet by noon the French Ambassador came to my Lord Treasurer with letters he had received of a cruel fight lasting from 12 to 8 on Saturday last, owning that the French had lost 4,000 men, with a great slaughter of officers, and had retired to their line, but that the Dutch had lost 6,000; that the Prince's guards and the English were all destroyed; that an English Lord was taken prisoner, which we all concluded to be my Lord Ossory, because there is some hint as if it were a Lord of the Order. 'Tis also said that the Prince kept the field and was likely to renew the business the next day. This is the sum of what I collect. The French Ambassador's letter was either from intelligence of that night the battle was fought or else the next morning before it was renewed; so that how they could conjecture the loss of their own and much less of their enemy's side I cannot tell. But we already descant upon the time of this action, which began on Saturday noon, whereas the Prince could not but know of the peace signed at Nimeguen on the Wednesday before (though I suppose not authentically by orders from the States); so that if he should end this matter victoriously it may interrupt the ratification of that treaty and put a quite new face upon things. I just now hear that letters are arrived from Flanders, but it is late and I cannot come by my share of the news they bring. I wish your Grace a most prosperous journey to Kinsale.

1678, August 13.—I must refer your Grace for the fighting part unto the enclosed, after which, by capitulation, the Duke of Luxemburgh was fain to allow the Prince of Orange to march freely to Mons, and a cessation was afterwards agreed to for five weeks. The Prince is by this time at the Hague, where his action has received approbation and applause. He made the onset in a very critical hour, contrary to all advice of his Council of War, but only the Earl of Ossory. And considering how

advantageously the French were posted the Prince has highly advanced his honour by the courage and success of this action.

After the Dutch and French had signed the Treaty the French began to elucidate and retrench two towns near Maestricht which the Treaty had given; hereupon the Spaniards flatly refused to sign. The Allies protested against the whole, and the States murmured at this new trick of the French, and while these things were thus in agitation the Prince gives battle. The States cannot ratify the Treaty signed with France unless the Spaniards accept it, who are chiefly concerned in those restitutions which the States propose for their barrier; so that, in effect, the States have made no peace unless Spain agrees. And in this uncertainty and confusion of things they have ratified the Treaty made lately by Sir William Temple, which was a confederation with us, in case France came not up to the terms by such a day. And thus matters stand at present in a most uncertain estate and might doubtless be improved into a war if all on this side were well disposed unto it. My Lord Ambassador Hyde was this day speeded to the Hague with all manner of haste. The Duke of Monmouth expected all our forces on that side to be on Saturday last in the Prince's camp, where he meant to see them posted in their proper place, and then to hasten to this Court.

The three letters which I yesterday received under cover from my Lord Lanesborough for the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Lady Mary Cavendish have been safely delivered.

1678, August 27.—I have been this good while plunged in a long and difficult task of unravelling all the business of New England from the beginning, in order to bring that unruly place into some better tune and a more apparent dependence on the Crown, and much of my task is still behind. But in the meantime I have been lately distempered myself, and my wife has brought me a daughter before the time with sickness and alarms attending. So that of late my domestic matters have been out of tune and I have consequently flagged in my letters and respects to your Grace, but I shall hope to mend.

Upon receipt of the Bills they were all ordered to be copied out and sent to the King's Counsel for their examination and report—only the Bill of Confirmation that was to be sent to my Lord Chancellor, and he was to consult therein with Sir Edward Dering or whom he should think fit; and this resulted from a discourse I had with his Lordship and persuading him to make his son Heneage acquainted with the business of Ireland as to those Acts especially of the Settlement, wherein his Lordship had so great a hand; and tho' it might hinder him from some of his other practice, which is grown very eminent, I would use means to make his labour and industry known to your Grace, and doubted not but since money was to be raised he would find his reward; besides that it would give him the occasion of appearing before His Majesty to shew how inconsistent it would be to the scope of the Bill to admit many new things that are likely to be ordered. And as these motives took place on the one side, so was I willing

to have the matter in such hands as where I might have some influence to preserve that sense that your Grace thinks fittest to stand for the public convenience, whoever in particular may happen to be displeased. So, if your Grace would appoint Sir John Temple there, that he or whoever else did most attend to the texture and composing of this work, should extend any of the particular reasons for support of the same in the parts most likely to be shaken (which indeed my Lord Chancellor himself was wishing for), I would act the part I ought to inform them here therein, though your Grace has in the general told Mr. Secretary in very clear terms the drift and scope of the whole. I found my cousin Heneage (who is the Duke's Solicitor) had already gotten an abstract of that Bill from Sir William Talbot, who gave it him as a secret, and in order to the Duke's service. All the Bills are now at Windsor with Mr. Secretary, but by Friday next Sir Edward Dering is to be at Kensington, where my Lord is to have this Bill of Confirmation, and so begin upon examination of the same. What I here tell your Grace for the disposal of those Bills I acquainted Colonel Fitzpatrick with, who was pleased to use much freedom with me in reference to your Grace's concerns. I cannot yet guess when the Council will again meet and fall into the track of business, for Windsor is a charming place, and I suppose that for the month of September there may be one Council a week at Hampton Court, which may serve to keep life in business until the Court return. They do there talk of war, and the preparations for it go on in the transporting of our men, who are now to be all on that side under the command of my Lord Feversham as Lieutenant-General. And if there be no other reason, yet an army will look better at the meeting of the Parliament to be on that side the water than on this. But few doubt of the certainty of a peace, for that the French will submit to their first project and depart from the innovations they made. And in that case Spain having formerly consented nobody doubts but all will be agreed. However your Grace will see that Mr. Hyde went over with a pretty round message, which the Dutch have put in print as by the enclosed.

There has been great descanting here upon the Duke of Buckingham's being at Paris, whether it were to search for the Philosopher's Stone or to learn popularity from Sir Ellis Leighton, who was said to be turned abbot there some time before. But after all the noise and conjectures about his voyage, his lady says he is not there, nor has anybody writ thence that they saw him, but this riddle must ere long break out.

My Lord Treasurer seeks earnestly to get Sir William Temple into the House of Commons, which is taken as a certain prognostic to his being Secretary. There has been a high contention in Berkshire about making a Knight of the Shire to succeed Sir Richard Powell. The King wished well to my Lord Sterling's cause, and is displeased to hear how much my Lord Clarendon did oppose it, and so did Michael Mallet also, and with such giddy treasonable words against His Majesty that 'tis said he is marching to the Tower. The Lord John Berkley died yesterday morning.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 14th from Kilkenny, and am extremely troubled to find my Lord James not in the good hands he ought to be. My nephew, Sir Philip Percival, was for some months in the hands of a sanctified Frenchman, but such a shark that of six crowns presented to the Minister at Angiers for the use of the poor he robbed four, and yet in my lifetime did I never see bills so minutely drawn and sent over even to five sous as from that hand. I am apt to think if my Lord James his expenses came at Orange in so little time to a £1,000 it was a greater sight than ever that town saw before. I have been beating my brains to find out a man fitted for this work, and can think of none that comes up to my satisfaction unless it were possible to prevail with Mr. Henshaw, who, taking him in all respects, is the fittest man I know to be governor to a Prince. I will soon make a journey to my Lord Chamberlain to discourse this important point that is of so much moment to your Grace, and who knows but that Mr. Henshaw may be induced to do that in compliment that he need not or would refuse upon recompense. I know my Lord Chamberlain has a mighty value for him, being old acquaintance and travelling together abroad, and since your Grace cannot but know him I shall long to hear whether your Grace considers him as I do. There was a time as your Grace remembers that I named Mr. Blathwayt, and I only name him now to tell your Grace thet he succeeds very well in the Plantation business, and being taken notice of by His Majesty as one that was suddenly cured by Dr. Tabor (whom the King admires, and very justly, for his certain cure of an ague) he lately sent Mr. Blathwayt over with letters of compliment to his niece, who had lain ten months without remedy, and this doctor also in his company, who immediately cured her to the amazement of that Court; and Mr. Blathwayt, on his return, stood so fair with His Majesty, who seems to have kindness for him, that he presently admitted him to be sworn clerk of the Council Extraordinary, which was the point your Grace knows we have been long aiming at and is now thus accomplished.

I long to hear that your Grace hath been at Kinsale, where I am sure you had warm welcome from my good mother, though but cold entertainment. But I shall be most glad to hear if the fort of Rincorran do answer your Grace's expectation. And so I wish your Grace a happy conclusion to your progress.

1678, September 3.—I would now say something to three of your Grace's of the 3rd, 14th and 19th instant. The first relates to the Bill of Confirmation, whereof my Lord Chancellor (who has that and the rest of the Bills now with him) has drawn out an extract with his own hand, and on Friday I was there with Sir Edward Dering and my cousin Heneage, where they went over the whole in general discourse, and his Lordship seemed to approve of it indifferent well, though he said my Lord Anglesey had writ him a letter from Bletchington crying out against the Bill by intelligence he had, and hoping that tho' the Irish carried it in Ireland, yet the English would carry it here. But the last

night (when I came from Windsor) I found my Lord Chancellor at my house visiting my wife; he took an occasion to tell me that he had been thinking again and making his observations upon the Bill, and did find several matters to be objected against, which yet before he shewed unto the King he would write and send them to your Grace in hopes of satisfaction therein.

Your Grace's other two letters concern chiefly my Lord James, which was a matter that I took extremely to heart, and therefore found an occasion of being with Mr. Henshaw to sound the state of his thoughts in case such a proposition should offer. He told me that he was just marrying of his only daughter and child, after which he should not have many incumbrances upon him; but that he thought himself now too old to meddle with an enterprise of that nature, and that he did not think others had him in that degree of estimation which I mentioned, supposing, I think, that your Grace knew little of him. This was the scope of what occurred on his part, whereas on mine it was so to esteem his abilities, with his quality and good condition in the world, as to make it only a pure mark of friendship and personal respect to your Grace's family to touch upon such an understanding in case this Lord should fall under necessity of changing the hand he was in. And so we broke off the discourse with my telling him that indeed the answer about his daughter was a just bar against the touching upon any other care whatsoever, for he has met with a gentleman to his liking and is to make his daughter worth £10,000. But I am verily of opinion that when that work is over he might be courted in this other, if your Grace thought it as fit and valuable as I do.

On Saturday I went directly to my Lord Chamberlain at Windsor with this proposition as it is concerning Mr. Henshaw. My Lord told me that he knew him in France, Italy and Spain, and did value him equally at the rate I did, but could hardly hope to attain him, since it was with difficulty that he was presuaded to be Minister in Denmark. Next he thought that my Lord of Ossory did purpose to put his son into an academy, where the governors are somewhat irreverently treated by the conspiracy of the young men, and that he thought Mr. Henshaw too far advanced in years to bear that with patience. I told his Lordship that if it were resolved to put my Lord James into the way of chivalry I had no more to say, though I thought the family had enough of that at present to serve turn for one age. Nor did I think my Lord James yet capable or likely to be rough enough in two or three years for the work of an academy. But my calculation was chiefly made to find out a man of a sweet "gentile" humour, and so adorned with all manner of knowledge as to be able to infuse into every chink of his soul that which might make him a man of high consideration in the world. My Lord replied unto this that there would be time to reflect upon what I represented, for as your Grace had told him that you had ordered my Lord James to come from Orange to Paris, so his Lordship had advised your Grace, by consent of his mother and all other parties concerned, to send for my Lord directly over hither, here

to remain at least till the next spring, with hopes of like success as hath happened to his nephew, Bennett, who, since his coming from France, is wonderfully mended and improved in good behaviour and many things else, by only the conversation that he meets withal in that family. After this his Lordship shewed me Mr. Barrington's letter of the 6th of August, and my Lady Ossory shewed me a letter by the last post from Monsieur de Lange, where 'tis said that he and my Lord James, being together in bed, by accident the bed took fire and was all burnt in half an hour; that he, to save my Lord James harmless as he was, had his own hands and feet all burnt and they were now bound up, but that he was made to hope he might in three weeks be able to write himself. This was the scope of that letter, only at the foot thereof there was two lines from my Lord James signifying his escape, and magnifying the care of Monsieur de Lange. Upon all which particulars having made some descant as being either necessary or artificial arguments to stay in that uncouth and desolate place, and perceiving among all other the notorious practices so lively represented by Mr. Barrington that the debts there contracted up and down are never likely to be satisfied if the money light in his hand, I therefore told his Lordship and the ladies that were present, that I was so far from advising that Monsieur de Lange should bring my Lord to Paris, and from thence hither to become at least an incumbrance when he were turned off, that I thought your Grace could not fix a more just mortification upon him or acquit yourself better, in the opinion of the good people there, than to discharge him in that very place, now that your Grace comes to know what he is. And that therefore it would be most proper to direct what money should be necessary unto Mr. Barrington to pay off all scores and to give the governor his writ of ease, and that I thought Mr. Barrington was well enough acquainted with travel to conduct my Lord James in safety hither. With this proposal my Lord and my Lady Ossory did fully agree, and his Lordship wished me to write it unto you as his interference. Now I have been since thinking that if your Grace should not think Mr. Barrington altogether sufficient for this trust you might direct Mr. Mulys to hasten over and to be of the party and so to conduct his Lordship over to stay here until the next spring, either about the Court, as my Lord Arlington says, or in Oxford, as my Lady Ossory says, or where else your Grace shall think fit.

1678, September 14.—There is nothing sounds so cheerful in this melancholy place as the arrival of my Lord of Ossory, which is confirmation enough that there is nothing of danger stirring on the other side. Mr. Hyde is come also with him, having put an end to his embassy by seeing the Spaniards sign what was expected, and the Dutch thereupon to pass the ratification on their parts. The last scene of this affair is a little remarkable in some points, namely, that France should so far neglect His Majesty, as after all this progress to fix the arbitration of what lay in dispute between him and Spain in the hands of the Dutch. No sooner were they valuing themselves on the caress of this dignity, and

labouring to persuade Spain to own and submit to what they should pronounce therein, but France sends directly to Spain a concession of all the new points in dispute, either for fear that Holland might have been partial to its ally, or that he affected the glory of obliging Europe hereby with a peace, and so preferred this and the thanks from Spain beyond the decency that should have been preserved towards Holland. But it seems that neither we nor Holland are in consideration when he thinks fit to resolve on a new point. 'Tis said the Spaniards do entertain many of the late disbanded Dutch, not only as rather choosing to fill their garrisons with them than with English, but very desirous that the English were quite departed, which, if persisted in, will help to enforce the arguments of those who are likely to press in the next session to have them called home and disbanded.

The Duke of Buckingham seems to stand so fair with the King as is sufficient to disquiet some, but not to amount to anything in the opinion of others. 'Tis thought that the Earl of Plymouth will at last be Vice-Treasurer on that side, and that a principal article of this affair must be the solemn acquittal of the Lord Ranelagh before that Parliament sits, as also protection if need require when it does. On Wednesday last the Lord Chancellor had not quite finished his observations on the Bill, but was near an end. 'Tis not probable that your Parliament will sit before the spring because the business of the session here may last till towards Christmas and will leave no room for anything else, so that it may be January before the Bills are here approved, not reckoning upon the inconvenience of the two Parliaments sitting together, or what my Lord Ranelagh's case for putting off the evil day may help to bring to pass.

1678, September 17.—I have your Grace's of the 30th past from Kinsale, and though everyone will give much allowance on the score of that indulgence which your Grace has ever vouchsafed to me and my family, yet this letter shall lie among my best memorials, not only to witness towards my honour but to magnify your Grace's, who can with favour accept the good will and respects of an ancient dependant, how improper soever the expressions thereof may appear.*

The enclosed packet is from my Lord Chancellor to your Grace, but put under cover to my Lord Lanesborough in the same manner as your Grace's came to him. But for fear my Lord Lanesborough might be out of the way I direct all to your Grace, because it concerns the Bill of Confirmation, touching which I know your Grace would on your part have no time lost. I perceive my Lord Chancellor had not only a particular paper of objections given him after he had made his own, but some intimations, more than he had before, that by instigation from some of the English on that side there would great attempts here be made [to] vilify the Bill, taking that perhaps as a handle to reflect also upon your Grace. Who that other paper was writ by my Lord knows

* See Ormond's letter to Sir R. Southwell of Aug. 30, 1678, written from Kinsale. Fourteenth Report, App. VII., Vol. II., p. 275.

not. It was, it seems, given to him by his son, but I will endeavour to find it out, and by what my Lord Chancellor says as well as writes I have reason to believe that his Lordship will improve all that your Grace shall send to the best advantage. I am sure it is Sir Edward Dering's resolution so to do. And now I name him to your Grace I beg leave to acquaint you that some months since there was one Mr. Stanley, who appeared very busy to get a reversion behind him upon that expectance he has by your Grace's favour of the Auditor's place in Ireland, upon which he hath been wishing that your Grace would give him leave to renew his patent, and that it might run to himself and his son or the longest liver of them, which would not only discourage future attempts in others, but make some amends for the long expectation he hath had and is still like to have in that affair. If your Grace say anything to me of encouragement herein he will then make his address to your Grace, but if not he will desist.

Our Parliament will certainly meet at the time appointed, for 'tis with all difficulty imaginable that the public charge is so long supported; and I perceive there will not only be occasion for money to pay off scores, but an increase of the standing revenue is likely to be insisted on, it being impossible to hold out without it, since our fleet now, in a reduced condition, cannot with the office of Ordnance be maintained for less than seven hundred thousand pounds a year. And as for the condition of the army 'tis thought His Majesty will lay that matter before the Parliament, with arguments to keep up some force, but upon the whole to leave it unto their determination. There was lately a warm report as if my Lord Sunderland had made some false step at Paris and was to be recalled; but whatever were the ground of that report it seems now to be vanished. As soon as my Lord Longford comes to town he shall see what your Grace is pleased to say of Rincorran.

1678, September 24.—I have the honor of your Grace's of the 11th instant, and did read so much thereof to my Lord Chancellor as concerned your Grace's opinion of Limerick, and the compliment to his Lordship on the Bill of Confirmation being lodged in so good a hand. I wish we had already back your Grace's answers to his Lordship's observations, not knowing whether there do not now fall in three weeks of unexpected time that may not partly be employed that way. For His Majesty has now resolved that the Parliament shall not sit until the 21st of October, in order, I suppose, to see what Spain will do upon the ratification, which implies as if it were our business to disturb it, and consequently to leap into the war, towards which the Duke's appearing so much more zealous than others has not a little abated much of that public displeasure that was not long since entertained in point of his religious persuasion. But since His Majesty will be absent at Newmarket, whither he will go (as they say) this day sennight, and so Councils, as hitherto in his absence, to cease, or whether they may in his absence continue, as there is one appointed for to-morrow, I cannot tell. Perhaps

they may entertain the business of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts in this interim, which therefore shall not fail to-morrow in the form they came by Mr. Cooper to be presented to the Board.

On Thursday last the Earl of Plymouth was married, and the only delay of his being Vice-Treasurer of Ireland is the want of £15,000 for my Lord Ranelagh's compensation. But I am now certainly told by one who has reason to know it that there is an undoubted expedient in view for the raising of this money, and so your Grace may reckon upon it that thus it will be; and this young Earl must needs grow up into the expectaton of any other great employment, when by his years he may be qualified thereunto, for his father-in-law shapes him and spurs him on to thoughts of business, and so everybody applauds the admirable endowments wherewith he is disposed thereunto.

I do sometimes hear, but 'tis with more scorn than concern, of your Grace's removal. But having gone all round the points of the compass to try who can be able to effect it, and for whose sake, and what you have done to deserve it so much as in the opinion of any one party, I cannot find any foundation for it, and do not think we are at leisure to make ducks and drakes, or for any single man's gratification to displease so many, and I therefore let all that pass for talk. Duke Hamilton is now at Court and has free access to His Majesty, though I cannot say how this comes about. The Duke of Buckingham is said also to advance in favour, but I do not hear that it ends in any other advance than that of conversation and merriment.

I am glad to observe that your Grace has appointed the coming of my Lord James to Paris, and since I find that your Grace gives approbation to what I have said touching Mr. Henshaw, I will use all the skill I can devise to gain his goodwill, and shall give your Grace an account how I proceed therein.

'Tis a long time that I have said nothing to your Grace concerning Mr. Hill and his progress in that little history that I put him upon, but I can now tell your Grace that he is advanced as far as the year 1648, and resolves to stick at the mark. I have now those sheets copying fair over which he hath done, and hope to send your Grace an entertainment therein by the next post or soon after. He and P. W. [Peter Walsh], dined yesterday with me in order to drive out some points that are obscure in the first narrative, and it was wished that he could come at a sight of a little treatise put forth by the General Assembly called "*The Model of Government*," as also the first "*Oath of Association*," or that which was taken or prescribed by the first General Assembly of the Confederates.

The Earl of Anglesey is not yet come to town, and till he does nobody, I believe, will say anything to the Bills that are come over.

1678, September 28.—'Tis now after 11 at night, and till now almost the Council have been sitting, and I despatching away six warrants to seize so many Jesuits for a design to take away the life of the King, beginning rebellion in Scotland and the

like in Ireland, which was to begin with the death of the Duke of Ormond, contrived by the Archbishop Talbot and four Jesuits employed therein. All this information, when the Council sat on it in the morning, looked ridiculous, when one Dr. Tonge gave in the informations he had got from one Oates, who from Protestant had turned Jesuit, and now lately repented and flew off to discover these things. But when he himself came this afternoon to tell his tale with all the particulars of it, the Lords stood amazed and could do no less than send for those he upon oath accused, as Conyers, Pickering, Ireland, etc., and Dr. Fogarty; and Sir GeorgeWakeman is also warned to attend the Board to-morrow, for the Council will sit, tho' on Sunday. By the next post I may have time and better foundation perhaps to enlarge on this subject to your Grace.

1678, October 1.—On Saturday morning an extraordinary Council was appointed and the Lord Treasurer presented a bundle of papers importing a conspiracy of the Jesuits to take away the life of His Majesty and to bring in confusion into his kingdoms. There attended without one Dr. Tonge, a divine, but of very crazy reputation, who had been instrumental in the framing of these papers. And whatever they said was at first measured according to his credit and altogether smiled at. He had taken the pains to put the substance of all the bundle of papers into one sheet, and thereof I have taken the boldness, under the rose, to send your Grace a copy. But the Doctor explaining himself that he was neither the author or prover of those matters, but one Mr. T. Oates, whom he could produce, the Lords appointed to meet in the afternoon, not judging it fit to undervalue or discountenance any information of that nature for example's sake. I should here inform your Grace that the father of this Oates was formerly chaplain to Colonel Pride, and of high renown that way; but has since conformed and bustled about sometimes at sea, and is at present fixed at Hastings. This, his son, is now but thirty years old, bred to learning, sometimes a parson on shore, and sometimes a chaplain at sea in the Dutch fights, and returned in that quality with Sir Richard Rooth in his last voyage from the Straits. After which, being out of play, he had a mind to a dangerous experiment of knowing the intrigues of the Jesuits, of whom he had heard so much discourse, so yields up himself as a convert about two years and a half ago, and was to perform the discipline of his novitiate in agency and journeying, for which he seemed by craft under bluntness and an outward simplicity to be well disposed. He was hereupon to embark for Spain about bringing over the body of my Lord Cottington that lies at Valladolid. This was all that he knew of his message, but had a large packet confided to him for the Jesuits at Madrid. Being advanced to Burgos he had great curiosity to know the contents of this packet, which having opened and thoroughly conned over he closed again, excusing some disorders of the wafer by the wearing in his pocket; and appearing at his arrival master of the secret he brought, those at Madrid judged him a confiding brother and made him a

free partaker of their counsels in hand. He was in six months sent back to St. Omer's, where he grew more acquainted with the conspiracy he has now revealed, so that being impatient to find means to discover it he noted among them great indignation against Dr. Tonge here, who had published a book, translated by him from French, called *The Jesuits' Morals*. Whereupon he informed them of some acquaintance he had with this Doctor, and would undertake to poison him. Upon which errand he was sent over with promise of £50 for his success. But the Doctor, being his relation, he did not only fail his employers in that point, but opened to him the whole series relating to conspiracy long since meditated and from time to time carried on, and now shortly to be executed upon the person of the King. Dr. Tonge brings the knowledge of this matter to His Majesty about the middle of the last month as he was going to Windsor. The King refers him to my Lord Treasurer, who after much reading of his papers and discourse upon the matter, desired to see or be directed how to intercept some letters of these criminals, whereby he might have proof and evidence out of their own proceedings. Hereupon his Lordship is advised to intercept, being at Windsor, such letters as should come thither for Mr. Bedingfield, that was, as he said, confessor to the Duke. But so it happened, by a journey my Lord Treasurer took into Oxfordshire for a week, no letters were there intercepted; so that Mr. Bedingfield, sending to the posthouse to see for letters, found three or four that spoke mystically and related to the matter in question. Upon which he brought them to the Duke, saying that he neither knew the handwriting nor the matter they contained and judged there was some contrivance in hand against him. Whereupon the Duke brought the letters to the King, and these letters also were by Mr. Secretary Williamson presented to the Board; and no man did imagine but the scene of all this was laid so thin, and that nothing but some malice and a trick was intended.

But after all this long preamble, for your Grace's information, in came Mr. Oates, who did not desire to refer himself to his papers, but to be sworn to the truth of what he should say. And there did he make such a narrative of the conspiracy, the parties concerned, their meetings, consultations, contrivances and ways of proceeding, that their Lordships were strangely perplexed, and generally fell into the belief that there was something formidable in this matter. Whereupon warrants are presently drawn for the seizing of six that were named and all their papers. Dr. Tonge and Mr. Oates were to be lodged in the Court and the Council to meet on Sunday in the afternoon. Five were taken that night and conveyed to Newgate. One Conyers, who was to have stabbed the King with a dagger, was fled; whereupon orders were immediately sent to the ports. His Majesty came to the Council in the afternoon and heard Mr. Oates repeat his evidence, and notwithstanding the little opinion His Majesty brought of any danger in the thing, yet 'twas visible that he was convinced the Jesuits were not the quiet men that he thought, and instead of twenty-six only in the kingdom, according to his belief, there were five hundred.

Sir George Wakeman was ordered to give his attendance as one whom report made, though no proof appeared, the undertaker to poison the King for £15,000. The conclusion of that Council was to issue warrants for half a dozen more, and among the rest for Mr. Coleman and his papers. On Monday the Council sat again morning and afternoon. The prisoners were examined, but denied all things, and even that which was trivial and apparently otherwise; so that now their papers that are seized are under examination, which is a tiresome work. Mr. Coleman is not in Newgate but in the messenger's hands. What share your Grace has in this matter and what part to act you will hear from Mr. Secretary Coventry, and how all the Lieutenants here are ordered to disarm the Papists.

His Majesty is thought by some to undervalue all this business and think it but contrivance; others think that possibly he calls it so in point of courage, but likes not all the complexion of the matter, and so will let those inquiries that, on such information, is proper for his Ministers to make to have their course. And surely what should herein be omitted at the Council Board will infallibly be taken up at the House of Commons. For it was impossible to be a secret, since Dr. Tonge not knowing, after he had engaged in this matter, whether Oates would stand to it or might not possibly be made away, he therefore carried him to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, as a justice of peace, and swore the whole matter, leaving also a copy of the writing behind him.

There are many that slight the thing as improbable, and others who call it but a trick to get money from the Parliament, which, I am sure, is no part of my belief. For if no conspiracy be proved, yet there will certainly appear such a growth and increase of Popery as will beget a more vigorous proceeding than hath hitherto ever appeared. And this is all I shall tire your Grace with at present, being myself most heartily tired with labouring for these four days past.

1678, October 5.—I endeavoured in my last, as the shortness of time would allow me, to give your Grace a prospect of the great agitation now among us, on account of a Jesuitical plot against the life of His Majesty. All this week hath been spent in examining the papers of those who have been seized, wherein little or nothing hitherto appears in verification of that point. But 'tis as true that if anybody had papers of that nature they were early enough upon the guard to put such things out of harm's way, for they were not ignorant of the storm that was coming. The last night the private Committee met to peruse such papers as the Clerks had selected. There was the Prince, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Bishop of London, Mr. Secretary Coventry, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. There has seldom been known a private Committee of that Board before to the exclusion of others. My Lord Privy Seal was not well enough to be present. They entered upon the papers of Mr. Coleman, among which there appeared a universal correspondence in all countries unless from Ireland; but their Lordships fixed upon

those in particular which he maintained with France, where his preposterous zeal or madness led him into the transaction of such things as concerned not only religion but the essentials of the Government, that the Lords were all amazed, and the thing surely is become too big either for that Board or the Judges, and will unavoidably devolve into the cognizance of the Parliament, and then God Almighty knows where the matter will stop. For this imprudent man has by his natural madness taken upon him to involve a person of high consideration as a party in his chimeras and the dangerous correspondence maintained between him and the confessor of the French King.

I should not presume to step thus far but that I know to whom I write, and His Majesty having confided to your Grace the peace of that his kingdom there is nothing in this that you ought to be ignorant of. Yet I dare not go farther in unravelling these papers than to tell your Grace that whereas Mr. Coleman was now in custody only of a messenger, and that the first warrant for conveying him to Newgate was thus far mitigated by a second, yet now they immediately command a new warrant to be drawn there in their presence to commit him to Newgate for treasonable correspondence, tending to the destruction of His Majesty and the subversion of the Government; and one of the Clerks, Sir R[obert] S[outhwell] was immediately commanded to take a guard with him and another messenger, that so he might bring them tidings of Mr. Coleman's being in their custody, and in the coach for Newgate, which was accordingly performed. And now that the City see things are in earnest going on, informations come thick in from all quarters, so that 'tis impossible, in all appearance, that this inquiry will end without such demonstrations as are likely to put a very different face upon things.

Your Grace, it seems, has a part to act on that side, by order sent you the last post from Mr. Secretary Coventry, and therefore I need say no more. Your Grace, in such a conjuncture, has wisdom to direct you how to proceed. Perhaps this paper is proper for the fire.

1678, October 15.—The two last posts have given me the honour of your Grace's of the 27th past, and the 5th instant. I showed my Lord Chancellor what your Grace said upon receipt of his, which he took in very good part. And your Grace's packet I gave him this day, as he was busy at the Committee concerning the Plot.

To-morrow His Majesty will be here, and their Lordships have ordered some report which will contain the objections and the answers upon this whole matter, and so leave it to His Majesty to direct such further method for trying and examining the matters as he thinks fit, saying only that they judge them worthy of a legal proceeding; and so I presume there will be a Commission of Oyer and Terminer appointed at least before the Parliament sit. The truth is, after searching over every man's sack of papers (to a degree that we are all harassed) there is but little found to corroborate Mr. Oates's assertion as to the point of killing. But

Mr. Coleman's papers, though all were secured by him of fresh transaction for these two years past, yet many of those that precede that time, being taken, do notoriously explain his contrivances with France and Rome to extirpate heresy, rout all Parliaments, and establish the Catholic cause. And he has dared, in many things, to vouch that authority for his commerce which doubtless he never had. How the law may treat him is doubtfully said, but I presume in Parliament he will pass his time but ill, if once the matter as is believed fall into their notice. And many conjectures there are that this will occason the breach of some friendships, and not a little change the figure of things. My Lord Arlington appears in all these letters to have been judged the capital enemy of France for being the champion of Parliaments. 'Tis said His Majesty is really incensed against Coleman.

There is an accident happened of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's being lost for these three or four days, which, being imputed to revenge, upon his having as a justice taken all these depositions from Oates before they came to the Council Board, there was an order this day passed for public inquiry after him, but the printing of it is stopped till to-morrow, upon some jealousy that he may be absented upon the score of debt. I am so tired that I cannot go on.

1678, October 19.—On Wednesday morning there was, by order of the Committee, a report drawn up to present His Majesty with what they found in the case of the Jesuits and of Coleman, with an advice to consult the judges and an opinion that the matter was worthy of a legal trial. But because a report should properly be signed, there were some who I presume thought the matter too nice, and so argued against any other report than a verbal one, lest any opinion given by them might hereafter affect the jury. So when His Majesty arrived from Newmarket and came to the Council in the afternoon, the nature of the evidence against the Jesuits was set off to its utmost advantage. But His Majesty, who had heard the greater part of it himself before his going, and has judgment to penetrate, did appear very little satisfied either with the sincerity of the witness or the five letters of concurrent evidence, which in my conscience I think are all forged—those I mean that were sent to one Bedingfield at Windsor. For I have taken no little pains to make the best of this matter, and find too many proofs of disparagement upon those letters, which is all the evidence that comes anything near the business of assassination. His Majesty was not willing to have these men hurried off, or their blood taken in a case so improbable, and because, if without more circumstance they were left to the mercy of a jury, he foresaw what must happen. He was therefore resolved to hear and have the opinion of the judges himself upon the nature of this evidence. And so it was resolved that Mr Attorney should state the whole case as it did appear; but as to the other part touching Coleman His Majesty was incensed against him to the last degree upon hearing some of his letters read.

Yesterday seven of the judges who were in town came to the Board and heard Mr. Attorney's report read, which contains little more but much less than what your Grace hath already heard, and it concludes with these two questions. First, whether the evidence of one witness be sufficient either to indict or convict a man of high treason of this nature. Secondly, if it be not, whether here be any evidence against these particular persons besides the single testimony of Mr. Oates. The judges are to report their opinions on Wednesday next, and of what proceedings they think fit to be had thereupon. They are at the same time also to declare their opinions whether it be not treason to endeavour to extirpate the religion established in this kingdom, and to introduce the Pope's authority by combination and with the assistance of foreign powers, and if it be not treason, what crime is it? This part of the work relates to Mr. Coleman, and my Lord Chief Justice North did, on the spot, declare it treason, and some reasons and precedents for it. His Majesty did express much displeasure against the sect of the Jesuits, of whom there being a list of near three hundred in England, incorporated and working by steady rules to disquiet the peace and religion of others, they are no longer to be suffered in the land. Wherefore Wednesday next is appointed to think seriously of what remedies may be fit to dissolve this troublesome society, so far, I suppose, as to send them packing.

Thus your Grace has the prospect of things as they sound at Whitehall. Some do indiscreetly deride everything, notwithstanding this horrid accident just now happened of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's murder. Others make more account of the whole, and of this thing in particular, imputing it to the Papists, and as a pattern of their way of proceeding. But seeing the Parliament will meet on Monday, 'tis not how the wind blows in harbour, but how it will prove at sea. There each ship is under sail and must declare the course it means to steer, and must yield either to the wind or to the tide if they oppose each other.

Yesterday my Lord Ailesbury was sworn of the Council, introduced, I suppose, by favour of the Lord Treasurer. I hope I may to-morrow learn what is thought of your Grace's answer to the objections concerning the Act.

1678, October 22.—I could learn nothing on Sunday last touching the Irish Bill, for my Lord Chancellor was thoughtful, having yesterday the enclosed speech to deliver in Parliament. The votes that have since passed in the Commons I also enclose. The House was but thin; and as it fills (which it will do) so is the heat like to increase. Both Houses fell upon the matter of the conspiracy, and both addressed to be possessed of the informations and papers, and His Majesty hath yielded that the Lords shall have them all, and to-morrow they are to be delivered, and the Commons will soon find way to have their share in that examination; and by this means it will appear that nothing has for these many years been spoken within those walls that sounded like malice and mutiny that Mr. Coleman, by the letters he wrote

and the correspondences he maintained, does not give the utmost provocation for, and this, I fear, to the irreparable damage of his master; so that what I wrote your Grace on the first instant I might now, in my own apprehensions, say over again. But I have said enough, and by this time I hope my Lord Arran is safely with you.

Upon the stirring of the matter of this conspiracy in the House many of the country gentlemen were much scandalized to see none of the other side speak a word, but all the agitation of this matter left to them, though it concerned the King's security. One of them, a principal man, pressing to have the cognizance of this affair brought before them, enlarged into the rumour of other resolutions intended, and said these could not be the doings of a little Secretary, but persons of other note that must be inquired after.

Upon return of the Court from Newmarket there seemed to be a damp given to that zeal wherewith the Committee had appeared to enquire into the matter, and though this horrid accident of Sir Edmund[bury] Godfrey's murder fell in, yet the whole seemed to be but of little account, and I saw evidently that nothing could so naturally drive it into the Parliament as to handle it with neglect, and especially (if any did so) with derision. But the indignation of this murder was so great abroad that 'twas found necessary to repair the neglect of doing nothing concerning it at the Council on Friday by making a proclamation at the Committee of Foreign Affairs on Sunday night, where such things have rarely pass. 'Tis believed that when both Houses appear engaged in a zealous prosecution touching this conspiracy, and all that relates to the actors in it, there may those informations appear there which were shy to come to Whitehall. This is but conjecture, and chiefly said to possess your Grace with a true notion of what is like to fall out; for I do not yet perceive but the Parliament are in all likelihood on the windward-gage, and will bear down with great power and effect. 'Tis no mean circumstance for your Grace's information to know that *fi* [the Duke of York], is in the utmost malice and indignation of *gq* [France], which is very certain, though a new and extraordinary point.

By this time your Grace (if you had leisure) will have seen what my Lord Arran carried over of Mr. Hill's work. What I read of it in so busy a time as it came to my hand seemed to have its commendation in point of writing from the ease and plainness of the style; but there is a large margin left for your Grace's amendment in all things.

1678, October 26.—I see nothing this day that I had not some loose vision of upon the first instant when I writ unto your Grace, which, in me, being rather cowardice than skill, has yet proved of infinite use unto myself and others, for I took so minute an account of everything that passed, and did so put in view everything that ought to pass, that yesterday the House falling upon inquiry how this dangerous matter has been managed since the first discovery, Mr. Oates gave testimony which there passed for

gospel, that from the 28th of September that it was managed at the Council-Board no possible care or vigilance had been wanting. And particularly the Clerks in revolving the multitude of papers before them had scarce given themselves time to eat. But the House are not yet satisfied why the matter slept from the 11th of August unto that time, and seemed to lean very hard on my Lord Treasurer, to whose care the King referred it in the beginning, telling Dr. Tonge, that brought the discovery, that in his Lordship's hands he would trust his life and his crown. But the inquiry after this delay was passed over for the present as a thing more proper for another time.

I cannot in the present hurry tell how to spread before your Grace a distinct view of what we are about. You will find by the enclosed papers five Lords clapped up, who should have been commissionated in supreme authority in this Papal expedition, as also several others that have been named, and are, upon the testimony of Oates, secured. It was upon Thursday night that the House sent for the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs who, taking in the Speaker's Chamber the same deposition that had been made to the House, issued forth his warrants with so much frankness and expedition that he received the public thanks. This day Dr. Tonge gave in an additional evidence to Mr. Oates' touching the great fire of London, and the share that your Grace's friend Blood had in that enterprise, and that it was a Popish French Louvestein plot, Blood being the agent for the latter. And there are some particular instances now revived in this forgotten thing which are very surprising, and all referred to the former Committee for further examination. There were also taken in the Speaker's Chamber by some justices of the peace Mr. Oates his deposition that Colonel Richard Talbot was to be General in Ireland, the Lord Mountgarret Lieut.-General, but to be officiated by his son, and one Piper [Peppard] to be a Colonel and Peter Talbot to be Chancellor, which I think were all he could name; and whether there be order taken for your Grace's proceeding hereupon I cannot certainly tell.

Your Grace will here enclosed see the address presented His Majesty by both Houses this afternoon, which His Majesty has promised shall the next Council-day be turned into a proclamation. By all which your Grace may collect that the Papists are like to feel the weight of public indignation against them, which is a thing could never arise out of the industry or evidence of one single man, and especially a man under the disadvantage of many known failures in his life and conversation, if it were not for other considerations. The first of which I take to be the manifest indulgence which for so many years has been extended to the people, and wherein some of them have so imprudently triumphed, that it became the grief and scandal of many, and turned itself into so much combustible matter against the day of wrath. So that being thus disposed and prepared, and finding (at the same time that Mr. Oates erects this loose and tottering fabric which would easily tumble if it stood alone) a verification of as strange things as he mentions in the letters and correspondence of Mr.

Coleman, driving wholly at the extirpation of our religion, subverting the form of government, and other wild and preposterous changes, which look like concurrent testimonies in several parts, and leave suspicion of absolute partnership in the Plot, by Coleman's removing all the fresh correspondence for these two years past, and leaving these as the most innocent part; and to all this taking in the impudent murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, done as it were in terror to any that should be active in these inquiries (for so the construction is made).—these, I say, are the causes and aggravations that bring credit to what Mr. Oates has pronounced, and would do so, were it ten times wilder and more extravagant than it is. Your Grace may then judge how seasonable it here sounds that you have committed Peter Talbot, and done those other things which express a lively sense on your part of the danger which is now so universally believed by most, and talked of by all in this place. And here I must acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 10th, 13th and 15th past, all in the same sheet, from which and two that I have perused from your Grace in the hands of my Lord Longford, I shall not cease to do all things that I can devise to be for your Grace's service.

It seems on Thursday my Lord Strafford had in the House wofully lamented the overspreading condition of Popery in Ireland, and that if some care were not taken in that all other cares were in vain. Upon which my Lord Privy Seal acquainted the House that effectual orders had been given and that my Lord Strafford had been present at the giving of them. Which was so much doubted as that the Lords appointed to have that order brought to them on Friday morning, as it was. And then your Grace's letter and proceedings about Peter Talbot coming so luckily as to be read on Friday at Council in the afternoon, it was there ordered that my Lord Chancellor should this morning make report of the same in the House of Lords. I might here tell your Grace that if somebody had not made it his particular care and contrivance to have those orders sent, and that in the form they were, perhaps my Lord Strafford's motion had been very new.

I have only seen Peter Talbot's first examination where he pretends to be drawn in by invitation of Colonel Fitzpatrick, but he being just now with me is ready to deny that as much as what Netterville denied there. And forasmuch as your Grace appears to have had knowledge of his arrival and residence in the country which some may endeavour to interpret amiss, your Grace must send over as many fresh testimonials as may be that since 'tis safe to be in earnest, you can much more willingly act that part, and show with what effect your proclamation is prosecuted, by returning the lists of such as are compelled to embark, in the several ports, and dissolving such and such convents, etc., as have been most remarkably taken notice of, and doing all things else that may consist with the public peace.

His Royal Highness is at present surrounded with infinite perplexities, which all good men must lament. He has been always present at the Committee of the Lords while the papers

of Coleman and Sir William Throgmorton have been read. Each of them have dared to name and interest His Highness in their dangerous contrivances, which he hears with indignation, and appeals to the improbability of his confiding either to the folly of the one or the madness of the other. And yet this does not satisfy the warm spirits of that House, and much less is it likely to do that of the Commons. Part of these letters were this day by His Majesty sent down to the Commons, having been read and finished by the Lords, and a Committee of the Lords are to examine Mr. Coleman at the prison, and some think that if Mr. Coleman finds himself in extremities and has quite abandoned all hopes of protection from the Duke, that he may then run into much liberty of discourse, in order to save his life, for your Grace will find his crime is, by the opinion of the judges, made capital. I send you the case of the Jesuits stated by Mr. Attorney, and the opinions of the judges upon all, and I think I have by this time sufficiently tired your Grace.

Postscript.—Sir Edward Dering hath perused your Graces animadversions on a letter writ by that Lord who is picking quarrels with the Bill in order to be thought a champion of the cause, and I doubt not but he will undeceive many as to the vanity of those objections.

Sir Ellis Leighton is seized at Dover in his return from France, not only as a man named by Mr. Oates, but upon account of other iniquity and some transaction in France. Mr. Oates did not acquaint the Council with this business of commissions, and the great men concerned therein, nor did he discover it in his depositions before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, which, it seems, were taken on the 6th of September, and it appears now by evidence before the Lords that there was so much friendship between Mr. Coleman and Sir Edmund that they were close together in a tavern, and these papers shewed unto Mr. Coleman.

The Act is almost in readiness to go up to the Lords for purging from thence the Popish Peerage, and permitting none to remain in the Queen's service of that religion but her Portuguese servants. I perceive by one that is near unto her that some jealousies are growing up in that family of a particular event not impossible, whereof your Grace knows there has been some former whispers and tampering, when the weather was not so cloudy as now it is.

1678, October 29.—On Saturday I sent your Grace the posture of things here unto that time. Yesterday morning Mr. Oates appeared at the Bar and gave information that he had presented a commission to Sir John Cage and another to Sir William Goring, both of them gentlemen of consideration in Sussex, and that the latter was entrusted with eight hundred thousand crowns, which were to be applied to the disturbances of Ireland. Also that the Duchess of Mazarin was here a spy for the King of France. Upon all which points he was examined before justices of the peace, and, I suppose, warrants are gone to secure the two knights. There was an idle information about blowing up the two Houses, which presently vanished.

There were eighteen letters of Mr. Coleman's, seventeen of which were by Sir R[obert] S[outhwell] deciphered without a key, and being translated by a committee to whom they were referred, they were this morning read in the House to their no small astonishment. And that your Grace may not want part of that entertainment I here presume to enclose you fourteen sheets, which will give your Grace a prospect of so much and something more; for there are also fifteen answers from the Internuncio, and tho' the contents of these letters at large are now become the discourse of all, that there was great machinations in the world and much revolution intended, yet nobody has hitherto taken any copies, and therefore it will not yet be proper to own that your Grace has any such. When these and other papers were given in to the House of Lords 'twas observed that two letters were wanting which had been at the Committee of the Council—one to Father Oliva, General of the Jesuits, and another to Father La Chaise, Confessor to the King of France, both of them in Mr. Coleman's writing, but as if sent by the Duke, and upon the want of these two papers the Lords, some of them, were very inquisitive, and the Commons, having a hint thereof, did this day press very hard upon the Clerks of the Council, who as well vindicated themselves and the care they had taken, at least some of them. But Sir Philip Lloyd, who is in waiting, is to give in a list of all that fell to his care; and even those two papers are by him at last given in to the Lords, and the Duke has thereupon declared that Mr. Coleman did prepare some such kind of letters for his signing, but that he had rejected them, and had commanded Mr. Coleman not to intermeddle in things of that nature, which if he had done upon his own head he must answer for it.

But now on the other side, Mr. Coleman having been twice examined at Newgate by a Committee of the Lords, he hath (as they say) acknowledged that he went over, with the Duke's allowance, to the Internuncio at Brussels, and that my Lord Arundel had also been twice there, upon report of which in the House 'tis said the Duke made answer that poor Father Patrick, bringing over some broken story or message from the said Internuncio, he had let Coleman go over to know what it meant. It seems there was a debate among the Lords this day for communicating what Mr. Coleman had said to the Commons, but upon a division there were but twenty for it and near as many more against it; of which, intimation being presently had, the Commons voted a committee to go and examine Coleman on their own account.

There seems a general consternation here upon all sorts.; the Protestants fearing the effect of what is not yet discovered and the Papists to be thoroughly mortified for so much as is. The first sort talk of reviving such a kind of association as passed in the Queen's time for the preservation of her person and the Government, with other hints that relate to the succession, so that your Grace may imagine whether the poor Duke be not surrounded with difficulties almost inextricable. 'Tis said

proposals are secretly made him by this and that combination of men for his deliverance, but that he knows not whom to trust, or what to choose. And for the great and effectual remedy, which is reconciliation to the Church of England, most men doubt that he has in his natural temper too much irresolution to think of striking sail.

I find, as to the Irish Bill, that nothing must be thought of in a long time. However, on Sunday last Sir Edward Dering and myself took notice to the Lord Chancellor how the Earl of Orrery was employing his skill and arguments against the confirmation. Upon which his Lordship told us he had a good while since heard read unto him part of eight sheets, being copy of a letter writ to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, sent hither to the Lady Ranelagh, and by her sent unto him in order to be edified, but that he looked on most of it as chimera and had not patience to hear it out. Upon which we promised his Lordship your Grace's observations on that letter, which upon the first leisure he will be ready to see; but in the meantime perceives that 'tis not so much a quarrel against the Bill as against your Grace, and so the matter must be provided for accordingly.

1678, November 2.—It is somewhat too late for me to write much, so that I must refer your Grace to the enclosed votes, which show a great progress made in the business depending since the last post; and this night hath added to it in the House of Lords by a high debate there begun for removing the Duke from all His Majesty's Councils.

I have but a very imperfect account of what there passed and therefore will not meddle with it, but it seems the debate is adjourned till Monday morning, and surely 'twill not be long before the same question will be started among the Commons, it seeming to be the whole scope and purport of all this agitation; so as all is lost if that point be not gained, and if it be everything else is gotten. There are many of the most considerable members among the Commons who hath hitherto been reserved and almost silent, being, as they confess, distracted with the prospect of infelicity wherewith their minds are afflicted. The talk now is become free and does not require a cipher They think the Duke's zeal in his way of religion would push things on to a universal change if he could choose. To prevent which they would willingly labour so far as were requisite; but seem to apprehend, for want of temper on either side, that the thing may be overdone, and so lay a foundation for great disquiets. And the Queen's friends seem no less to be affrighted, as judging her concern to be involved in any extremity that shall fall in this.

I send your Grace the proclamation which last issued for removal of the Papists; but it was this morning explained in Council, and will again be so to-morrow at an extraordinary Council, that all merchants strangers are exempted, and all other strangers, but they are to send lists of their names in to the Secretaries. Also the Queen's and Duchess's servants are to be listed and, by six hands of the Board, to have exemption.

Mr. Secretary Coventry took notice this evening in the House that several days ago Mr. Oates had informed, and depositions were consequently taken touching the matter of Ireland, but that no order had been given thereupon, and consequently nothing had been done. Upon which Sir Thomas Lee took advantage to expose the neglect, and as if no care could be taken or was yet taken of Ireland, unless it were ordered by the House of Commons. Upon this Sir R[obert] S[outhwell] set forth the orders that had been given, the two proclamations that by your Grace had been issued thereupon, the frequent meetings of the Council, and the seizing of Peter Talbot, which information was not unseasonable. Your Grace's last was read at the Board on Wednesday, touching Peter Talbot's prevarication, and it was ordered to be sent to the Lords where the rest of the papers lie.

I have spoken to my Lord Longford, and would willingly erect a club if I could find a third fit man to meet regularly once or twice a week to consider in this storm what may concern your Grace, especially seeing the proclamation strikes off one who was not guilty of doing too little.

1678, November 9.—The House hath twice sat this day and will sit again to-morrow, being Sunday, at 4 o'clock, and I can hardly well turn in this hurry to a representation of all the variety of matters which is now depending. The great question about the Duke's withdrawing did not yesterday, according to appointment, come into debate, because of an intimation by the Secretary that His Majesty would this day speak to both Houses, and it was also hoped that there was a material discovery of the contrivers of the late murder. Upon which the said debate was adjourned till Thursday next, not only in order to hear what the King would say but to observe whether in that time (which would be sufficient) the Bill for displacing the Popish Lords would pass.

What His Majesty's speech was your Grace will see by the enclosed paper, and from thence conclude how high the intended debate is like to rise; for surely had His Majesty not been manifestly convinced that the point of succession would have been driven at, he had not interposed with this declaration of his pleasure thereupon in hopes to obviate the same. And yet after all these gracious expressions of His Majesty there wanted not those that desired a day for the serious debate of this great matter, that the nation who had intrusted them might find a full substantial and entire security in the provision that should be made to that effect, and that they might not too late find, instead thereof, nothing but snares and delusions to their own destruction; and how such a middle way of temperament could be found out seemed altogether impossible, for what method could there be laid down for the conviction of the successor if a Papist, and the execution intended thereupon. It was replied by the Secretary that His Majesty was very frank in this matter, and would allow of a law to pass that should put a test upon his successor, to deprive him of several important privileges in case he should

refuse the same. It was asked the Secretary whether such Act should make it lawful for the subjects to defend themselves in case the intended conditions of such Act were violated? And thus the debate itself was going to begin, while the first proposal was only for a day, and a speedy day was so much insisted on that even to-morrow was thought fit to be assigned for a work of this importance. And as for the thanks which some press might be returned for so gracious a speech, some agreed that it might be for the expressions that were gracious, but not for that part which touched upon the restriction, adding that there appeared little hopes to have any law in the future performed, when as notwithstanding the Act for a Test, whose effect was so much magnified by my Lord Chancellor, there were twenty-three companies of the present army whose officers were all Papists, and a whole army yet in arms, notwithstanding so late a law for the paying off and disbanding the same. But at last it was agreed that Monday should be the day for this great debate, and that everyone might in the interim think on the ways and methods fit to be considered at that time. And this is enough to show your Grace what the contention is like to prove.

As to the other point hinted by Mr. Secretary, it seems there was brought to His Majesty on Thursday night one whom His Majesty presented to the House of Lords yesterday morning, and upon which a clear and mighty discovery seemed to be made of all things, not only in the business of the murder but in concurrence with much of Mr. Oates his information. The man is one Bedloe, who, being a mercer at Chepstow, broke about seven years since, and going for Ireland there changed his religion; and having travelled into foreign parts, fell into trust and confidence among the Jesuits, and was spoken to to take part in the late murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who, he says, was trepanned into Somerset house, and being first demanded for Oates his depositions was afterwards strangled; and having lain there two nights Bedloe says he was called on to assist to his removal, for which he was to have had 2,000 guineas to be paid him by the Lord Bellasis, who contrived this work; one of whose servants, with two Jesuits, a chapel keeper of the Queen's, and a clerk of Mr. Pepys being instrumental in the fact; and that he was on Monday night carried out in a sedan, and so by degrees unto Primrose Hill. Upon this information the Lords ordered that the Earl of Ossory, Lord Clarendon, and Lord Gerard should presently go with an hundred soldiers to surround Somerset House, and to seize persons and papers and to break open all doors whatsoever. Bedloe went with these Lords and showed them the place where he saw the dead body lie, which it seems is a lobby or a place for servants to attend in. And this being done while the Queen was there at Somerset House for many days during the King's absence at Newmarket, the Queen's servants deride the whole story as a falsehood and impossible thing, and accuse this man for a notorious robber and highwayman; which is so far from stopping or suppressing the further inquiry into his evidence that it plainly creates more zeal and

impatience in the House of Commons to hear him at their Bar; and therefore it is that they have appointed to-morrow for that work, urging also that it will be fit to hear him before they come upon Monday's great debate. For he has also sworn to the Lords that the Lord Bellasis had the care committed to him of murdering the King; that he was also to be General of the North; the Lord Powis for Wales; the Lord Arundel for another part, and also to be Chancellor, and by the Pope's authority to give orders and commissions; and that from his counsel chiefly all things were to depend, with many other particulars which I have hitherto but a very imperfect account of. But it seems he does not speak very clear and close in his evidence, and says he feared to have been murdered by the party for his shrinking from the work he was called to; and so hastening to Chepstow he there found himself so tormented in conscience that he came and made discovery unto the Mayor of Bristol, and by some of his officers was conducted to this place, and is now protected in Whitehall.

The Queen and those that are about Her Majesty are so extremely alarmed at the present state of things in seeing such an effectual prosecution against Popery, such questions started in Parliament, and such ransacking of her palace as they call it, that they think all the mutation they have ever feared is now at hand. It is certain that never was there a greater probability of striking Popery to the very root than at this time. The Houses make address for a more effectual disarming all Papists over the kingdom, and the Commons having heard that at the Council Board there was a long list of persons to be exempted from their withdrawing on account of their lawsuits, etc., the complaint thereof began to sound, and it was told that the Court of Requests was full of Papists, as Colonel MacCarty, Mr. Loftus, etc. Whereupon Justin was by the Serjeant brought to the bar, where he behaved himself so discreetly as to appease the House; yet, for example sake, they ordered him to give obedience to the proclamation that night, so that all the warriors despairing to come off so well are by his example withdrawn.

There is another instance which took up the time this afternoon. Complaint was made that the commissions which my Lord Chancellor should have issued yesterday morning to empower the justices to give the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to all suspected Papists in and about ten miles of London were not yet under the seal, but notwithstanding that it was alleged that those commissions could not be of use until the constables had made and given the lists of those they suspected, and that his Lordship did attend to know from the House of Lords whether those in the first part of the proclamation, being traders and inhabitants for a year, should not be exempted from the Oaths, as in Council it was proposed he should do. Yet notwithstanding these reasons and the constant attendance of late in Parliament they passed a vote for a conference with the Lords to enquire what was the reason of this stop, which could not be done with the heat that was out of jealousy or animosity against his Lordship. But to show that they expect a literal obedience to that pro-

clamation, and also how roundly they intend to proceed with others for greater omissions, such as the concealing of this horrid Plot for six weeks, which they often reflect on in their discourses, intending thereby to wound my Lord Treasurer, another instance is about the prayers issued by the Bishops for the Fast on Wednesday next, wherein there are no prayers that come up to the zeal of those votes which have lately passed concerning this hellish Plot; which, though it were excused as being proportionable to the address of the Lords, so long since made, wherein the expressions were but faint and general, yet now they have addressed unto His Majesty, and thereupon it is ordered that additional prayers to the effect desired shall be immediately printed. *Ar. kp.* [Bishop of London] is struck into close counsels with *re* [Earl of Shaftesbury], who is like to be at the top, and already courted by all accordingly. The case of *te* [Lord Treasurer] is by all thought desperate, but not inquired into till *fg* [The Duke] be spoken withal.

1678, November 12.—I could not by the last post tell your Grace anything of what happened in London about the time of my writing, but it seems all the city was in bells and bonfires, the Aldermen attending with wine and reporting the glad tidings of His Majesty's speech that day; some reporting it to be a resolution declared of choosing a Protestant successor, and in other places that the Duke of Monmouth was to succeed the King. How this notorious mistake came about I cannot tell, but 'tis a dangerous thing for a body of people to plunge themselves into a mistake, and 'tis thought this very accident may do the Duke as much hurt as anything else. The speech is now printed, and it is well if that may undeceive them.

Yesterday the Duke spoke with the most advantage imaginable against the printing of Coleman's letters, and though nothing was resolved, yet it is very unlikely that a vote for their printing may there pass. But the Commons are very intent upon the passing of the Bill against the Popish Lords, which now appearing to stick in that House, they have in a manner set their whole stress upon the passing of it, declaring that they must expect nothing if they cannot drive that through. Wherefore they send frequent messengers up to the Lords, and some of them numerously attended to show their impatience for that Bill, not sparing in their discourses to reflect on the Duke in plain terms, even to wish that never such a curse may befall the nation as to have a Popish prince. And whereas the discovery of things touching the Plot does not at all times answer expectation, this is imputed to the coldness of the Ministers who are afraid to be secured, but that things will never be well till they become all as resolute and zealous in their employments as any man in that assembly appears now to be. And nothing is more reviled than the impudence and disloyalty of those that would make this Plot a flame, and certainly there never went out so many addresses and proclamations to pursue the Popish recusants as at this time, and there has been a strange coincidence of things to raise the present indignation

to the height it is, some of which I have already named to your Grace; as the long stream of discontent touching the many years indulgence they enjoyed; then Oates his declaring the danger of the King's life; then the evidence appearing in Coleman's letters; then a dissatisfied Parliament just meeting as the cry was up—I mean the cry superadded by the murder of Justice Godfrey; then the celebration of the 5th of November, applying the present horror of things feared throughout the whole kingdom in one day to the evidence of what had formerly passed. Then comes in Bedloe declaring the murder to have been in Somerset House, and confirming the conspiracy against the life of the King, and to-morrow the solemnization of a General Fast upon this single account. All these things, I say, show as if the four winds had broke loose together upon them, so that in all probability they are like to be sunk beyond the power of doing mischief hereafter. And this day the Commons have voted an address for the Oaths to be given to all the Queen's and Duke's servants, excepting such as are Portuguese. And all tradesmen that are subjects must either take the Oaths or leave the town, and there are very many already come in to our Ministers desiring to be informed and reconciled to the Church of England.

On Sunday, in the evening, Mr. Bedloe came before the House of Commons and there read two papers, being copies of the general information which he gave unto the Lords, the one relating to the murder and the other to the Plot, both which I heard so ill as that I cannot charge myself with giving any fit account thereof. He has named Sir William Godolphin to be deep in these matters, which Oates also did; upon which the House voted an address for his recalling from Madrid to answer the treason laid to his charge. And although many of the members are dissatisfied to hear (as they pretend) that His Majesty in his discourses does not believe as they believe concerning this Plot, yet they have hitherto addressed for nothing that they have not succeeded in; both sides perhaps agreeing in this that there has been too much reason on other accounts to press for some redress without relying upon the exact sufficiency or insufficiency of the present evidence. And the House did forbear to ask Mr. Bedloe many questions, that his information might not be exposed to the cavil of the criminals, and that which he gave in hath been sealed up.

It was thought yesterday would have been taken up with that high debate touching the succession, but the time did spend in other things, as in placing the measure of all their hopes upon the passing of that Bill which is now before the Lords. Part of the time was also taken up by a conference from the Lords, wherein the Lord Chancellor's delay about the Commissions was vindicated to their satisfaction. And then another part of the time was employed in examining at the bar the irregularity of returning Sir William Temple burgess for Northampton, for which the High Sheriff was laid by the heels, and Mr. Montagu presently voted in with so united a cry as made it very legible what inclinations they bear to the patron of the first, whom they reckon the adversary of the latter.

On the 5th of November there were several very chargeable and costly Popes that went to wrack, and I hear that there will be great solemnities in the city on the birthday of Queen Elizabeth, which is about the 18th of this month; and it is certain that a constable brought one lately before a justice of Peace for speaking treason against Queen Elizabeth. I hope your Grace will pardon these minute informations, by which I only aim to give your Grace such a prospect of affairs here as may best dictate to you what measures are fit for you to take in that place, which no man has more zeal or concern that they should be successful and for your Grace's advantage than myself.

I hear my Lord James is coming over. My long silence touching Mr. Henshaw has been the consequence of my perpetual toil of late betimes, which has hardly suffered me to breathe, but I will now very soon be at the end of that matter.

1678, November 16.—I am now to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's letter of the 6th instant, together with the proclamation for disarming the Papists, the method of which gives here satisfaction to those I meet with, as making the execution altogether as effectual as the persons complaining would have it. But 'tis a hard game you have to play when more care is required to obviate the imaginary dangers that malice does create than those real ones which are more apparent, and which a little unanimity and honesty would easily suppress. But your Grace's method is most seasonable to all events; for as you publish such effectual rules and orders as may bear execution and without incurring the danger of the other extreme, so your sending over the examinations from time to time of such persons as are apprehended, and giving frequent accounts of doing something on that side, will very furnish your friends wherewithal to answer impertinent informations hither, which are to have the effect of complaints. And truly when it were discovered who were the fomentors of such things, they should not want commissions and orders to exercise their zeal and inquiries upon, and then it would soon appear how much less active they were in reformation than in complaint. And as to that great point of the inhabitants in Corporations it must certainly be a work of time and gradation. And whether to begin in the first survey with such a quota of the most dangerous and suspected, or reduce it to a qualification of allowing only ancient natives and their descendants, will best be thought on by your Grace on that side. But whatever regulation is judged fit were best to be modelled there, and the form of the letter sent over here for His Majesty's signature.

As to the malicious informations that may now come here from that side we are too busy to mind them in any part, every man's thoughts and discourses being employed about danger and reformation. The passing of the Bill with the Lords is made the great touchstone for success, and remedy to several evils impending; so as without that pass all other things are hopeless and the case desperate; but if that take place then many other

things will probably follow for establishing the public safety. On Thursday the Bill was thought as good as passed when it was by so many voices carried that all should take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. But yesterday it was carried against the Test and the penalty annexed thereunto, which has looked like such a recoiling of the business as that the House of Commons this day voted that no less a man than Mr. Secretary Coventry shall carry up their messages to the House of Lords for expediting that Bill. And it was in deliberation that the Speaker himself should have been employed therein. This Test has, it seems, some new clause about idolatry or adoration, which did so far stumble the Archbishop, Bishop of Rochester, and Bishop of Ely that they voted against the Test. And some of the other Lords stumbled at the penalty of a perpetual disherison, and extinguishing the right of a peer. All these passages and the particular voters are rewarded and descanted on by the city, who seem so intent upon matters of state as if they were not concerned in the business of trade, which many affirm is accordingly at a perfect stand. There is every night one of the six city regiments, consisting of 2,500 men, upon the watch. The Colonel himself goes the round, and there is not a man wanting from his duty. Every inhabitant has bought in a store of arms for the hands in his family, and some have even listed porters to come in and to help them at their need, and provided arms accordingly. There is lately one Powell, a merchant, that is missing, whom they think murdered by the Papists. And this they add to the former indignation about Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, whom they all conclude to have been murdered in Somerset House, and take a strange liberty to reflect upon the Queen, which was never heard of before. And even in the House of Commons the debate ran like a torrent upon Thursday, when His Majesty sent a message or answer to their first address that his own and the Duke's servants should all take the oath, only he thought it reasonable to have the Queen's and Duchess's servants exempted; so that they have reiterated their address with a paper of reasons for the necessity of comprehending all but the Queen's Portuguese servants, and upon that occasion the infelicity of matching with Popish ladies abroad was sufficiently exposed and decried.

But to return again unto the city; I can assure your Grace that no less a man than Sir Nathaniel Herne, now Governor of the East India Company, wrote seriously to me to know if he should not send his wife and children out of town, for that the massacres of Paris and Ireland were enough talked of beforehand, but believed by none, by which you may guess in what a pickle the Papists are, and are like to be, who are computed to be hardly one to two hundred Protestants all over England. They do most of them in the city take the oaths as soon as tendered, which make them nevertheless hated, or at least their religion, which is said on this occasion to allow them as much latitude as they please. I already told your Grace of the bonfires last Saturday night at which, with shooting and outcries, there were drank healths to the King, the Duke of Monmouth, and Earl of Shaftesbury, as the only

three pillars of all safety. And upon Sunday night, there being spread in the city a malicious rumour as if the Earl of Shaftesbury were to be sent to the Tower, and the Lords therein confined to be let out, there was that strange agitation among them that if it had been true the whole city had doubtless been in an uproar. And so tuned and so united is this great engine at the present that I do more than fear, if addresses from the Commons will not move the Lords to the expediting of the Bill, they will hear of addresses from another place. The check which the Bill received as to the Test was only at a Committee, and 'tis not doubted but in the House it will otherwise pass.

The pardons of Oates and Bedloe are now in passing, the Lords having addressed for the former and the Commons for the latter; for on Thursday morning, Bedloe coming at his own desire to the bar, he began to acquaint the House that he had been a very great rogue, but that unless he had been so he should not have been able to serve the public as well as now he does; that he is sensible he has offended many by what he has informed touching the murder of Justice Godfrey, yet for that he has pardon by His Majesty's proclamation, but he knows not whether his pardon might be not obstructed if he should inform of some who have His Majesty's ear, and therefore he desired the intercession of the House for the obtaining a general pardon. And the House being curious and desirous to have the handling of some of those jewels that hang so near His Majesty's ear, they have made an address, and are promised the fruits thereof. Mr. Coleman will come now to a speedy trial. Mr. Attorney-General has order to attach the £1,000. which by the examination sent over by your Grace is said to be in the hands of Daniel Arthur.

1678, November 19. London.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 11th instant together with a proclamation for embarking the ecclesiastics. I have also from a noble hand in Munster tidings of the former proclamations, saying they would exasperate both Popish ecclesiastics and laics, and therefore wishing some other proclamations might soon issue for setting up the militia and purging garrisons and securing dangerous discontented persons who head herds of bad people in Kerry, Clare, and the West of Cork, until it were seen what these present clouds would produce. Here your Grace sees what the observer thinks wanting. I received some other observations, neither so seasonable or material, and therefore suit my answers accordingly, for if I should quarrel down right I might hear no more. I shall most heartily shake hands with Sir Cyril Wyche, my request for it and your Grace's allowance meeting, as it seems, each other at the same time upon the way.

Yesterday morning Mr. Bedloe came by his own desire to the bar of the House of Commons, where, declaring the assurance that he now had of his pardon, he desired to speak somewhat which before he could not venture upon, because the parties he should name had many friends in either House: upon which he pulled out a paper whereof I remember this general account.—

That upon the King's death there should suddenly several armies appear; all the Roman Catholics of London and counties adjoining should be headed by the Lord Arundel; Sir Henry Tichborne was to be his Lieutenant-General, one Smith, a Dominican Friar, expert in arms, and bred up under the Count Mounterey, was to assist him. Coleman and Ireland were principal agents, the Lord Stafford to be paymaster, and Sir George Wakeman physician to this army; the Lord Bellasis was to command in the North, to secure Tynemouth Castle and Bridlington, where there were to land 10,000 men from Flanders; also another army to be raised by the Lord Powis in Wales. They were to meet in Radnorshire and then to march towards Milford Haven, where were to land an army of 10,000 from Spain, headed by Sir William Godolphin and some Spanish officers. He named several persons that were listed as undertakers to bring in so many men and so much money, as Sir Francis Ratcliffe, Mr. Thimbleby, Lord Carrington, Lord Brudenel, Sir Thomas Beaumont, Mr. Tyrrell 100 men and £1,000, Mr. Ratcliffe, Lieutenant General to the Lord Bellasis, Dr. Moore, Ralph Sheldon, Mr. Griffin, Charles Winter, Sir Humfrey Munnock and two sons, with his son-in-law, Daniel Arthur of London, who was to furnish £20,000, Mr. Vaughan and his son, Counsellor James of Wales, to be Secretary to that army, Mr. Milborn, Quartermaster, Mr. Spalding, Mustermaster, Dr. Williams. Sir Harry Tichborne was to have with him an expert French captain who spoke English. Bedloe, the informant, was, in the nature of Adjutant-General, to carry orders from army to army as being versed in all the roads of England and Wales, and the armies were to meet in places agreed upon. And lastly that no Roman Catholic in England that was either of quality or credit, but had taken the sacrament upon the alarm of the King's death, to contribute their aid for the alteration of the Government. Chepstow Castle and some other places named by him were to be secured for the Pope.

Upon this information the Lord Chief Justice was sent for from the Bench, who came readily to the House, and upon a general information of these things withdrew to the Speaker's Chamber, where, taking the depositions in form, he presently issued his warrants accordingly. The House, upon complaint of several numbers of men and horses observed in several parts of the kingdom to travel up and down at unseasonable hours in the night, were debating a good while about seizing all the horses of Roman Catholics in every place, but at last fell into the warm debate of the use and sufficiency of the militia, and touching which they intend many things to restore it to its primitive institution, as being that legal force upon which we might rely for the defence of all. And to begin there are a third part of the militia all over England to be in arms for six weeks, and upon occasion the High Sheriff and *Posse Comitatus* to be in a state of preparation, and an address to this effect is prepared unto His Majesty.

After this there came in an angry information from Chester of certain Irish officers there seized, some of whose commissions bore date the 27th of October last. It seems they were going for

Ireland to raise men, and it also appeared that some warrants had been sent to the Mustermasters for excusing some of the officers coming from France from taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, notwithstanding the Act of the Test. These commissions and warrants being countersigned by Mr. Secretary Williamson, many fell very heavily upon him, and the first motion was that he should withdraw. It was long before he could resign himself thereunto. But to prevent the question which was putting he did first make his apology—that all these Orders of War were transacted by the Lord General, the Duke of Monmouth, by whom the King's hand was first obtained unto them; that they were prepared by the Secretary of War, and entered in his office, and then sent to him of course to be countersigned, without any profit or concern of his in the matter, or so much as reading what the papers contained; that this had therefore fallen to his share, being younger Secretary, as a matter of no profit; yet being sensible of the inconvenience and offence that might arise he had expostulated with the said Duke and told him plainly that if he should be thereupon questioned in the House he must lay the thing at his Grace's door, and that his Grace had as plainly told him that he would answer for it. But notwithstanding the matter was thus extenuated, yet there has appeared against this gentleman a long grudge in the House, as if he had used arts to help on the raising of this army, and that in a time so long after the notice of a dangerous conspiracy had broken forth to furnish commissions to Irish Papists going into that kingdom, where a great part of this matter was to be transacted, was too big an offence to be now passed by. That it was a thing of wonder that commissions should be given for the raising of twenty-one companies in that kingdom, whenas the Law of Corporations had made it rebellion to withstand any commission from His Majesty; and if formerly it was the art of the Irish to reproach the late King with deriving authority from him, how plausibly might they insist upon these real commissions to require obedience to any of their ill designs. That since counter-signing was necessary for every warrant, it implied His Majesty referring to his Minister the examination of what was fit or not fit, and, tho' he did not advise the signing, yet the obligation was to advise the unsigning, and ignorance or inadvertence of the matter was no plea, since by that rule the new invisible army discovered unto us might by such a way be commissioned by His Majesty, and nobody in the fault. That this Act of the Test was the great bulwark of all their security, which had cost them very dear and which they must not suffer to be violated by a member of their own, who had been party thereunto, and could not be ignorant of the importance of it. So that after many aggravations some were for expelling him the House, others for the Tower, as more moderate, and so the vote in conclusion passed. Upon tidings hereof brought to His Majesty the Cabinet Council met soon after the last night, and by order from thence the Privy Council met very early this morning, where this matter was with much solemnity agitated, and with injunction of secrecy upon the opinion which every one in their

turns gave. But the result, being made public, was this—that the Commons should presently be sent for as they were, and His Majesty opened to them the nature of that business for which they were offended against his Secretary, showing how that the commissions which were countersigned bore date at the time of their delivery, which happened through his omission of not ordering the matter some months before, as was intended at the time that he had signed them; for that they had lain so long by reason of the poverty of the officers, who had been very scurvily used in France, and his omitting till then to command the Secretary to deliver them without any fee. That these poor men had merited very well from him in leaving their employment in France, and that he could not see them starve, and therefore it was necessary in order to their pay that there should be some dispensation upon them. That he would be more kind to the Commons in advertising them that he intended to release the Secretary than they had been to him in not first advertising of his commitment.

The House, returning, fell into the debate of this matter, which hath lasted all this day long till past six at night. They would not allow merit in these gentlemen for having for many years together resisted and disobeyed His Majesty's proclamations for their coming home. Some were for entering into the jurisdiction of the matter as to the power of the House in confining their member and His Majesty's prerogative in releasing him; and being pressed with the objection that they had no power to punish for offences without doors, many urged that the confinement was but in order to the further impeachment of him to the Lords, and so pressed hard that they might impeach him accordingly. But there were some who more prudentially dissuaded all questions that might endanger any contention with His Majesty, considering how many other works they had in hand, and, therefore, if the matter could not be fitly warred, they proposed a soft address to be made to His Majesty to signify the reasons of such their proceedings, and to advise all such commissions to be recalled. At length it ended in this:—That such an address should be prepared; but with this prayer that His Majesty would not set Sir Joseph Williamson at liberty, and that he would recall all commissions given to Papists or suspected Papists in England, Ireland, or any other part of His Majesty's dominions; this latter part being added to obstruct Colonel Dongan going to Tangier, and Sir Charles Wheeler's pecking at Colonel Stapleton that is in the Leeward Islands.

The House continued to sit while this address was prepared, and being brought in according to this order (notwithstanding that they knew that His Majesty had sent a warrant, and that the Secretary was now out, it was much pressed by some to have an addition to the address, namely that His Majesty would remove all such from his presence who had either advised him to the signing of those commissions or dispensations, or who had now advised him to remove the Secretary out of the Tower; but some of the same party did allay this motion as unseasonable

for the present, considering the other great works they had in hand, which must precede and ought to make way for these. And that now it was late and the House grown very thin, and would involve the question of jurisdiction, which had been hitherto avoided, and 'twas not proper that a matter which might, with relation to ill instruments, endure a public and solemn disquisition, should creep in under the objection of a late hour, and so thin a House. Thus your Grace has the business of these two days, and I presume you are sufficiently tired as well as I am now myself.

1678, 23 November.—It must go into a part of the present calamity that, having undertaken to tell your Grace what here I observe, I never know when to leave off. In the other papers I say nothing of what yesterday passed, which was appointed for consideration of His Majesty's last speech. But it appeared that the great champions on the other side were very slow in their proposals for securing of the Protestant religion and therein disclosing a deep resentment in the vote which was lost the day before concerning the Duke's proviso; so that it must be expected to see some effects of this displeasure, but in what certain particulars it will appear, or in what it will not, is hard to say; for already they have reassumed the discharge of Mr. Secretary Williamson as a matter of high provocation. They will, on Monday, consider the business of the army, having had scarce patience to call it an army, after an act passed for payment and disbanding. On Tuesday they will hunt for Papists in the fleet. They mean to press the Lords about the printing of Coleman's letters, and begin to examine more narrowly some letters from the Cardinal of Norfolk to Coleman discovering the correspondence between the Pope and the Duke. And there are some letters found of the Earl of Berkshire's to Coleman, which may produce that Lord no little disquiet.

On Wednesday Mr. Coleman is to come to his trial. But as to the business of the House some of the displeased members did rather shew how impossible it was according to the conditions and limitations of His Majesty's last speech to provide any laws for security of religion in case of a Popish prince. But Mr. Seymour (the House being in a Grand Committee) did propose some points with that vigour as drew many of them to attention and concurrence to the work. He showed how much it would contribute to the present safety to drive the Popish lords out of the Legislature and turn all Papists out of the Court; to address also to His Majesty to change the pernicious intimacy, solicitation, and private address of foreign Ministers as if they were in their own Courts; to bring down severe justice to the present conspirators, and in order to deter others, to pass a law for the validity of a single witness. That for an effectual method for convicting recusants hereafter he proposed that the knights, citizens and burgesses should give in the names of them all, to remain guilty by Act of Parliament, if in a time limited they did not take a Test; the forfeitures to go to the buying out im-

propriations to poor curates, vicars, etc. As to the future prospect he would not impeach the succession or right line, nor make the heir apparent desperate, which would endanger the time present and entail war on our posterity; nor would he furnish those with our arguments who have already prevailed on him so much, but he would have it enacted that no Popish successor should command the militia, the revenue, or the offices in Church or State. That the Parliament in being, or the last Parliament, to meet and continue for a time after such succession. That these points, if well digested, may free us from a Smithfield purgatory. These were his points. There was another which was not mentioned but in private discourse, which was for passing a short law to make all things in the time of a Popish successor to be administered as in the time of a minor.

There was at first some despair thrown out of ever being able to patch up things, without all were found at the bottom; but what Mr. Seymour said seemed to surprise many with the hopes of obtaining things of considerable magnitude. And they fell warmly to embrace his expeditious method for conviction, and presently threw in many consonant particulars, which are accordingly ordered to be drawn up.

My Lord Privy Seal was saying that he must this night write to your Grace to advertise you of some dangers in Dublin. Some of the great Lords wondered your Grace would not seize the papers of Peter Talbot, such as could be found, when you secured his person. There being a cipher of Colonel Fitzpatrick's found with Coleman's papers, gives frequent occasion to discourse of him which doubtless he will take as advice to retire to his home, and there pass his time with exemplary quiet and silence among his neighbours. The squabble there between the Irishman and the sentinel about pulling down the proclamation is made matter of news from thence, while we are here disquieted sufficiently with the assaults, batteries and murders which every day happen to some common people, which makes some very good men almost stark mad. I send your Grace the proclamations that issue, and am sure that your Grace, like an old pilot, has your hand fast on the helm and your eye upon the compass, which is all that can be done for as to the weather, that will fly as it pleases, and is out of any mortal reach.

1678, November 26.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 19th instant, which gave my Lord Chamberlain great satisfaction, and so it did me till I read what your Grace writ to Cyril Wyche on the same subject, which gave me much more, for the case is there perfectly stated and thoroughly extended, and I know not what to wish added or left undone that has either lain upon your Grace or concerned the safety of that kingdom. The many shrugs and wishes sent and tossed over from thence have been mostly in vain from the numerous perplexities which have here grown up and crowded in, that leave not any room for distant things. And 'tis my belief that we are now accounting for the particulars of many years past. All the instances of resignation

to the pleasure of France, our contempt of Spain and spurning at Holland, together with all the ill steps made in the politics at home, are the ingredients of this bitter cup, and make everything break out into harsher resentments than the nature of many things would deserve.

But I should rather confine myself to the fact of what is now doing and leave reflections to your Grace; and truly my time is not much, having sat up till one this morning about Mr. Oates his papers, given me by the King to examine, and at the same task again before six, then twice to-day at Council, and twice at the House of Commons, from whence I now return at nine o'clock.

Mr. Oates did, on Sunday, acquaint His Majesty, in private, that in June last, on St. James's day, one, who by description must be Sir Richard Belling,* was sent by the Queen to call John Fenwick, William Ireland, Basil Langworth, and John Cane (four Jesuits) to attend here at Somerset House; with whom, being in an antechamber and Oates in the room without, he heard in a woman's voice (as he listened at the door, which was not quite shut) these words—That she would no longer bear those affronts she had, but be revenged for the violation of her bed, and would assist in poisoning of the King and propagating of the Catholic Faith; that when the door was open he desired one of those Fathers to present him to the Queen, which accordingly he did, and then he saw the Queen and no other woman alone with them, and she seemed to smile upon him, and so they all went unto High Mass. He farther said that he saw a letter in the chamber of Richard Ashby of Thimbleby, late Rector of St. Omer's, wherein Sir George Wakeman writ unto him that he would accept the proposal for poisoning the King if well rewarded, and that the Queen would assist therein. This and some further evidence of circumstantials he gave the King in writing, which the King carried to the Cabinet Council, where it seems, by His Majesty's example, it was received with great indignation, so that a guard was clapped on him and all his papers seized and the whole Court in amazement at this news.

The Council was called very early the next morning. Oates appeared and was examined more at large. He stood firm to his tackling, and, being withdrawn, the questions that arose in debate filled all with perplexity. Everyone published the Queen's innocence and the high reparation she ought to have, for the fact could procure her no advantage in this world nor in the next. But, on the other side, the whole kingdom was now inflamed with the terror of a Plot, and many sacrifices for atonement were expected, and to suppress the man who is chief for the support of this work is not what could now be borne; so the matter was for deliberation thereon adjourned till this morning, His Majesty passing from the Council Board to the House of Lords, where he delivered to both Houses the enclosed speech about the army.

This morning, at the Council, the resolutions were somewhat suited to the public impression of this matter abroad and ended

* Secretary to Queen Catherine.

thus—That it could not be for the service of the Queen to have this man presently punished, for if that must arise on the statute against him for concealing of treason, such punishment would justify his accusation; and then if the punishment should be for a false accusation the Queen must be first acquitted by a trial. Wherefore all that could be done at present was to hasten on the trials depending, wherein he was to be an evidence, which being once over there might more room be left to consider of him. In the meantime some principal Lords were deputed to acquaint the Queen hereof and to express the concern of the Board. But Mr. Oates had his papers returned to him, and some show of liberty, but a Clerk of the Council to be by when any strangers come unto him. For His Majesty strongly believes that he is tampered withal, and that Mr. Oates believes he does a thing herein that would be grateful to the King. Nor did the King discourage him at all when he first revealed the matter.

This morning Mr. Bedloe intimated to the House of Commons that he had some important matter to impart if he were assured of his pardon. Upon which the House sent presently to His Majesty to entreat his consent. He presently answered that he would consider it. This troubled the House, and they adjourned till three o'clock in hopes by that time of a better answer. His Majesty commanded the Privy Council to meet precisely at that hour, expressing there his resentment of these proceedings — that Bedloe was tampered withal, and might accuse the Queen or he knew not whom without any grounds. So the enclosed answer was at length prepared, which the Commons sat long in expectation of; and finding it to come short of their expectations, they were so perfectly incensed as to debate almost an hour whether they should not presently adjourn without admitting the messengers which attended from the Lords, saying that if this Plot must be smothered it was to no purpose to do anything else. But with much ado the storm was so far assuaged that the messengers were called in; and there followed a present conference with the Lords in relation to some amendments in the new Bill. The result of all which is this—that the Queen will be allowed nine Portuguese servants and nine Catholic women, but no men, but to the Duchess neither one or the other.

It was ordered, this afternoon in Council, that your Grace should disband the Irish regiment there, but they will first consider to-morrow about money. I have not time to read what here I have writ.

1678, November 30.—My last gave your Grace some account of things unto Tuesday night. Upon Wednesday the House of Commons voted the disbanding of the army. But Westminster Hall was all that day thronged about Coleman's trial. His behaviour in it was in all points very temperate, and he omitted not to take all the advantages that fairly offered, and was nothing disordered in the whole proceeding. He first prayed the Judges to be of counsel for him, since the law had bereaved him of all other aid and exposed him to the abilities of the most learned

men. Next he lamented the conjuncture of his trial being at a time of so much indignation raised against the Catholics that a man was half condemned that came to the bar by that name. But he did hope that as some of that number were thought innocent, so he should appear to be one of them, how black soever his indictment were made. He then urged that one witness was not sufficient for treason, and for what Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe charged him withal he flatly denied all things they said, affirming that he never saw Bedloe before, nor Oates but once at the Council Board. But he had no evidence for the disproving what they said more than some contrariety he pretended to shew between what Oates had said at that time and what he alleged now But as to his letters and papers, whereof many were read in the Court, as also letters to him from the two Confessors of the French King, the Cardinal of Norfolk, Father Sheldon, St. Jermyn, Sir William Throgmorton and the Inter Nuncio of Brussels, he did not deny any of those letters, nor except against the translation or deciphering of any; but did affirm that he could discover nothing more than what he had done to the Committees of Lords and Commons which had been sent unto him. And that this was all the material correspondence he ever held, tho' it were proved by his own servant that he had other books and papers which did not here appear. But the defence he made touching these letters was to this effect—that Mr. Attorney's objection against him for vanity and presumption might be very just, for that it appeared he did concern himself in very great things, but he hoped it would not be judged that he could of himself stir matters of that weight without the knowledge and allowance and assistance of others. That he did not conceive he was doing ill while he laboured for the Duke's reassuming his title of Admiral or introducing the Catholic religion, which so many were inclined unto; nor could he conceive anything to be treason that he attempted, seeing it was all to be subjected to the approbation and good liking of the King, or to the Duke, which was all one, considering his greatness and nearness and obedience to the King, and this was the repeated plea he insisted on. And when the Judge asked him how he could think the nation was inclined to Popery, the only answer he had was this—that it appeared sufficiently by the constant complaints of every session against the growth of Popery. The evidence against him took up many hours, but what he said for himself was not long; nor did the jury stay a quarter of an hour before they brought him in guilty of High Treason. Upon which verdict he seemed little surprised, but desiring the liberty of a few words he said—that one of the Bench had but just now advised the jury to consider whether his bare affirmation ought to outweigh the oaths of two witnesses. I have now, said he, something more to oppose to that evidence than bare affirmation, which are the words of a dying man, for in this world I expect no relief, but depend on Heaven alone; but by the salvation I expect, all that is objected against me by those two witnesses is false.

Mr. Coleman was the son of a minister in Suffolk, who left him £140 per annum, and he got a wife with £150, besides £3,000 in

money. All which 'tis said he has wasted in the ways he took, and in hopes of reprisal if he could have turned the world upside down according to his hopes. To which end he has many years driven furiously, and nothing has seemed so temperate in him as this last scene of his trial. It were to be wished that it had only determined in himself without those reflections and aspersions which it occasioned elsewhere. Staley's quarters, being granted on the importunate request of his two sisters, were buried with such impudent solemnity that order is given for the digging them up and hanging them on the gates.

On Wednesday night the Council sat very late, the principal matter being the examination of Mr. Bedloe, who, it seems, laid in a heavy charge against the Queen. But His Majesty was persuaded to gratify the Commons in their importunity for his additional pardon; and this being accordingly signified to the House on Thursday morning, they presently sent for him, and being come he presented in writing an accusation against Her Majesty to the effect following.—That about the beginning of May, 1677, there was a consultation held in the Chapel Gallery at Somerset House, where he saw present the Lord Bellasis and he thinks the Lord Powis, also Father Sheldon, Father Latham, two French Abbots, Father Prichard, Mr. Coleman, and two persons of superior quality whom he could not very well distinguish, but that there was with them the Queen. That the deponent and Charles Walsh, being in the Chapel below to attend, Coleman and Prichard after some time came down and told them that they had made the Queen to weep, and that the two French Fathers had at length brought her to consent—meaning to the death of the King. That a month after this Bedloe was sent with letters to some Fathers at Douai, who being gone towards Paris he overtook them at Cambray, where Father Stapleton, opening and deciphering a letter he brought, declared with great joy that all things went well in England; that their business grew stronger and stronger, and that at length they had brought her unto it. Bedloe thereupon asked Latham (who was also there) what her they meant. He said she that was in the Chapel Gallery, being the Queen. That, said Bedloe, I knew before. He farther informed that he was sent with a letter to La Chaise signifying how all things stood, and how that in the year 1678 everything would be ripe for execution, and praying his advices and opinion on the whole. This accusation seemed much to afflict and amaze the House; and knowing that Mr. Oates had touched on the same string before the Council and had received some mortification for the impudence and improbability of his charge, they sent out also for him, who being come to the bar, began with ripping up all the hard treatment he had suffered at Whitehall, taunting and reviling the hardship thereof and the danger he thought himself in, and all this for telling of truth. So that unless he might be assured of better usage he would be silent and give evidence no more, even though the House should command it. How this was resented by the House, and the particulars that he complained of, your Grace will see by the

address which was presently voted thereupon, and which with other votes is herewith sent.

Mr. Oates being again called in and acquainted how far the House had concerned themselves for him, he then ripped up all the evidence which he had given at the Council Board the Monday before. Upon which the House grew stricter in the orders of shutting the door, and they sent a message to the Lords entreating them to sit in the afternoon that they might have opportunity to inform them about matters of a high nature touching the safety of His Majesty's person, etc. And accordingly, after some debate, they voted an address—that the Queen and all her family and all Papists and suspected Papists be removed from His Majesty's Court at Whitehall, and the Lords were desired to give their concurrence therein.

Yesterday, being Friday, the said witnesses appeared before the Lords, and this address of the Commons entertained them the whole day, but with so much success for Her Majesty as that there were not above five of the Lords who stayed to vote that were for consenting to the address. But it was finally voted that reasons should be prepared to satisfy the Commons for their Lordship's not agreeing. I should have told your Grace that Mr. Bedloe did inform the House that, to the best of his conjecture, the two persons of quality at the consultation at Somerset House were the Duke of York and the Duke of Norfolk; so that upon the debate of the matter the Men of the Long Robe did shew how that there might be treason in a Queen as well as in the meanest subject; and that the general method for a thing of this nature was to proceed by impeachment. But because the forms thereof were tedious, and some remedy forthwith necessary, the first step was to have His Majesty's person stand clear, and so the Queen to withdraw, some said to Hampton Court, but most spoke of Somerset House, and that the Duke should also withdraw to St. James's. That which pushed the Commons on with rounder heat in this great affair was, first, the assurance and vigour of the witnesses, as if they would live and die on the truth of what they said; next the opinion (doubted of by none) that the doctrine of Rome authorises all evil to come by their ends, and makes most bold with those that are most resigned unto it; and lastly that the slender thread of the King's single life is, under God, the only bulwark of their present safety; and so where there is but possibility of danger it is fit to doubt and examine.

But the Lords in their deliberation went upon the virtues of the Queen, and though the witnesses were ever so good, yet this evidence is short and defective. And, therefore, considering the dignity of the person, it was not fit to proceed but upon plain and palpable demonstration. What farther may arise upon this subject matter when the Lords come to the conference intended no man can say. Perhaps the Lords having been so unanimous, and the King declared so much concern in the matter, the question may die; but 'tis an ill omen towards any one against whom the Commons have once bent their bow. And these witnesses may possibly inflame the reckoning with somewhat that is new. So

that for my own part I do with grief and melancholy consider the face of things.

This day, being Saturday, His Majesty passed the Act for excluding the Popish Lords, declaring that he did it for gratification of his people in this conjuncture, though the precedent might prove of very evil consequence. But for the other Act to put a third part of the militia in arms for forty-two days, this was by His Majesty rejected, declaring that there were some expressions that might be interpreted to the taking of the militia out of the Crown, which, tho' it were but for one half hour, he would by no means permit; but if they would enable him with money he would give order that the militia should be raised for his own and the public security.

The Commons expressed much trouble and concern for the disappointment of this Bill, which had passed both Houses without the intention or suspicion of any guilt of intrenching on the Crown. And to the very much which was urged to this effect there was nothing plainly answered, but that the words of the Bill seemed to make it necessary to have above 50,000 men in arms for forty-two days, without leaving it in His Majesty's power to free the country from this trouble or dispose it otherwise in case no danger appeared. To remedy the disappointment of having the militia up in a time of public apprehension, when almost from every county letters are written touching parties of horse moving up and down in the night, and while an army is on foot against which they are so highly distasted, and have voted its disbanding by Commissioners to be named in the Act, and by money to be paid in and issued forth from the Chamber of London; these considerations, I say, and the impediment of proposing the same Bill or anything like it in the same session is matter of perplexity unto them. But they have agreed upon this expedient—that they will earnestly press His Majesty by an address to raise the militia, and they will pass a short act for so much money as may serve the turn, to be applied unto such uses as His Majesty shall command, which they hope to obtain in virtue of their address. But upon this they could not proceed, since the Act that was passed this day required an immediate taking of the Oaths and subscribing the declaration therein prescribed, which has also some scruples and niceties in it; but seeing no man can sit and vote after the first of December without incurring the penalties the House will sit to-morrow to make an advance in this work.

1678, December 3.—This day Mr. Coleman has made his last atonement at Tyburn, where, what his long speech was on the ladder I suppose the shorthand men will therewith ere long furnish the press, and then your Grace shall partake thereof. In the meantime I will no longer omit to acknowledge to your Grace, what I have already done to many others, that by your advice I broke off my acquaintance with him as soon as ever it begun and upon the first receiving of his news letter, which, when I showed your Grace and some daring particulars that were in it,

you advised me (considering the station I was in) to knock off, for that he was a man would certainly run himself into the briars. The House of Commons did on Saturday, Sunday and Monday morning take the oaths prescribed by the new bill, which is here enclosed. The Lords made some scruple, so that those of them who took the oaths on Saturday took them over again yesterday morning. My Lord Castlehaven did on Saturday make such a valedictory oration to the Lords that they have recommended him to His Majesty's bounty. And all men agree that never man spoke in any case with more eloquence or more art against this Bill than he did when it was first in debate.

The Commons were yesterday much out of humour touching the loss of the Militia Bill, which was the only public Bill His Majesty ever refused. They had got it among them as if my Lord Treasurer had given this advice, and so instead of retrieving the effect thereof by expedients which His Majesty would certainly have admitted of, they run into heats and reflection upon Ministers, which some, well enough disposed to such an inquiry, would have wholly postponed till the army were down and the militia up, and some of the bills for the fettering of Popery better advanced. But for the same reasons those of another mind, as is whispered, thought it best to pick a quarrel with that Militia Bill, that so the forward progress of things intended might receive some allay by the disappointment of one sort of force and the subsisting of another. But the event was this—which after some debate took place—that an address should be made His Majesty containing the present state and danger of the nation, which was to be branched, first, into the misrepresentations which have been made to His Majesty of the proceedings of the House, next the dangers arising from private advices contrary to the counsels of Parliament, thirdly the dangers the nation lies under by the growth of Popery, and the last head is the danger to His Majesty and the whole nation by the violation of the laws made for the peace and safety of the kingdom (this having more particular reference to the not disbanding of the army according to the late Act). These things are to be worded and shaped into an address, and how they will sound and swell when they are improved by the men of skill will to-morrow appear. But I am apt to think there will more contention and opposition be made about approving the address than was seen upon voting the heads, for the matter came more speedily on to a conclusion than usually happens where great friends are concerned, and the danger was not at first expected or well apprehended. 'Twas observable in the debate of one of the preceding heads that some took notice how His Majesty had no manner of belief of the Plot, but (as reports went) spoke much to the contrary; and how that he feared much more the fanatics and Fifth Monarchy men, which some made him believe were those (and only such) who were heard of from all parts of the kingdom to be riding up and down in small parties in the night. In the evening Mr. Oates, at his desire, was called to the bar. He gave in the copies of such evidence as before he had delivered at Council, and made

some complaint that he was not yet so much at ease as he desired to be; but His Majesty's answer to a late address in his favour seemed very well to satisfy the House, so that Mr. Oates his reception was not so cheerful there as formerly it has been; and seeing that so many of the Lords were favourably inclined towards the Queen it is very possible that matter may sink and vanish.

This day the Commons agreed on the method for disbanding the army, which they propose to be done by three Commissioners, to be nominated by the House, the Chamberlain of London to receive and pay out the money, and a Clause of Indemnity to such officers as since the late Act of Disbanding filled up any vacancies that have happened. The debenture to the army is computed at £200,000, some say more; but the certainty is not yet brought in, nor the method of raising agreed unto, but no diligence will be shared that can accelerate so wished for a business.

Preparation is making for the trial of the Lords, amongst whom the Lord Arundel and Lord Bellasis seem to be in all the danger that the evidence of Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe (who mean to charge them home) can bring to pass.

1678, December 7.—It is one of the unfortunate duties of public office to be deaf unto domestic cares, otherwise I would present your Grace with my share of concern for the present sickness of my Lord James, which touches me even to the heart; but the physician that is with him from Canterbury (one Dr. Jacob) is, by Sir Edward Dering and others of that country, reputed a man of skill and very good fortune, and so I leave him to God's protection, and will give your Grace some account of what concerns the public.

In my last your Grace had the votes touching an address about the state of the kingdom, which, as it sprang up somewhat casually and unexpected, has not hitherto been fitted or brought unto any perfection; also the debate touching Mr. Secretary Williamson's release from the Tower, that has lain silent, and Mr. Secretary thinks fit to forbear coming to the House. Nor have the Committee as yet (who were to find some expedient for retrieving the effect of the Militia Bill) done any great matter thereupon, being now satisfied in part that His Majesty would not have refused it had he been rightly informed. And things began to be looked upon by some in a state of moderation, by others as very much flatted. But upon Thursday last the wind sprang up afresh, for the members observing how on a sudden the scaffold for trial of the Peers was starting up, and by comparing of notes how that Whitehall spoke very slightly of the Plot, as if there were no such thing, and that the witnesses were under discouragement and so no new ones likely to come in, but rather that these should be exposed for the presumption they have taken, therefore some of the keen Members would not endure to have this prosecution left to the management of the Court; so that a long debate was begun, and it was urged how far they were

already possessed of the cause, they having heard so long since the evidence at their own bar, and had several papers in their custody by His Majesty's allowance. That a proclamation being out for inviting of farther evidence until the 25th of December, it seemed strange (before that time) to bring on any trial. That where the House had engaged themselves by such solemn votes of a hellish plot and other public manifestations, it would be a great shame to have this whole matter sink (as it might do) by a common and ordinary way of trial, as that of the indictment by the Attorney-General appeared to be. That the importance of the danger deserved the concern of the House, and that the method for trial of the imprisoned Peers ought rather to be by impeachment, being not only as ancient, but altogether as frequent as that of indictment, when the crimes fell out in time of Parliament. That this way also was the more preferable, because offenders might suffer more or less with proportion to their crimes, whereas if the indictment, which is levelled to a capital crime, be not proved, all other inferior degrees of guilt are swallowed up and escape unpunished. And lastly, that when the cause was owned by the House, then other testimony would more freely come in, and that already there was expectation of some.

In this debate there were sharp reflections and aggravations against those who (behind the curtains) divert the public counsels from any good issue, and particularly hinting at the misprision of those who had concealed the treason of this Plot for six weeks, which in due time ought to fall into their care and inquiry, for that the justice of the nation did expect it at their hands. So votes passed for the Houses proceeding by way of impeachment, and five Members were sent up with five impeachments accordingly.

The tidings of this resolution was not only formidable to the parties concerned, but gave infinite distraction and disquiet elsewhere, as if we were perfectly at 1641 with the case of the Lord Strafford in view and all the train of consequences that attended. And as this was deemed on the one side a high violation of the prerogative never to be suffered, to take a trial out of His Majesty's hands, the Grand Jury having already begun and found the indictments, so it was as evidently foreseen that to strive for the diverting of the trial out of that solemn way intended, would be subject to calumny and a suppression of crimes, and bring a public clamour where it was neither safe or fit it should lie, especially at a time when the whole nation is incensed against Popery, and has got arms ready for any exploit wherein the safety of His Majesty's person or but the declaration of it might be concerned; so that there was not in view any expedient which the most offended could suggest that was able to counterbalance the danger on the other side. But during this agony and while the late vote for an address about the state of the nation entered in, to complete the perplexity, tis said Mr. Attorney General did, by the reasons he gave or which (for want of other help) were willingly admitted, allay all exterior demonstrations of this sorrow, for he told them that the proceeding by impeachment was as ancient and as frequent as the other way; that the

Judges were the same in either case; that the Grand Jury of England were more considerable than the Grand Jury of Middlesex; that although these had first found the indictments, yet the others were before them in having presented their impeachments already to the Lords, and that whatever the event should now be, one way or the other, His Majesty would not be accountable for the same. And so, without any public opposition or contention in this point, the Commons intend to proceed; and that all might be encouraged they made another address to His Majesty in favour of Mr. Oates, as your Grace will observe by the paper enclosed.

Yesterday and this day some progress was made in the House in those two points wherein all agree for the disbanding of the army, and for Bills that may secure the Protestant religion whatever happens. In this provision there arose a long debate to have either a distinct Bill or a clause in this to enable Protestants to withstand and defend themselves against any Papists whatsoever that should come with commission and bear arms in any military employment, and to dispense with those laws that at present made it rebellion so to do. The danger of this motion of arming the multitude and leaving every particular man at his liberty to be a council of war was sufficiently exposed. But on the other side it was replied that remedies must be proportioned to the dangers expected; that if Ministers in Government did not give provocations the displeasures of the people would not break forth; that they must not be silenced or overawed with the examples of 1641, which also were (for the most part) mistaken, since it appeared that most of those who first complained about redress of grievances, when they saw that some unjust men pressed in farther, they engaged freely with the Crown, and took share with His Majesty in the succeeding wars. At length the debate ended (as your Grace will see by the enclosed votes) of making all such commissions void and the parties that took them felons, and not to be pardoned but by Act of Parliament. It were heartily to be wished that the Court thought as the Parliament or the Paliament as the Court, for till there be a better understanding I do not see but that I am like to trouble your Grace with very long letters.

A vessel was lately driven into Milford Haven by stress of weather, wherein were four Austin friars from Dublin, in their way to France; they, coming ashore, were clapped in gaol till orders go from hence, and the orders which go this night are for examining the seamen as well as the friars to be fully possessed of the truth.

1678, December 17.—There hath nothing happened yesterday or to-day considerable in the House. Only the Bill for disbanding was yesterday carried up to the Lords, and there arose great expectation of more discovery into the Plot whenas, upon intimation from my Lord Shaftesbury of some hopes he had from a certain prisoner, his Lordship the Earl of Essex and Lord Halifax were sent and did, as it seems, examine Mr. Langhorne, but I do

not hear that it turned to any account, but that they may in probability return to him again.

There was some complaint this day in the House that certain five letters directed to Mr. Bedingfield were not ready at the Old Bailey to be brought in evidence against the Jesuits who were there on trial. And though intimations were given that these letters might do more hurt than good, yet they would needs have them sent. But Mr. Attorney (in whose proceedings the House had great reliance) refused to have any use made of them, and it fell so out on the other side, as that one of the prisoners, Ireland, called for those letters as evidence for him. The event of the proceedings at the Old Bailey is this, that John Grove, Pickering, a lay brother, and William Ireland, a Jesuit and Treasurer of his Order, are found guilty on the concurring evidence of Oates and Bedloe. But Thomas White, the Provincial and John Fenwick, the Procurator, having only against them the single testimony of Oates, were not sat on by the Jury, but were sent back to prison to see if farther evidence might not come in against them. And these were all who were this day under trial.

There went last night a rumour about as if this day there would break forth in the House something like an impeachment against my Lord Treasurer. Others spoke as if he meant frankly to throw up his staff, which, I suppose, was a great mistake; and so many other tales that are whispered as great secrets. One of which is that Mr. Montagu, who is become a declared enemy to his Lordship, has exposed to the view of several members (who lifted him by a very summary proceeding into the House) some letters received by him while at Paris from his Lordship, which contain great matters in them—I know not what, but such as the learned in the law do think contain in them matters for an impeachment of a great strain. Whether there be any foundation of truth herein time will show.

1678, December 24.—It is now grown a very unreasonable hour, so that I know not what to tell your Grace or what to omit of the several things that have come, for I was all this day fasting till near ten at night, on occasion of an extraordinary Council called in the morning to hear various examinations, some concerning the frights and reports of people in the country touching invasion, some concerning the Plot, but particularly touching the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, about which and a new discovery thereof the Committees of the Lords and Commons and Council-Board seem to be at the catch, and contending which shall rise earliest and overdo each other. Your Grace will see by the enclosed report what my Lord of Ossory had a share in relating hereunto, and wherein an humble servant of his had the honour to hold the pen. The same examinant, Miles Prance, hath declared as to the Plot in general that Ireland and Fenwick told him of 50,000 men to be in arms, and the Lords Arundel, Powis, Bellasis and Peters to have commissions, together with some other straggling things in the general, which confirms what

hath formerly been said. But as to the murder he only says that he was induced thereunto by one Gerald, an Irish priest, with promises of great reward, which should be made good to them by the Lord Bellasis. There was another Irish priest, one Kelly, concerned therein, which hath this night appeared—at least he was the Irishman that lodged at Green's—but Green, Hall and Berry (who are all taken and have been this night examined at the Board) do deny all very stoutly, though they all seem persons fitted for the work and not so credible in their tempers or way of speaking as Prance seems to be, who is also upon his oath, and did at first with furious imprecations before the Lords deny the fact. In the throng of examinations this night there was read the Plot of Jephson against your Grace, but the matter required no particular order. However, something hereof shall be noted in the *Gazette*.

I send your Grace the articles against my Lord Treasurer, upon presenting of which there arose the last night a long and warm debate, but so much in my Lord Treasurer's favour that it was ordered that he should not withdraw during the debates. The rest was adjourned until Tuesday, so as there seems little disposition to comply with the Commons in the imprisonment desired, and how they will resent it will prove a question. The King puts all his faculties at work and everything at stake and risk to serve that great Lord.

Mr. Montagu was this morning writ unto to attend, or else somebody from him, the opening his papers at a Council to meet again this afternoon; but he wrote to the Clerk of the Council that for fear the House should deem it a consenting to the breach of privilege he would first ask their permission; with which answer His Majesty was so little satisfied that he opened one of the four cabinets and examined several papers, but being very late he went no farther.

At my return home I find two packets from your Grace but cannot look into them it is so late, for which I do most humbly beg your Grace's pardon. My Lord Longford is upon his way for Dublin, and my Lord James has more understanding than his age requires.

1678, December 28.—What between the obligations to business and some to Christmas (having a throng of friends which I now leave) I cannot be very large. But, in the first place, I most humbly acknowledge your Grace's of the 17th and 18th instant, which I read to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and then left with him all the enclosed copies for his perusal, he being kept at home by the gout. And so it is that I have not myself as yet had time for the perusal of those copies, but perceive your Grace thought it but necessary to come to open dealing, and what use the observer may make thereof will much depend on the event of a great question here. In the meantime an unequal enemy that begets a little care and vigilance is none of the greatest misfortunes, either in troubled or quiet times.

On Thursday the Lords spent their time in arguments for their disagreement about the disbanding Bill. The Commons were entertained with a report of Prance's examination touching that wicked murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, touching which, having sent your Grace by the last post the report made by the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Ossory, I herewith send your Grace such other papers as complete the evidence taken from this Prance at the Council-Board; having only this to add that the Commons, being somewhat more particular in asking him whether he saw Bedloe in that room where the body lay next the garden, he said that besides the two of his acquaintance he found there were two or three which he knew not, whereof one was a slender man, as Bedloe is, and they both agree that it was with a dark lantern that they there saw the body. And 'tis Bedloe, that meeting accidently with Prance, charges him with having been there. The King is now persuaded of the truth of this discovery, so that the Commons addressing to him for a present Commission to have Hall, Green and Berry tried, he presently sent answer that he would order it.

But it seems His Majesty is of a different mind in the matter of Ireland, Grove and Pickering, who are condemned. On Thursday night His Majesty was long attended by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer and Duke of Lauderdale. What the occasion was I do not hear. But as the Lord Chancellor came home and ill of the gout, so I am told in secret he had some other symptoms of discomposure in his mind, and returned yesterday morning to the same meeting carrying with him the Seal as well as the purse, and resolving to leave it there rather than apply it. Whether a pardon to the condemned were proposed I cannot say, but 'tis certain they were all in a manner on their knees for the execution, but it seems altogether in vain. Yesterday morning the Commons had the Recorder of London before them, and would have passed a vote that he had failed of in his duty in the non-execution of these men; but in hopes that His Majesty would answer the high and earnest expectation that is put on this matter, and take off the verbal inhibition that is given, they adjourned the debate until Monday, and the Recorder being impatient to be at ease in this matter 'tis said there is a reprieve given, which is likely to beget some discontent.

The Lords were yesterday till four of the clock upon the Lord Treasurer's cause, but concluded with a great majority that he should not be imprisoned, having the opinion of the Judges that not only for misprision but for treason itself bail may be taken as the Judge shall think fit. My Lord Strafford was very zealous for imprisonment. The last night His Majesty sent forth orders about ten of the clock that the Lords should this day meet in their robes, but 'tis said before two of the clock His Majesty did of himself change that resolution, so that a countermand was sent. The real occasion hereof was the great subject of discourse this morning, most thinking it a prorogation intended in favour of my Lord Treasurer, especially if the report be true that the condemned have an actual reprieve.

The Commons broke into a debate of what the Lords had yesterday so favourably determined for my Lord Treasurer, where it was only ordered that his Lordship should in a week's time return answer to the impeachment. Some would have had them desist until the Lords had given them some notice of their proceedings, but others said there needed no formal notice, since all their entries were of record as in other public courts, and, therefore, it behoved them to consider that by this precedent they might never come to reach any offender if the Judges shall determine of an accusation without having the proofs. And, therefore, being warm and much inclined to say something in this matter, they sent up Mr. Bennett to desire the Lords to sit in the afternoon, and in the meantime appointed a Committee to search precedents, and another Committee were to prepare themselves for a free conference with the Lords touching the Disbanding Bill, about which this afternoon there was a conference had, and, in appearance, so disadvantageous to the Lords that all things were almost yielded upon the place. And I suppose that Bill will at last stand as the Commons desire it. After this they would have returned to debate my Lord Treasurer's case, but the wiser of that party proposed adjourning, as well to let the Disbanding Bill go on, as because it was late, but on Monday morning they will resume that matter, and, in appearance, never leave it off.

There is a new witness come from Warwickshire to whom the King hath granted a pardon. I know not what he hath in particular confessed, but 'tis said something material concerning an army and a revolution of the Catholic cause. There is also one Dugdale secured in Warwickshire that has made an important confession to the prejudice of the Lord Stafford touching dangerous matters discoursed of. He was steward to the Lord Ashton, and, imparting the said discourse to one Evers, a Jesuit in that house, he, after an oath of secrecy given, did acquaint Dugdale how it was that the King must be taken off, with many damnable motives for doing the same. There are at the same time strange hints also from several parts abroad touching His Majesty's death, and a great design in hand which does infinitely perplex the minds of the wisest. But after all this nothing more than that His Majesty will not believe anything that relates to himself. He only believes that the Papists, as is natural to them, had some design in favour of their religion, and that Justice Godfrey was murdered in Somerset House. There went some Lords to the Tower to examine the Lord Stafford on the deposition of this Dugdale, who also says the Duke of Monmouth was to be murdered. And his Grace will be easy enough in the belief thereof, for he has appeared all that possibly he could fairly do to give His Majesty the same impressions which the bulk of his subjects have; he is also dissatisfied with my Lord Treasurer, and appears of late to be more a man of business than was expected he would prove.

I send your Grace copies of those two letters of my Lord Treasurer's given in the House by Mr. Montagu. I know not

if they are right. I return your Grace humble thanks for my report, which must, in this state of things, for a time lie by. And, to conclude, your Grace may please to read here enclosed the courtesy of Munster and my answer thereunto.

1678, December 31.—Having continued to tire your Grace every post with the proceedings of Parliament since this last session, I shall now for a time ease your Grace in that particular, the Parliament being yesterday morning prorogued unto the 4th of February next.

The order for the Lords' robes issued on Sunday night an hour after the Cabinet rose, there being nothing there transacted of it, nor anything mentioned thereof on Monday morning, when a Council was early and suddenly called to hear Mr. Prance upon a very extraordinary point, for he had been with His Majesty recanting all the evidence he had before given upon oath concerning the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey as a thing invented by him and a perfect lie. But the Lord Chancellor did so closely admonish him of his villainy and apostasy in this particular, and what was like to befal him thereupon, that by the time he got back to Newgate he confessed to Captain Richardson that his first deposition was true and this last declaration a lie, and that he was induced unto it by one in prison, a servant to a priest, who whispered to him thro' the keyhole that for what he had declared he would not only be hanged but damned too. This second retractation has wonderfully damped some, who were ready to catch at any twig to disbelieve the manner of that villainy. After the Council rose His Majesty went and prorogued the Parliament, usi[illegible] words without paper to the effect enclosed. The thing was very surprising unto all, and, as is usual in such cases and very natural to many melancholy, ill-boding things were heard, and some much more angry and malicious than the thing would bear. Many lies were also presently dispersed, as if the guards were looking out for Mr. Montagu and some other member; that Oates was fled, etc., which were nothing so. I was certainly told the last night that my Lord Treasurer had in view the best part of the materials for disbanding the army, and that he would have the honour of doing even the drudgery of it himself.

This morning the Council sat, and His Majesty first declared that he would have a Committee sit from day to day to inquire into the Plot and into the murder, and did particularly recommend the care of both to the vigilance of the Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Bridgewater, and Earl of Essex, never to fail that Committee which is more numerous. But when it was added also that all the papers should be sent for that lay at either House in order to frame the indictments, and that the Lords should presently be prosecuted, and the Hall made clear against the Term, and that the whole House of Lords should be commissionated for their trial, there arose a very great and weighty debate whether a trial by indictment could proceed which formerly was begun by a jury of Middlesex, whenas the cause was since depending by

impeachment in Parliament, and only hindered by a prorogation. It ended at last in this—that the Judges should on Friday next attend to give their opinion herein.

His Majesty farther acquainted the Board that for the speedier disbanding of the army he was resolved to retrench all his expenses, and rather live as a private man than not compass that work. And, therefore, he did order the Lord Treasurer to stop all manner of particular payments, unless such as by Act of Parliament were enjoined to be made. Then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who by order did attend, were called in, and by His Majesty, in very effectual expressions, told that he had great confidence in their loyalty and peaceable government; that he would preserve them in that peace, and in the Protestant religion and their trade, and would presently pay off the army to show the world he intended not to rule that way. And, therefore, bid them not to be misled by malicious men, who are addicted to interpret all his actions amiss, and to breed confusion if they were able. The Lord Mayor assured His Majesty that all things were in due order, and should so continue, but there was one disquiet which possessed them all, and that was for the safety of his Majesty's person. His Majesty acknowledged their kindness and told them there was fear indeed of that, and perhaps from others more than what they thought. He asked them how they were guarded in the city, and, as if they needed not be at so much trouble and expense, the Lord Mayor replied that a whole regiment watched every night, and part of a regiment by day. His Majesty said nothing to alter that, but bid them go home and comfort all honest men.

His Majesty appearing in this disposition of doing all things that the conjuncture required, Mr. Speaker told him frankly how universal an expectation was fixed upon the execution of Ireland, Grove and Pickering, who are condemned. But His Majesty did, on the other side, manifest wonderful reluctance thereunto—that he had no manner of satisfaction in the truth of the evidence, but rather of its falsehood, and that when they were so busy in revenging the innocent blood of Godfrey it was hard for him to consent to the shedding of more; and that he well remembered what his father suffered for consenting to the Earl of Strafford's death. Most of the Board did labour with His Majesty to show the disparity of the cases, the ill-grounded scruple His Majesty had taken, and that the evidence and trial were much fairer than His Majesty had been told, and that he could not be answerable for any wrong done or innocent blood shed, but it lay upon the witnesses and jury, if such a thing could be thought of in this case. None laboured herein more vigorously than the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chancellor and the Lord Lauderdale, who, it seems, had in private done their uttermost before. At last it was ordered that when the Judges come on Friday so many of them as sat upon that trial are to inform His Majesty how the proofs appeared. And the Bishops that are of the Board are then to be present and to assist His Majesty as to the point of conscience in this matter.

'Tis not likely the Lord Mayor did understand where His Majesty meant that his fear lay, but he has frankly owned on

other occasions that there were substantial fears to be entertained concerning Fifth Monarchy men and the Republicans, and the discourse of those who undervalue the Plot runs all into this—that these heats and prosecutions against Popery are but the struggles of a fanatic party, who, when they have got their will in that, will tread the whole path of their predecessors, and make things end as fatal to the crown as formerly. There is no doubt but there is a malicious fanatic party in the kingdom who hope to thrive by all disquiets; but to believe that which looks remote to be in a superior degree above other danger, which the whole nation thinks even imminent, is a struggle which can produce no good, and I beseech Almighty God to direct His Majesty in the choice of that which is best and most secure for his person, and most leading to the persuasion of his subjects to be of his mind or the inducing of him to be of theirs, for in this only can consist our happiness.

I am apt to think His Majesty may ere long bring to the Board some discovery of the tampering of fanatics, for *as* Bishop of London] lately told *rp* [Sir Robert Southwell] that there would ere long be made appear at the Board a plain tampering between *bm* [Duke of Bucks] and *gq* [France]. And now, of late, in all things concerning *te* [Lord Treasurer] *as* [Bishop of London] hath forsaken *re* [Shaftesbury].

It was a mistaken, though general report, that Mr. Solicitor and the two Holmes were in the condition of Sir Stephen Fox; but Mr. Solicitor this day attending the Council, was sent to by His Majesty to forbear his attendance there.

My Lord of Ossory, who has this day flown post to give your Grace a visit during the short recess, will let your Grace know how much and how justly we are all here charmed with my Lord James; besides his being a very fine lad in appearance, he has, in my judgment, an understanding far beyond his years. I have told your Grace how the party I sought for to instruct him is at last not to be had. I had my eye on the event of what was necessary to make him a freeman and at liberty, which was the marriage of his daughter, but she fell ill and has continued so all this summer, and is scarce as yet perfectly recovered.

I have just now the honour of your Grace's of the 24th, and therein some copies enclosed, but have only read that of the 20th from Munster, of which very date I have one now to myself, and that in a style quite metamorphosed, for it says that on the 12th instant a hellish Plot was, by God's mercy, discovered at Dublin, where, etc. And, again, that the Protestants have of late been very hearty, the militia in all places being now mustering and setting up, and several very welcome proclamations having been lately issued to animate them and to mortify the Papists. I hope the method your Grace has taken and resolves to take may make a very good reformation. And so I wish to your Grace and my Lady Duchess a most happy new year, this being now almost the last hour of the last.

1678-9, January 11.—I am to acknowledge the honour of your Graces of the 5th instant, which chiefly relates to my Lord James,

concerning whom I here enclose to your Grace all that hath passed between my Lord Bishop and me, save what I have just writ unto his Lordship viz.:—That there might chambers be prepared with all possible haste, for that my Lord James would come to him the next week, and for that purpose that his Lordship would appoint the necessary furniture to be provided there, and that this week there should be a stock of fifty pounds sent down to begin the world withal. I further told his Lordship that as to expenses I had thought five hundred pounds a year would have been a splendid allowance, but that when I entered into a conjecture of particulars I found it swell much higher, and did therefore send his Lordship a paper thereof that it might be retrenched by him. And I here send your Grace a copy of the same paper, which I this day read to my Lord Arlington, whose genius I find does not lie in the point of retrenchment, for he thinks all is well. But truly all ought to come within five hundred pounds, and to cut the coat accordingly, and for a good beginning I should think fifty pounds a year were sufficient for Monsieur Drelincourt, while he continued in England; for if this young spark be not taught some frugality now, it is not like to come by nature unto him. I have writ to the Bishop that he will eat in the Hall, for otherwise he would miss of observing much of the University benefit which teaches men to live by rule.

Everybody expects that my Lord Sunderland will soon have the French business in his management, and become eldest Secretary, and that a successor will speedily be found for Mr. Secretary Coventry, and now Sir Lionel Jenkins is they say thought preferable to Sir William Temple, The first part of this work revived so much talk in reference to France, that the frowardness of some and the apprehensions of others grow boundless, but I have no time to enlarge, for the King this night sent me upon a message that has taken up all my time.

1678-9, January 14. Spring Garden.—I have since this new year began never wrought less than ten hours a day, but I begrudge not the labour that tends to the discovery and punishment of a most hellish design against the life of His Majesty, of which I am convinced as of my creed. And I sometimes see His Majesty so much in the same mind upon this evidence of Dugdale, that is plain and honest, that the execution of the three condemned and meeting of the Parliament seems not to be doubted. How it varies at other times I cannot answer for. The Lords Stafford, Bellasis and Arundel are hereupon made close prisoners. Dugdale knows no particulars of Scotland or Ireland, but that it was a foundation laid by them that both were to be put into troubles and the Pope engaged for assistance to the business of Ireland. I am quite tired and must beg pardon.

1678-9, March 8.—By the last post I gave your Grace a long account how matters stood. Only in relation to the Lady Anne His Majesty takes to himself the stopping of her, and that he told

the Duke if she went she might probably be sent for back, and if that were demanded from him he should not deny it; and that the young lady cried as much as the rest to part company. But some that took very close and accurate notice wondered much to see so little sorrow in *iu* [the King] and *pq* [Queen Catherine.]

Here enclosed you have His Majesty's gracious speech in which you see Popery, Plot, the murderers, and the Army exposed to whatever the Parliament shall think fit. And yet these things have begun with a very untoward rub. For when the Commons returned to choose their Speaker, they had got it among them that Sir Thomas Meres was to be recommended, and imputing this to some friendship from my Lord Great Chamberlain, whose son has got the rich heiress of Wales, Mrs. Wynn, who was left in the disposal of the Bishop of Rochester, who is intimate with Sir Thomas. This remote and ill-grounded fancy served to hold him in jealousy, who heretofore was a leader of the host. So that, before Sir John Ernley could rise up to recommend, Birch proposed Mr. Seymour, using many arguments to show how acceptable a person he must needs be unto His Majesty. So, the House being all in noise, some dragged him to the chair, where he made a very handsome speech, and among other things [said] that he did believe the only thing His Majesty and they were like to differ in would be in the choice they had made. But though nothing he could say could appear or divert the clamour in his favour, it seems he knew very well that some other person was intended; for that the Lord Treasurer had before acquainted him with His Majesty's purpose to put into his care the conduct of matters in that House, wherein he would be of much more use, and he seemed to acquiesce therein. But being thus violently chosen, the House adjourned until the next day at two of the clock; and he came presently to His Majesty, who, hearing how matters went, seemed to acquiesce therein. But others were of a different sentiment, so that yesterday, when he came up to the bar of the House of Lords, to represent the choice which the Commons had made, the Lord Chancellor declared His Majesty's disapproval thereof; ordering them to return to make another choice. And at their return Sir Thomas Meres was named to them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but they were in much heat and fury, which gave occasion for a meeting last night at the Cabinet, and the Council was this morning summoned to meet at 8 of the clock, where this whole argument was in debate; most arguing that the right of approval was so clear in His Majesty, and so great a point as that he was never to recede therefrom, and by no means to vary from his disapproval. But since the right of choosing was as clearly in the Commons, and that they were perhaps distasted with the person recommended, the best expedient was to let them proceed to the choice of a third person, without naming any. And when the matter was just come to this temperament, there came four persons sent with a message from the House, which also it seems met, and finding they could not come to any resolution by the time His Majesty had fixed them, sent to pray for a longer time; which His Majesty

did not only grant, but bid them go to the choice of a third person and to attend him on Tuesday morning. Mr. Seymour absented himself as well from the Board as from the House. But when the message came to them, some began to think this a diverting of their right, and still seemed unsatisfied. But it was moved to adjourn until Monday morning that they might consult the entry in the House of Lords, and in what terms this matter was couched, and so they adjourned accordingly.

'Tis a strange thing to see how little animosity is laid down, nothwithstanding the sending away of the Duke, which was doubtless thought sufficient to have wiped away all. But things fall out many times with contrary events, and there is thought to be in this rejection of Mr. Seymour some personal disrespect, which raises him into a great name, and works contrary effects elsewhere.

This morning at Council His Majesty did amend a word or two of what he writ and declared on Monday, touching his never being contracted or married before.

[The remainder of this letter is wanting, and it is consequently unsigned; but the handwriting is Sir R. Southwell's.]

[*Enclosure referred to in the foregoing letter.*]

REPRESENTATION OF THE COMMONS TOUCHING THE CHOICE OF A SPEAKER.

1678-9, March 11.—We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do with all obedience return your Majesty most humble thanks for the favourable acceptation and gracious answer your Majesty was pleased to return to our late message: wherein your Majesty was pleased not only to allow of a longer time to deliberate of what was delivered us by the Lord Chancellor relating to the choice of a Speaker, but likewise to express so great a care not to infringe our privileges; and do desire your Majesty to believe no subjects ever had a more tender regard than ourselves of your Majesty and your royal prerogative, which we shall always acknowledge to be vested in the Crown for the benefit and protection of your Majesty's subjects. And, therefore, for the clearing of all doubts that may arise in your royal mind upon that occasion now before us, we crave leave humbly to represent to your Majesty that it is the undoubted right of the Commons to have the free election of one of their members to be their Speaker to perform the service of the House, and that the Speaker so elected and presented according to custom hath by the constant practice of all former ages been continued Speaker, and executed that employment, unless his person hath been excused upon some corporal disability which hath been alleged by themselves or some others in their behalf in full Parliament. According to this usage Mr. Edward Seymour was unanimously chosen by us upon consideration of his great abilities and sufficiency for the place, of which we had large experience in the last Parliament, and was presented by us to your Majesty as a person we conceived would every way be most acceptable to your royal judgment.

This being the true state of the case we do in all humility lay it before your Majesty's view, hoping that your Majesty, upon due consideration of former precedent, will rest satisfied with our proceedings, and will think fit not to deprive us of so necessary a member by employing him in any other service; but to give us such a gracious answer as your Majesty and your royal predecessors have always done heretofore upon the like occasion. That so we may without more loss of time proceed to the despatch of those important affairs for which we were convened; wherein we doubt not but we shall so behave ourselves as to give an ample testimony to the whole world of our duty and affection to your Majesty's service, and our care of the peace and prosperity of all your kingdoms.

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER.

Gentlemen: This is but loss of time. Go back and do as I directed you.

1678-9, March 22.—When your Grace has read the enclosed votes you will see how the Earl of Danby is turned upon fortune's wheel, and how the prosecution of the Earl of Clarendon is come home to him. The Lords seemed to close with what His Majesty would have done towards him in leaving him what he hath, but putting incapacity on him by Act of Parliament. The Commons seem not willing to acquiesce therein, but to invalidate his pardon for being granted after an impeachment, and not passed in the forms. They seem resolved to prosecute him to condemnation, and that if His Majesty will then pardon, that the same contain all the black badges whereof he shall be convicted. The Lord Chancellor did dissuade his taking the present pardon, as being a record of his guilt, and writ expressly against doing of it in the manner it was. For the King commanded him to bring the Seal to Whitehall, where, in private, the Earl of Bath present, a servant was commanded to take out the Seal and apply it to a parchment ready signed Charles R.

Bedloe did the last night accuse my Lord Danby of tampering with him to take a great reward and fly into Switzerland or New England. Bedloe has again, as before, touched upon the Queen, and all the witnesses are heard with great attention. All the mismanagements and evil maxims of government since the Restoration are ripped up and exposed. There is no contradiction given to anything of this nature that is said, and in truth the attempt of it from a few would be fruitless. All agree that there is much to be amended, and being possessed of the authority for doing the same, when they will think fit to lay it down and where to have the reformation stop no man can yet foretell.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 1st and 8th instant, and shall make use of the annexed papers the best I can. My Lord Primate's letter is excellently well done, and I am making several copies thereof,* and so is my Lord of Ossory's secretary; but 'tis now so late that I can add no more.

* See the letter of Lord Chancellor Boyle to Earl of Orrery at p. 350, *supra*.

1679, March 25.—I had yesterday the honour of your Grace's of the 16th and 20th, but, in truth, have not had time yet to read the papers annexed; for, besides what comes to my share of other concerns, I, who have almost killed myself labouring the discovery of the Plot, have been aspersed for suppression of evidence. But the House of Lords were pleased to give me this day an honourable vote for my vindication, and I hope speedily to have the offender at the bar of the House of Commons. There are some rascals who think we are already come to that pass that 'tis but naming a servant of the King's and he is gone. But although the House of Commons are growing inexorable where faults are apparent, yet they will distinguish between those who do their duty and those who do not—at least such is my hope, and I doubt not but I shall find it so in my own case, and be able to tell your Grace something of it by the next. For the Lords have not only cleared me but put me in trust to methodize the papers before them, and appointed two of their clerks to attend me in it.

The enclosed votes will show your Grace the catastrophe of the Earl of Danby. I see nobody now so likely to have a share of credit with His Majesty as the Earl of Essex, who with some other Lords are like to be in the Treasury, for Sir Edward Dering adheres to the Customs and the Lord Alington goes to be Constable of the Tower, but what the other three do I know not.

There has yet been no division in the House of Commons. All things pass on with a powerful stream, so that opposition is so far from being useful. that it is become dangerous. The Plot will certainly have an entire and thorough prosecution, and Popery be laid fast for one age, and till these things are well over there will be no words of money; but all think it high time to be in defence against the dangers of France, and to see that persons of entire zeal in the Protestant religion be everywhere fixed in commands and authorities. But it is grown too late to trouble your Grace with more at this time.

1679, April 12.—The enclosed letter from Mr. Drelincourt will show your Grace how he extenuates his affront to Mr. Berkeley; but he so magnifies Mr. Berkeley's to my Lord James as that I cannot believe my Lord James would bear it either with that patience or that trouble he mentions, but rather give Mr. Berkeley the cause to complain, for he does not outmatch my Lord and, therefore, is unlikely to outdo him, for I understand my Lord James is rather too brisk than too tame. But your Grace will see that all is like to be thoroughly composed by what Mr. Aldrich now writes, and by what the Bishop writes there was a part to be acted here. And my nephew has been already with Mr. Berkeley who came to town in discontent. But he will to-morrow go and wait upon my Lord of Ossory and forget all.

As to the public affairs that concern your Grace, I know some better hand will impart what is stirring from time to time in the House of Lords. The paper which was there presented some friends would have put in print, which is hitherto only restrained by the caution of printing that which may be now called a pro-

ceeding in that House. But this is only a stop till others advise the leaping over it. But our Dutch friend likes very well the other letter written by a dissenter and does propagate it in the city, and I believe we shall have it in print. He cannot tell who wrote the letter of the 5th of February from Dublin, but he will find out who received it. He says they here report that a great stir has been made on that side to find out the author of it. I think the two proclamations issued there on the 26th past are of a strain that ought to satisfy the most incensed opposers, but we did not here think fit to make use of that letter sent over to Mr. Mulys as intercepted, for reasons that were obvious.

I should tire out your Grace if I did mention but half the melancholy conjectures of some that yet seem to wish well to the public—but that your Grace may know how the variety of discourses run—some will lament to observe that my Lady Portsmouth and my Lord Sunderland seem to have greatest credit in the Court; that the inclinations of His Majesty do not run with the stream of expectation, and though everything is at last granted which is desired, yet the thanks are lost for want of some expedition or frankness in the manner of granting. On the other side it is noted that whoever comes voluntarily in to offer his service, or is called out of the crowd to assist, that man seems immediately to lose all the power and virtue that was in him by coming to Whitehall. He is looked upon as a man that has made conditions for himself, and as it were listed to obstruct the reformation. But that this should be the present state of things now that the Duke and Treasurer are departed is of very melancholy consequence, and especially if there should be any reason or foundation for such reflections; for they still imply a jealousy that we are influenced by France, and would endeavour to find supply by other means than by the Parliament, which jealousy has occasioned the vote about the annexing of Tangier, and Jamaica has also fallen into the debate and may have a share in the Bill and perhaps other of the foreign plantations. And as to the other part touching persons, the instance now is very pregnant in that of Mr. Seymour, who, but the other day, was by general acclamation made Speaker; yet now that Serjeant Gregory was designed to succeed Baron Littleton that is dead, and Mr. Seymour to enter the chair, he has found so much aversion from the same men that all his industries cannot avail, so that the present Speaker is likely to continue, and this night a vote has passed that no motion for the change of a Speaker shall at any time be made till after eleven of the clock.

There are some general things which, much like a torrent, run on without stop or mitigation, as the attainder against the Earl of Danby, the prosecution of the Plot, and trial of those impeached, effectual bills against Popery, and in order to the common defence against France the militia must be made formidable. All places of strength will be looked into, and in what hands they are, and great alterations, I presume, as to this particular, as well in relation to things at sea as at land. And until there be a great progress in all or most of these matters there is no imagination of getting

money, although the present wants are so great, and which, when the fleet about midsummer may come home, will be so augmented as that near a million would be necessary to pay off and give ease to these and such like straits that are at hand. The army that is yet undisbanded comes to about £1,100 a day, and though the state of all that matter hath been ready for a week, yet other things take up the time, and the rather because they are not in number sufficient to give any fear. And as there is a disposition in the House to pay them off by some speedy way of raising a sum proportionable, yet in all probability it will be lodged in the Chamber of London.

But among all the great difficulties in view there is that of the Succession, which some do often grate upon as often as they propose effectual remedies against Popery. But others who speak less thereof in public seem yet more perplexed with the difficulties that arise herein, for they argue that Popery will inevitably prevail with the successor. And when they think of such laws as may prevent it they do not only find insuperable difficulties to contend withal in the future, but even in the present; so that they ease their thoughts upon another expedient, and this regards the Queen. And although for the present this point be not in agitation for the sake of others which urge more for despatch, yet it is likely in its time to take place and fill the minds of all. God Almighty send that in the progress of so many great things in prospect there happen no strifes or confusion among us.

1679, April 15.—I have been this afternoon with my Dutch friend and committed to his care the printing that extract which my Lord of Ossory presented, as also the letter in confutation of that libel of the 5th of February, which I find was sent over hither to one Mr. Bonnell, but from whom cannot be learned. There will be a letter to introduce these two papers which shall first have the approbation of the said Lord and my Lord Chamberlain before it go to the press—both their Lordships having voted already for the printing of the other two; but it is privately left to the care of my Dutch friend, who has stood up stiff in the cause, and will deserve the acknowledgment that my Lord of Ossory intends him. I have been the more concerned to promote this method since I was told by William Penn that he heard of a great Lord that intended to come over from Munster loaden with complaints, not against your Grace, but to show the lamentations of the gentlemen of that province as to the nakedness of the land, and to submit all to the election and regulation of the House of Commons. 'Tis said His Majesty will appear to-morrow in his robes to give the royal assent to the attainder against the Earl of Danby.

1679, April 19.—I here acknowledge the exceeding great honour of your Grace's of the 5th instant, with your concern for me therein expressed. And, in addition to what your Grace will elsewhere find, I have this fresh matter to add, as what was told me to-night at Whitehall and not to be doubted of. That the Earl of Shaftes-

bury, the Lord Roberts, the Lord Halifax, and the Lord Holles are just coming into the Council. That a select Committee as well for the foreign as home affairs of greatest importance shall hereafter sit in the Council chamber. That the office of Ordnance shall be in commission as also the Treasury of the Navy. That new Commissioners shall enter into the Commission of the Admiralty, some of them to be practical men and to have salaries. That the Commission of the Treasury will receive some change, and in particular as to Mr. Hyde and Mr. Godolphin. The Duke of Buckingham does all this while disappear, no man knowing where he is. This night has brought in three packets, and among them many papers which I have and shall turn the best I can for your Grace's service, for 'tis the business in the world I am most heartily intent upon. Hitherto my Lord Chamberlain makes no progress, and while he has still enemies in power he is very well contented that they will let him alone with his staff.

Just now, at ten of the clock, my Lord of Ossory called in upon me and found me reading a letter from Sir William Petty, where he says the Parliament zeal about Ireland had set several clubs and meetings at work to draw up advices to be sent for England on that account; that he himself had just finished two sheets in number, weight and measure to that purpose, but knew not what to do with them. I mean the next post to desire him to send them unto me. And whereas he laments to me that your Grace does nothing for him upon the King's letter, but puts him to take a course at law—which he might have taken ten years since—I have formerly desired your Grace to secure that man's friendship, not only because he has married my kinswoman, but for the very same reasons that your Grace has been kind to *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick]; and I am confident, as things go, his friendship may be a valuable thing.

'Tis said my Lord Treasurer will for his vindication lay some blame upon several, among which are named my Lord of St. Albans, my Lord Sunderland, a great Duchess, and Sir Joseph Williamson. I almost forgot to tell your Grace that my Lord of Ossory desires your Grace would not fail to oblige Sir William Petty.

1679, April 22.—By the last post your Grace heard what was the state of our thoughts as to yourself. Whether the enclosed great change adds or diminishes to that point I cannot certainly tell, for there are arguments on both sides, and whether this great example of the dissolution and revival of the Council will be matter of precedent in Ireland I cannot tell. They sat this night and appointed several Committees. In that of Intelligence, which will be for secret affairs, there enters the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Essex, Sir William Temple, and of course the Lord Chancellor, Lord President and two Secretaries, who are of this as well as of all other Committees. For that of Ireland there is the Lord Privy Seal, Earl of Essex, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Halifax, Lord Roberts, and Mr. Seymour. The business of Tangier will be also brought to a Committee.

My Lord Sunderland seems to be in great trust, and Sir William Temple close in with him. The declaration, I am told, was of his drawing. All the world admire how Sir William Coventry could be left out, but tho' for that and other such like reasons many of the House of Commons are enraged, and especially to see all fresh-water men in the Admiralty, yet there were the last night bonfires made in the city on account of this great change.

ce [The Lord Chancellor] told me that he was called in only at the conclusion of this work, and told me he had all the pain in the world in *hn* [Lord. Halifax], so that he is not so near *ks* [Ld. Lieut. of Ireland] as was imagined.

I have spoken seriously this day with *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] and he liked my proposal very well that *fh* [Ormond] should write to *re* [Shaftesbury] and disown the late mistake of *mo* [Ossory], especially since he has professed not only to *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] but others of your friends that he gave not the provocation, and that his aim was at *kf* [Lauderdale], so that a letter is thought very seasonable as things now stand, and *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] will even persuade *mo* [Ossory] himself to present it. And I pray consider well of this point, and do not easily reject it. It may not be amiss if you congratulate *fw* [Sir Wm. Temple] who is a sort of tutor to the *mb* [now] great *qz* [Secretary Sunderland] and may influence that cabal to divert mischief, especially if you desire him to call on *rp* [Sir R. Southwell] to be informed how matters stand, that so *fh* [Ormond] be not run down—at least *fw* [Sir Wm. Temple] may properly be put on this work.

David Walter is dead, and so George Legge succeeds him; but they say the Lord Russell shall be Governor of Portsmouth. The exchange will not be liked so well of Sir John Lanier for Governor of Jersey upon the death of Sir Thomas Morgan. They say Mr. Powle shall be in the place of Sir John Ernley, and that there shall be a great change in the Lieutenancys, Commission of the Peace, and what not? But particularly that the Ordnance and Treasury of the Navy shall be in commission, and many talk also of the Great Seal. If all this will save *pb* [Lady Portsmouth] it is very well; but most think otherwise, though that be a main scope in this matter.

Your letter about the Lord Tyrone was read this night, and, after debate, things left in the legal method they are. The other, with a narrative, are referred to the Committee for Ireland to be considered as they think fit. Unless your Grace lend a helping hand to the money I am there expecting I shall be left in the suds.

1679, April 26.—I doubt not but your Grace will hear as well from my Lord Longford as Mr. Secretary Coventry what they have discoursed with His Majesty in your Grace's concerns, and how that nothing but fair weather can be collected from thence. But as to the mind of others there are some who, having malice, would do anything that they could, and others, without malice, would do anything which they thought popular, even to save themselves, and on the other side avoid it as they think it might

do themselves hurt. And upon these waves of uncertainty we are at the present tossed, and God knows what will be the conclusion. On Monday or Tuesday, at farthest, our Dutch friend will have forth the things that was under his care, which will certainly undeceive a great many.

This day the Lord Lauderdale was sharply assaulted by Mr. Bennett, but only as an earnest of his further intentions for him, and so also another Lord of the Council, who has thirty masses a day said for him in Ireland, which, upon inquiry, I find is the Lord Privy Seal. I suppose this night your Grace will have intimation to present the list of of a new Council from thence, and when you consider the reconciliations that are made in the model here, something of that nature may perhaps be necessary on that side. But instead of two Dukes, two Marquises, etc., it may be thought fit to consider the predominant interest there of adventurer, soldier, '49 man, etc., and whether Sir William Petty may not, as things stand, be fit to be made one I leave to your Grace's consideration.

To-morrow, tho' Sunday, the House will meet, and doubtless break into the whole argument about the succession, wherein all parties concerned, either for the Duke or for the Queen, expect some extraordinary resolution. The Secret Committee declare they are ready for the trial of the Lords, tho' some are warm and concerned to bring on the Lord Danby's business first. He hath pleaded his pardon to that degree that I am afraid my Lord Chancellor may suffer some ill blow in that matter.

1679, April 29.—The House sat on Sunday last upon the proposal of securing the King's person, and the Protestant religion in his time and in the time of his successor. As to the first part they came to an early vote of addressing for a proclamation to banish all Papists twenty miles from this town. In the debate of the second point all did agree in one desire of finding out a way, if they could, to make it the interest of the Papists to preserve His Majesty's life, and how that it might be worse with them in the time of his successor. Some were for declaring a general destruction of the Papists in case His Majesty should fall by a violent hand. Others were for having the Parliament propose officers to fill up all employments in the Militia, Lieutenancy, Justice, Navy, etc., which might be to the satisfaction of the public in all events. Others, thinking this encroached too much, would have His Majesty name all now and consult his Parliament in their approbation. Others were for making it lawful for the subject to resist any that should pretend to act upon them by commission of any Popish Prince. Others were for allowing the Duke all his right so he would turn Protestant. Others noting the difficulty to obstruct the Duke's right would try if there might not be a way for the King to have a son of his own (if he had not one already), and another named downright that the King could not be safe with *pb* [Duchess of Portsmouth]; nor was it fit as to the succession that the end of marriage being frustrated there

should be that impediment to the public redress that was provided for in a private family. Most seemed to allow of this opinion, that if a Popish successor did enter there was an end of Protestant religion. There was interwoven in this debate much of the Duke's being mentioned in most of the letters as the encourager of the Papists to several of their undertakings. At length it came to these two votes—that the Duke's being a Papist and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown of England have given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present design and conspiracy of the Papists against the King and the Protestant religion; and that the Secret Committee should report on Wednesday all those passages found in the several papers and confessions of Coleman that shew how far the Duke hath been aiding and promoting these matters. And it was voted that the concurrence of the Lords should be desired in the first declaratory vote. And this was the work of that day, saving that the address was ordered about having the condemned priests to be executed.

In these debates Mr. Secretary Coventry spoke freely his mind against the methods proposed for hampering His Majesty's authority and against disturbing the succession. Upon which occasion he was fallen upon with fury, and so reproached of his having cheated the House into a belief of a French war, that it gave perfect scandal, if not terror, to all that serve His Majesty with far different talent either of ability or innocence. Yesterday Mr. Bennett fell very severe upon Mr. Pepys, as if he had favoured one Aylmer, a Lieutenant to Captain Roydon, in the sweepstakes, the Captain complaining at the bar he was only turned out for calling his Lieutenant Papist. But, besides this matter, that was very poorly proved, other angry objections came in about this and that disorder in the fleet, and about the late passes, So that a committee was presently appointed to examine all enormities in general and in particular, and Mr. Pepys, however prepared, must certainly be destroyed. And there passed some reflections also upon Colonel Legge, which he answered very well unto, but little is like to avail him or any other that is looked on as favoured by the Duke. It seems the Lords are to-morrow to debate the vote sent up by the Commons, which gave the occasion of calling this night an Extraordinary Council, and from which the Clerks were ordered to withdraw. It sat about three hours close, and meets to-morrow again at eight of the clock. *pi* [Lord Privy Seal] told me they had had a good night and hoped all might do well, and that is all I hear.

Your Grace will here see in print what some friend thought necessary to be so, and *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] as well as *mo* [Ossory] liked the draft made by *rp* [S. R. Southwell] in the figure of an adventurer reconciled to truth. I was told by a friend that Mr. Bennett, being asked whom he meant in his intended charges, said not only my Lord Privy Seal but *fh* [Ormond] also; 'tis certain this he said. But *ce* [Ld. Chancellor] hears that some of the Commons having a hint that his removal is brewing at

Court do begin by a cross eddy to resolve to oppose it, but this good point is yet very young and weak.

Fz [Earl of Essex] has a great eye on the Government, but more on *te* [Lord Treasurer], and *re* [Lord Shaftesbury] most agree has a mind to be *ce* [Chancellor], and if so 'tis not likely he should be long without it. *De* [Mr. Sec. Coventry] is very opposite to *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] in his opinion that *fh* [Ormond] should come hither as well for the inconveniency of deserting such a charge in so ticklish a time as to run here into the mouth of an impeachment, if such a thing, as some think, be raking together; whereas distance may afford several advantages by length of time, etc. For my own part I am heart-sick at what I see done and doing, and also about what is left undone in a time of so much danger. I cannot imagine what your Grace should do more than the things you do, and to continue the same steady hand in this time of so much uncertainty and agitation.

1679, May 3.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 23rd past, and surely Mr. Gandy's representation is a mistake, for Mr. Aldrich, the tutor, has done nothing but well, and the fault that was belonged to the Monsieur, and this is my Lord of Ossory's opinion, and I believe that matter is now all quieted.

The enclosed speeches will acquaint your Grace with very new matter, and of what argument will, on Monday next, come into a long and important debate, namely, about the succession. Upon reading these speeches in the House of Commons there was a very great disposition to the giving thanks, but some of the men of note there opposed it, till the matter were *there* thoroughly examined; and between what has been there said and what has been since discoursed the opinions fall under these three heads. Some, because of the difficulties of knowing whether a King be Protestant or Papist, propose that a law be made and calculated in particular for the Duke's reign, taking him for a Papist and irrecoverably to be always such. Others, who have either provoked the Duke or think there can be no safety in any law in case he reign, would, by a law, step over his head and entitle the Princess of Orange and her issue to succeed immediately upon the King's death. Others do mutter that His Majesty is so backward in agreeing to the execution of Pickering and the priests who have been condemned, and seem to express so much jealousy even of this effect of His Majesty's natural clemency, that they are for present laws of defence against Popery, and that the model laid down in the speech should even presently be put in practice, and what this matter finally will settle in God only can tell.

There was great expectation this day of an assault in Parliament upon the Duke of Lauderdale, which may, in this conjuncture, end much to his prejudice, and 'tis not likely to be long deferred, and many talk as if things in Scotland were grown insupportable and at the point of coming to blows. There is also much displeasure conceived in the House against my Lord Chief Justice North, not only on the score of his being one of the Judges who

reversed the opinion of Sir Matthew Hale, who fined the Sheriff of Norfolk £800 for a false return to the prejudice of Sir Samuel Barnardiston to serve in Parliament, but upon other scores, upon which I can give no good account, whether it be in matters relating to the Plot or that they take him for a man of arbitrary principles. There is now also a strong whisper that the Great Seal will be put into Commission, as into the hands of the Lord Roberts, Serjeant Ellis and Sir Robert Atkins. Some add Sir Francis Winnington and another, and that this is brought to pass at Whitehall and will speedily have its effect, and accordingly my Lord Chancellor does prepare his mind not to be surprised at it. And if it so happens many will think he hath deserved better from the Court. Many are doubtful that this constitution of the Admiralty will obstruct the giving of money, and that several of them will quit the preferment. But Sir Harry Capel sets his heart upon it and has got very ample powers to be inserted in the Commission, and desires to have Will. Herbert for Secretary, so that Mr. Pepys is to be pulled in pieces with complaints poured in, and there is a Committee directed, whereof he is the chairman, in order to effect this work. My Lord Halifax is just growing into great approbation with His Majesty, and if he holds his resolution to despise preferment he will be able to govern all that have it. The House of Lords have not lately meddled with Irish business and are growing full of other work, so that your Grace will have a little holiday, and this is what we all begin to hope and think.

1679, May 10.—I acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 30th past. My Lord of Ossory communicated to me what your Grace writ to Mr. Secretary, and this night both he and my Lord Chamberlain did me the honour to call at my house, where, after beating over the troublesome particulars of the enclosed paper, which touch upon the public concerns, we soon all agreed in the same opinion, which I am here to signify for them, that neither Ireland or any man in it can at present be thought of in this crowd of things depending and of nearer concern. So that 'tis thought best not to deliver your Grace's letter to Mr. Secretary at all. But if your Grace please to write the same again, or any other, with the variation you think fit, and leave it without date to be presented in such a conjuncture as may require it, care shall be taken to do therein as shall be found best and fittest for your Grace's service.

I give your Grace many thanks for the remembrance of my money, which will help me to stop one gap when it can come. I must confess I find so little encouragement in my station here and so much trouble in prospect that I often wish I could lay down the cudgels on the same terms I took them up.

1679, May 10.—It is hard in a little time and when great things are so close crowded to give your Grace a distinct account of what is now depending. The Address of the Commons against my Lord Lauderdale has hitherto received no answer. I send your Grace the proclamation issued on the barbarous murder of the

Bishop of St. Andrews, and know not what descant to make as yet on the conjunction of these misfortunes of this great statesman and that prelate—only many do wish that they may not hear of more disorder in Scotland. And 'tis not improbable, as things here stand but the most popular expedient will be taken, and that which may best suppress any further insolences there.

There is at present arisen a great difference between the two Houses, the Lords having refused to mix in a Committee with the Commons for adjusting the method of trying the Lords. This happened more particularly about the case of the Earl of Danby, but the Commons do mix the concern of the Popish Lords and that all in one, that the Lords might have the less to answer in case they persist to refuse accommodation. And because the Bishops have all sided in those votes which have hitherto seemed to favour the Earl of Danby, and so are thought likely to sway the matter in his favour as to the validity of his pardon, there is arisen no small indignation towards them. But how uncertain are all human affairs, when but a while since the people would cry in the streets " make room for a Protestant Bishop ! " when my Lord of London was to pass by, and now they asperse even his Lordship with Popery. And this makes some call to mind that about two years since some of this holy and reverend order had so far resigned themselves to the pleasure of the Earl of Danby as to reflect on your Grace with jealousies of that nature, whenas now, for his Lordship's sake, they bear such reflections themselves. The Lords are even now sitting, and whether a way will be found out by them to accommodate with the Commons after a vote this morning in the negative I cannot tell, but it was from this kind of jarring that the Commons yesterday flew into such resentment and jealousies that Popery was favoured where it should not be, that they moved for the raising of the militia thereabouts in order to their safety, tho' afterwards the cause was made to be Harcourt's lurking in the town, as if still to animate the Plot. The Commons also were dissatisfied that the Lords had sent for five priests who were lately condemned in the circuits, supposing it but an expedient to divert their executions. And amidst these public transactions many rumours are flown that the Duke was sent for or were coming himself ; that the fires that happen are occasioned by the Papists ; that some stores sending to Portsmouth are sent to meet the Duke ; and that now the Bill for disbanding is passed that the money shall be otherwise applied, and I know not what. There is a vote passed which concerns the Post Office, and tends to the putting the same into safer hands than [those] influenced by the Duke. Mr. Bertie is committed to the Serjeant at Arms. He was examined at the Bar about a book he kept that was a list of pensioners, but he denied the having of any such book or accounts concerning money for Secret Service. He had, in March last, delivered up all into His Majesty's hands, who had approved of his accounts, and the money being paid into him by Privy Seals for Secret Service, and without account, he thought himself no further charged with it. He was pressed hard in many particulars for

£250,000 which has been raised in his name, but he refused to answer to any of the particulars, saying that he could not discover His Majesty's secrets without permission. This also is an ill point and will bring some untoward consequence with it.

To-morrow, tho' Sunday, the House meet about the former question of the succession, so that I need not set down or enumerate more particulars to leave your Grace to judge of the very troublesome and cloudy conjuncture we are in; some thinking nothing but a prorogation can allay, and others that nothing could at present be so destructive, especially till the trials of the five Lords be over. In this crowd of things your Grace will see how seasonable a petition is presented about the Irish Accounts, but as yet it hath not been read.

Sir William Temple came to me to know, with great kindness, how your Grace's affairs did stand, and says he will on occasion lend his helping hand. A citizen, who is of the House, and whom I engage to hearken what he can, told me yesterday of a letter sent over without a name of the 26th of April, which the party who received it was to shew unto *re* [Lord Shaftesbury], wherein were thanks for the great care taken of Ireland; that Irish resorted still to the Castle; that FitzPatrick was to get a cardinal's cap for the Chancellor; that FitzMorris, related to FitzPatrick, was lately made a Captain of Horse contrary to many votes of the Council; that Sir John Davys was inclined to the Papists; that Sir John Totty had been abused by them, without punishment, and others not rewarded who had taken priests. These are all the points he could remember. I rectified his understanding in what was needful, but he said he should hear no more of it if he took upon him to justify anything, so I am contented to let him only be a gatherer.

1679, May 13.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 3rd and 7th instant. The agitation of things here continues very great. But both Houses sitting upon Sunday the Lords did accommodate the difference by yielding to the Commons the point, and without which accommodation nothing but a rupture must have ensued. And now the Lords and Commons do meet in a Committee to adjust proceedings about the trial of the Lords, and the point now in issue bears hard upon the Bishops and has been this day in that House matter of long debate, the purpose being not only to exclude them from trials of blood immediately, but from sitting upon the validity of my Lord Danby's pardon, which, 'tis said, is remotely a question of blood. This was pushed at formerly in the House of Lords without effect, but it is now revived again at the instance of the Commons, and how it has gone I hear not, but I perceive there is a very evil spirit abroad in reference to the Bishops. But your Grace will see in the votes what was chiefly the business of the Commons in sitting till past ten of the clock at night, for it ended in voting a Bill to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of the Realm. It was three o'clock before this matter was entered upon, and it then began with reading extracts out of all the letters which

brought any reflection upon the Duke; which, opening the way to the debate, gave matter of all sort of reflections upon him, and the question mentioned was presently insisted on, all that side, and the Presbyterians in particular, taking it for undeniable that under a Popish Prince there could be no Protestant religion. But all their arguments of law, history or convenience were vigorously retorted, and the model proposed by His Majesty urged and recommended with very powerful arguments. They were told how that no law was ever made to exclude the right heir, but that it was broken through and overthrown with blood, as was manifest in that succession where neither the valour of Henry IV. nor the fortune of Henry V. nor the piety of Henry VI. could serve to exclude the true line from being restored. They were told how that by the Oath of Allegiance all were sworn to the King and his lawful successors; how we should exasperate the Duke and put him to try experiments upon Ireland; how that nothing we did could oblige Scotland, and that they would be glad when he came to the Crown to call him in as they did at a certain time His present Majesty; that they will not fear Popery, there being so few there of the party, and (if they did) they have a track from ancient practice of hampering and confining their Kings, and will be glad by this expedient to have their monarch among them, the want of which has of late rendered them despicable and without figure in the world; for they neither make treaty, send or receive Ambassadors, and are now scarce heard of, but then they will be fomented by France as in former ages, and being so well supported become a plague to this kingdom. Others urged the little danger of admitting the Duke to his right under the restrictions which was in their power to make. For, first, the great bulk of the revenue expires with the King's life; and then for power, if the militia were but fitly qualified and also that Oath which lies now so penal on those that resist the King's Commission, he might reign over us without capacity of those dangers that were imagined. Some few glanced at the expedient of a divorce, but the torrent ran so high and strong against the Duke that when the House divided, just about candles, which yet influenced the main question, they were about two to one. I am told by those who speak with His Majesty upon this point that he declares absolutely against it, and yet there are some who so contrive the matter as to insinuate privately that the King is well satisfied with what is done. And when it was urged in the House how hard the King would ever consent to a disability and how easy to any limitation, it was said by one that if His Majesty, for the Earl of Danby's sake, could send the Duke to travel he would not refuse the Commons to have him kept there.

Yesterday inquiry was made touching a train of artillery shipping for Portsmouth, which let in an inquiry into the stores in the Tower, where the officers appearing did acknowledge that the were but 600 fixed muskets now in the Tower; that there were indeed 3,000 muskets fixed but they were in the hands of the gunsmiths and could not be brought home for want of money. Colonel Legge, in the progress of his vindication, said

that of £200,000 appointed for the Ordnance they had never received but £20,000, which was afterwards severely compared with Mr. Bertie's having had in two years £250,000 for Secret Service. George Legge spoke very well for himself, but having mixed some expressions of his great respect to the Duke, whose servant he was, there were many who would needs be scandalised at it, and could not brook to hear words of respect towards one who had deserved so ill of the nation, and that there could never any trust or security be thought of while any were kept in authority either by sea or land who were planted by that hand. I must confess I expect to see very great effects of this saying, and that it shall become a sufficient forfeiture to have arrived to any place of trust by the Duke's known favour, and how indeed can it be imagined otherwise after this vote that hath passed, for it naturally creates a care in all that would have it so to prevent the revenge then, and that care will run into jealousy, so that none but confiding persons can be thought truly qualified for the service.

His Majesty is pressing supplies for a fleet, but I know not whether they will give anything without they have this, and whether this shall not be driven on even to precede the trials: for until those trials are over, such is the public expectation from thence, as that there is no danger of prorogation. But if all attempts should find resistance above with the Lords or with His Majesty I am apt to believe it would turn the dream of all upon a divorce. There is a review going to be made at the Council Board of all the Justices in England, who fit to be put in and who to be left out. My Lord Ossory intends now to give your Grace's letter to Mr. Secretary, for it seems my Lord Longford read something to him from the Archbishop which took notice of the subject matter thereof. But I have too much tired your Grace.

1679, May 17.—Your Grace will herewith see the effect of my Lord Ranelagh's petition, whereupon he is commanded by a separate order to hasten over and your Lordship's there to finish his accounts; and it was understood by many that his Lordship's petition, presented in this busy time, was but to enable him hereafter to impute delay at other men's doors. The direction was given on Wednesday and I prepared the draft for Friday, at which time it had not been signed if my Lord Roberts had not stickled in the matter, and my Lord Ranelagh is much surprised hereat and trying all his endeavours to revoke this matter, which yet he will hardly compass, the letter being so fully signed. This day the Bill against Irish cattle was ordered to be engrossed which has also a clause for prohibiting of Irish butter. Mr. Pepys, finding himself so fiercely pursued, has given up his charge; but into what hand I know not, nor whether he may escape with that single loss.

On Wednesday, the 14th, the Bill was brought in by Mr. Trenchard for disabling the Duke of York to inherit the Crown; and tho' it was presented after twelve of the clock, the deferring

of the reading could not be obtained. The model of it, as well as I can remember, runs to this effect:—That whereas the kingdoms of England and Ireland have been happily reclaimed from the dangers of Popish doctrine, and many good laws and statutes made for the preservation of the Protestant religion established, with severe prohibitions against all emissaries of Rome that should endeavour to undermine the same; yet notwithstanding, in contempt thereof, several priests and Jesuits had entered the kingdoms and contrived to subvert the said religion and conspired against the life of His Majesty; and not contented with this they had also, by their arts, seduced James, Duke of York, from the Protestant religion, reconciling him to the Church of Rome, and making him partaker with them in their dangerous designs and attempts aforementioned; and that he had by his correspondences with the Pope, his cardinals, nuncios and foreign princes, and in particular by advancing the power of France, put the safety of the kingdom into extreme danger; and, therefore, seeing Parliaments had in former times, upon extraordinary occasions, exercised a power of disposing the succession; and that no occasion ever presented greater for the preservation of all that could be dear unto a people: Be it therefore enacted, that when His Majesty dies the Crown shall not descend upon the Duke of York, etc. Memo. that I just now receive the enclosed paper, which will better inform your Grace than I could on my memory with the scope and design of the Bill. But the tenor of the Bill is in so harsh and incensed a style against the Duke that many were amazed to hear it; and some complained that it was vastly disproportionate to the vote on Sunday last; but the answer was:—there was no doing such things by halves, and that they must take care to save their heads for the step already made.

There is a numerous club held constantly at the King's Head, over against the Temple Gate, where Sir Robert Paynton does chiefly preside; and to solemnize the vote of Sunday they did on Monday night cause a great bonfire to be made, and when the porter and servants of the Temple, by order of the Benchers, came to put it out, the gentlemen of the club came to justify their fire with their swords.

His Majesty sent on Thursday a message to mind the House of supplies about the Fleet; but the same was most ungratefully received, and the grievances all raked up that ought to precede any such consideration. There was great complaint for want of any alliances abroad, in answer to the motive used that unless the parties saw we were considerable by a fleet they would not, in this time of making a general peace, think of allying with us, but take measures to our disadvantage. It was further said that we had not yet received any answer to the address concerning the Lord Lauderdale; that the priests condemned were not yet executed, nor the Army disbanded, nor all the persons who had been instrumental in contributing to our calamities removed from office; that the Militia and Commission of the Peace was not yet purged from those who were influenced by the

Duke of York, or a sort of arbitrary Protestants; that the pensions were not yet recalled as they ought to be by Act of Parliament, some having 1, 2, 3, £4,000 a year; that there ought to be no member of that House in employment at Court as by a good Bill was intending; that there ought to be almost a total change of hands in all the employments—at sea, in the garrisons, etc.; and that the persons holding them should not take it ill if they were obliged to give public satisfaction in this particular; that there was a considerable sum to be raised by the forfeitures of the guilty and by the two thirds of the Papists estates; that when the Government should be settled on a Protestant foundation, and England be brought to old English maxims, and the King declare himself to become the head of the Protestant religion, then we may hope to have allies either out of love or fear; that when the Lord Danby's pardon were declared invalid, the great impediment of which lay upon the Bishops, when the other Lords were brought to judgment, and Protestant's throats secured by perfecting the security intended about the succession, then would be a time, after the relief of all these public expectations, to think of money; but before all these things money would be but our destruction. All that could at last be obtained was civility to put the message off till Monday sennight, without putting a plain negative upon money, which they thought would have sounded too harsh, and thus stands the general posture of our affairs in Parliament.

How far the two Houses are from being of a mind in relation to the trials the votes will shew your Grace. And, therefore, it is needless upon the whole matter for me to tell your Grace how melancholy my reflections are. I told your Grace formerly that my Lord Chamberlain concurred with me in opinion of the fitness for your Grace to write a letter to my Lord President, and we think so still.

1679, May 20.—The votes will acquaint your Grace with what hath passed since the last post. The accusation against Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane relate to something about a prize, and furnishing a capper out of His Majesty's stores; suspicions of popery against Mr. Pepys, and as if both of them informed the French of the secrets of our naval condition and the weakness of the coast. One Colonel Scott has been promoter of this last information, a great rambler in the world and of very ill fame. But, to be short, they are both thought to have been sharers of the Duke's favour, and how slender soever the proofs be they must taste of the bitter cup. An impeachment is very much talked of, tho' I fear the proofs upon trial will shrink.

Things are not yet ripened in the House of Lords upon the difficulty urged on the Bishops' account, but the stream will at last bring it to what is expected. There is much talk of a letter intended from the Duke to the House of Lords to bespeak their justice against the Bill now going on, and which to-morrow will be read again, whereof I here send your Grace a copy.

The Common Council of London presented an address to the Lord Mayor in acknowledgment of the great care the House of Commons took for the peace of the Government; and because his Lordship did not favour the address it is said they will bring it directly to the House; and it will not be a new thing if by that example something of that nature should come from other places.

I should have enlarged to your Grace the last post in a point that was most manifestly avowed; that how impatient soever the people were for the trial of the five Lords, yet, seeing nothing afterwards could be expected but a prorogation, it was fit that other things should precede their trials, and particularly that of the Earl of Danby, for whom so much heat and contention was expressed, and they are not without some observations that he has still a share in His Majesty's good thoughts. Now, because the trial of the five Lords cannot be superseded without a blow to the public expectation, and such an one as the Government cannot bear, therefore these trials lie as a kind of coercive power upon the Government, and the Government is even in durance to these prisoners. When they urge arguments for the trial of the Earl of Danby the crime of his pardon is rendered as an absolute dissolving the frame of our Government, and better let twenty guilty Lords go than that crime escape. That the Commons have two inseparable powers—the one of granting money, the other of questioning the misdemeanours of great men, and better it were to part with the first than the latter, for that this would always affrighten mismanagers into their duty; and if great men do not despair of pardon when they commit crimes fit for a Parliament to take notice of, the Government cannot be safe.

The last post conveyed your Grace a letter about the Lord Ranelagh's hastening for Ireland. We shall see if to-morrow in Council he attempts to overthrow it. What your Grace and the Council writ touching the Lady O'Neill was read in Council, and it was only said thereupon that you had put that business into the way that was most fit.

I suppose at the arrival of a certain Lord from that side we may hear complaint for the not levying the Lordships money as an indulgence to the Papists; therefore it were not amiss if some account lay here ready with Mr. Secretary upon that subject.

1679, May 24.—Upon the second reading of the Bill against the Duke of York, Sir Thomas Clarges stood up and made so long and so considerate a discourse for laying the Bill aside, that without any other seconding or any material answer made, the House immediately went to the question and to a division thereupon, as by the enclosed votes will appear, there being seventy nine votes difference for the committing of the Bill; and in so important a case the like proceeding hath rarely happened, that after great attention to what was said to the contrary they should immediately go to the question.

The great affair now depending is the vast difference between the two Houses, the Lords having positively voted the trial of

the five Lords upon Tuesday, and the Commons as peremptorily insisting on the prosecution of the Earl of Danby in the first place. So that there are many predictions as if the days of the Parliament were numbered, and that things cannot possibly hold without a rupture. And hence it is said that my Lord of Danby continues still his influence in the Court; that the Earl of Bath and Sir Charles Wheeler are often with His Majesty upon this account, and that Sir William Temple is materially concerned the same way; that hereupon (and what else I know not) my Lord President is become weary of his station and that my Lord Marquis of Worcester (if he goes) will not stay behind him; and so it is said that my Lord Roberts may be President. The Lord Halifax stands in very great credit with His Majesty, speaking his mind in all things to the utmost, and while he keeps off in a state of independence and not closing with any particular advantage he is like to preserve the same credit, tho' perhaps others more complacent are more willingly heard.

Sir Thomas Chicheley should have had two companions, but he has chosen rather to fling up his patent, and so that matter hangs a little in suspense. There is a general inspection now making into the list of Justices of the Peace in order to rectify what is amiss and to put in others.

The Lord Ranelagh hath not made application to the Council for a dispensation to his journey, nor is he likely there to obtain it; and I am told by one of his partners, Major Huntingdon, that he and some others of them are preparing an address against him to present to the Council.

There is in the city an address preparing to the House of Commons to acknowledge their care and zeal, and many names are gathering into it; and tho' the terms of this be modest enough, yet what may afterwards follow of the like nature is matter of consideration. Those concerned in the Treasury are melancholy to find no thoughts in the House of granting money till a bead roll of other things be passed, especially when every hour they expect home Sir John Narbrough's hungry fleet.

Sir Stephen Fox has been so violently attacked in the House of Commons and so menaced with ruin that he hath been constrained to confess which of the late Members of Parliament he paid anything to under the title of Secret Service; and the list of members being read unto him, he did acknowledge that before he was dismissed of his employment he had paid under that title several sums; as to Mr. Seymour £1,500, but that was as Speaker at the end of each Session which had been formerly practised; that he had paid to Sir Job Charlton, for the few days he was Speaker £1,000; that to the following persons in compensation that they had been formerly Farmers of the Excise, and that the same was taken from them and put into other hands, to Sir Philip Howard £500, Sir James Smith £500, Mr. Cornwall £200, Sir Lionel Walden £300, Mr. Collingwood £300, Mr. Knowles £200, Colonel Philips £300, Mr. G. Egerton £400, Sir Thomas Woodcock £200, Sir John Talbot £500, Sir Gilbert Gerard £300, Mr. Robinson £200, Mr. Progers £400, Colonel Whitley £300; all which were yearly

payments on that account. But these which follow yearly payments of bounty; as to Sir Charles Wheeler £400, Sir Jonathan Trelawny £500, Sir Courtney Poole £1,000, Sir Richard Wiseman £400, with three other like sums which he received for unknown persons, Mr. Price £400, Mr. Westphaling £200, Sir John Barnaby £300, Major Clerke £400, to Mr. Roberts, at twice, £500. It was further added from the Secret Committee this morning that Sir John Vowell had, at twice, £500, Sir Joseph Tredenham, at twice, £500, Percy Goring £300 per annum; that Sir Robert Holt, Sir William Glascock and Sir John Bramston had received several sums; that out of the Excise there was only paid before my Lord Danby's time for Secret Service £8,000 per annum; but afterwards a Privy Seal from thence passed to Mr. Bertie of £20,000 per annum, besides what was otherwise paid by Mr. Chiffins, and that of late thirty new names were added by the Earl of Danby; and that they were in further prosecution and discovery of this great sink of iniquity. In the meantime Sir John Talbot and those who received money as compensation for their loss in the Excise made for the present a plausible defence. Sir Joseph Tredenham was nothing so successful in his, nor Sir Richard Wiseman who was called into the bar. On Tuesday this matter will be reassumed and some deep censure fall upon the culpable. Sir Stephen Fox has pretty well appeased His Majesty's displeasure for what he did. His books and papers were sent to be seized, but my Lord Chamberlain came in and forbade the banns, unless they applied by address to His Majesty, and upon this disappointment they constrained him to speak as he did.

As to the great differences between the two Houses (upon the event of which the peace of all depends) we shall see upon Monday morning what to resolve upon to induce the Lords to a compliance, a Committee having now the care of preparing reasons to that effect. And perhaps by conferences the Lords may be persuaded to yield; but hitherto they think their jurisdiction is too much encroached upon, that others should prescribe any method to their proceedings, and whom to bring first or last unto judgement. And if they shall persist herein 'tis already said that either the five Lords may on Tuesday for non-prosecution be dismissed, or at least let out upon bail. But others speak as if the Court will adjourn itself for some longer day, and then in case of failure take their resolution.

Your Grace will be directed from the Board to have an eye upon those Scotch fanatics lately arrived from Scotland, as also some particular direction about arming the Protestants and disarming the Papists.

Just now, at near eleven of the clock, come letters from Plymouth by some of Sir John Narbrough's fleet, so that I suppose the whole may be there arrived.

1679, May 27.—The Parliament was this day prorogued until the 14th of August next, and the distance at which the two Houses seemed to stand for several days past gave a belief of this event

unto several, so as not only to glance frequently at it in the House of Commons, but to get in readiness so long and so large a representation to set forth the right of their demands, and to lay the wrong at the door of the Lords, as might justify them to the people for insisting as they did on trying the Earl of Danby's pardon in the first place; and to shew if they did not further proceed in other public affairs expected from them, where the true impediment lay. I hope your Grace will receive the five reasons of this paper from some other hand, because many copies of them pass about, which at present I cannot get; but the preamble which fewer have I here enclose, tho' I know not how true it is writ.

This kind of remonstrance was yesterday carried up to the Lords, who met to debate upon it in the afternoon and being tired at it till ten a clock at night, they adjourned until this morning. And this morning, falling to it again, they resolved to adhere. Soon after which a message came from the Lords to the Commons that His Majesty intended to speak to both Houses in his robes. And because the five Lords from the Tower had been attending all the morning for their trial, according to the former order of the House of Lords, it was generally thought that His Majesty was coming to offer some expedient to reconcile all, and more particularly in relation to the Earl of Danby in submitting his case to a bill of banishment, and with a clause to put out of the Crown a capacity of pardoning in such method as it now stands in the Earl of Danby's case. But that which His Majesty said to the Houses did only express his sorrow that the difference between them should disappoint the great fruits which was hoped for from this Session. And so they were by my Lord Chancellor prorogued without any further words from him. There are many more reflections made upon this matter than I have yet heard; and I have heard more than I can well express. Some few think that of evils this is the least; but yet they cannot imagine what we should do for money, even for the particular discharge of Sir John Narbrough's fleet. But the generality murmur out great displeasure that so many things in prosecution should be thus all superseded. Some will needs blame the new Councillors, who, being arrived where they would be, throw off the public concerns. Others will needs lay it more particularly on the advice of my Lord Roberts, *hn* [Lord Halifax] and *kf* [Lauderdale], tho' I cannot say who were chiefly concerned in it; but this is mentioned by some much to the Duke of Monmouth's advantage—that he did this morning earnestly entreat His Majesty to call his Council before he undertook so weighty a thing; for that he had in his public declaration so promised and declared that nothing should be done without them. Some talk of a declaration which may probably come forth to justify the necessity of this proceeding, and in that case it is very probable many other papers will fly abroad to impugn what may be said therein, so as to heighten it that easily may be the present displeasure, more than by the interval it is likely to be allayed, tho' many also venture

to conjecture that this Parliament may not meet any more. But if they do it is very likely that something may by that time be ripened to the great prejudice of the Bishops, which they themselves are also very sensible of. The doctrine lately agreed to by the House of Lords that impeachments once begun continued not only from Session to Session, but from Parliament to Parliament, makes the case of the five Lords little mended; and altho' they went from the scaffold more cheerful than they came, as everyone delights in putting off the evil day, yet 'tis said they did also condole their not being proceeded withal this day, when with so much charge they had gotten their witnesses together, besides the spending of further time in the Tower. And whether any judge will now venture to bail *them*, or any person of consideration venture to be bail, is part of the discourse. But most talk as if my Lord of Danby had a great finger in this prorogation; and that much of it hath been steered by his frieuds and compassed in his behalf. All this I mention to your Grace, because in such a conjuncture you will not be displeased with conjectures, and the town talk. A few Council days will give light into the reason and consequence of things, and perhaps there may be some thoughts of an Irish Parliament in order to put that kingdom into defence, since we got no money to do things here; but I am apt to think on the whole that your Grace may remain for some good season without the alarms and molestations which you have lately had.

I acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 17th instant, and [return my thanks] not only for your Grace's kind remembrance of my nephew, but for thinking of my money, which will be very seasonable for my present condition, and increase my acknowledgments to your Grace.

1679, May 31.—The Lord Mayor and Aldermen have received admonitions at the Council Board to exercise all possible keenness against the Papists, and to be vigilant about the peace of the city. The justices have in like manner been warmed up to their duties. All the priests who were everywhere condemned are to be hanged in their proper counties, and Mr. Attorney is to report in a few days whether, upon examination of the proofs, he will think fit to proceed against all the prisoners who are not impeached. So that several expedients are in hand to pacify the resentments of the prorogation, the reason of which His Majesty declares was the discord of the two Houses, growing just to a degree of protestation against each other, and so rendering both of them useless to the Government; and that if he had called his Council to consult this matter something of it would have taken vent and occasioned some sudden rash votes, which by the secrecy were prevented. *Re* [Shaftesbury] was really throwing up all for not having been consulted. He and *lq* [Duke of Monmouth] are close in their friendship, but do not prevail in their desires. The new *qz* [Secretary] is the man to whom are aggregated *fz* [Essex], *hn* [Halifax], and in some things *ce* [Chancellor], and in others one that was your predecessor. That which is most considerable is that the Lords of the Treasury declared they can pay off Narbrough's

fleet. But here is a new thing of moment coming on which is yet very secret. There are come up from the *dq* [Council] of *qw* [Scotland] three or four principal men, some of them of the gown, intended to resist assaults if *kf* [Lauderdale] had been impeached; but notwithstanding they are come and that the said fear is over, yet the other strong party that are here arrived (being not able to contain any longer) are resolved to attack him themselves; and this will appear in a few days, as I am told this night by *cc* [Lord. Chamberlain], who bade me tell it to your Grace. I was with him chiefly to communicate what I had the last night from you of the 25th, which I last night showed to my Lord Longford, who likes the same as I do, and, as I suppose, *ce* [Chancellor] will, and that the same be presented; but some care must be used to gain Mr. Secretary to be of the same mind, but that shall very speedily be tried, and your Grace shall hear further herein. My Lord Ranelagh has spoken so candidly and so honestly the last day in his own behalf that he is to be heard by the Committee on Tuesday next, upon fourteen of the thirty-four points objected to his account, for the rest he seems not willing to dispute, and so we shall soon see what new game he will now play. I do not believe he will succeed altogether according to his expectations. There is appointed a Committee of the Council for examinations of the Plot, who are to sit with the same assiduity as formerly.

1679, June 3.—This encloses to your Grace a copy of my Lord Ranelagh's last petition together with the order made thereupon. His Lordship appeared this day at the Committee, and it being proposed to know how Ireland might come out of the bondage of that contract, and how a Parliament might be free to give money by being delivered from all the claims of the undertaking, his Lordship did at last agree that commissions should issue into all counties to examine and report what was separate and what was desperate, and that he would only insist upon the former and forgive the latter, whereby perhaps a debt of £300,000 may be reduced to £40,000, only he prayed that among each set of Commissioners there might be one or two of their nomination to have some fairness in the matter. This proposal went on so far as that he was to deliver in such hints of inquiry for the arming out of a Commission as might render the work more easy to the subject, and then the Auditors of the Exchequer here are thereupon to be consulted in order to perfect the model thereof; and when the debate was ripened thus far, then it was started that this work would not have an end in three years, and so a Parliament must be for so long deferred, and therefore it were much better for the King and kingdom to put all things to a short issue whatever it cost, and not to stand with my Lord Ranelagh for a small sum.

Some assented hereunto, but thought it not so safe and justifiable a method of proceeding as to go the other way. His Lordship was asked how came it about that in eight year there should be any solvent debt which he had not recovered: to this his Lordship said it was their tenderness and compassion to the subject, and

their desire to do all things without clamour as they had done, unless in very few cases, which had occasioned them to be very great losers by their undertaking; and that if any of their under officers had been to blame let them be punished for it. He further declared that they were willing to give in upon oath what they had received, as also to sign under their hands that they would abide by the account made upon that side in May, 1678; and as to this point they are to meet as many as are here, and to sign their approbation accordingly, and they did say it would be binding to the rest of their partners; but when afterwards Mr. Attorney came he said it would only be binding to themselves and not to their partners. Whereupon some declared the necessity of sending the whole matter into Ireland as before was ordered. And upon the whole matter it is hard for me to say on this variety of things what was concluded, but to-morrow or Friday we may see more. This only is apparent that his discourse seems to be so honest and satisfactory as nothing more; but, I suppose, the drift is to gain time and to tire all out; and I suppose by his new station in the bedchamber he has acquired an accession of friends that must still help to keep off the evil day, or for an end sake to have all forgiven him that he desires.

His Majesty will be going on Tuesday to Windsor. Sir Christopher Musgrave and Sir ——— Hickman are to be in the Commission of the Ordnance, and if the master will throw up as is most likely, then Sir Thomas Littleton will make the third man.

1679, June 10.—Yesterday the Council met again on a fresh packet from Scotland intimating the rebels to be more than 8,000 strong, and daily so augmenting from several quarters that the King's forces retired towards Edinburgh, and the Council prayed aid from England and Ireland. Hereupon the Duke of Monmouth is appointed to go with 5,600 men to be forthwith raised, and his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and the Lord Gerard, in three regiments of horse, the Lord Grey and Lord Cavendish, in two of foot, besides a regiment of dragoons. It is also ordered in Council that your Grace shall send as many forces towards the suppressing this insurrection as with the safety of Ireland may be spared. And, I suppose, your Grace will know all that is necessary in this particular from a very good hand. There entered in debate the necessity of sending force immediately to the degree proposed from England into Scotland; and at the same time, that milder expedients might be tried, it was unanimously agreed—that it was proper for His Majesty to speak freely with all the Scotch nobility that are now here to take their opinions in the matter, and that some of the Council should be present on that occasion, which with no little difficulty was agreed unto. Some pressed the calling of a Parliament in Scotland, but more the summoning presently the Parliament here, or at least that by proclamation they should be assured to meet on the 14th of August, but none of these did take place. The great care and plunge will be how to get money for this enterprise now

that Sir John Narbrough is just arrived, and to sweep all the stock that could possibly be raked together.

Iu [The King] will not bear the motions to throw out *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale], much less of *my* [Parliament] in *qw* [Scotland], nor indeed of the same here; but as things grow worse and necessities increase this last point must change, and it seems a riddle how to think of *ue* [war] without *lm* [money] and of this without *my* [Parliament], tho' the humour at present seems stiffly to the contrary. *Iu* seems fond of [hearing] what *fh* [Ormond] may do from *ip* [Sir Robert Southwell], and, bye-the-bye, said he would hasten away *mo* [Ossory].

1679, June 14.—By an express on Thursday night from Carlisle there came news which a Scotch merchant had brought thither from Edinburgh of 18 or 20,000 of the rebels in arms; that many of the Militia had gone in unto them; and the King's forces had thoughts of retiring for safety into Leith. But it seems the last express hither of their being about 8,000 came out the same day with that merchant, and a letter that came yesterday by the ordinary post, writ the Lord Lauderdale from a considerable hand and that same day, says that the number of the rebels did daily increase and decrease, and were under so little discipline that it was hoped a body of 7 or 8,000 of the militia, which in a week would be got ready, might look them in the face and scatter them to their homes.

So that at present the opinion is that this matter may go off upon better terms than was at first apprehended. However, there are many here who make the thing very considerable and of the highest consequence; but say at the same time that if the advice of the Scotch Lords were but taken all might be appeased without hazard or expense, or giving jealousy of raising a new army for an army's sake, which jealousy is now flown up to an extraordinary height. And then some words in the Treaty of the Pacification, about 1640, forbidding any armies to enter into either country without the consent of the Parliaments of the respective kingdoms; these are insisted on in the common discourse to enforce thereby the necessity of calling presently our Parliament, and the danger of proceeding otherwise. And upon this scruple my Lord Grey has laid down his commission, and my Lord Cavendish, they say, is balancing, unless there may be clearer encouragement to proceed. And upon Monday the Council will meet and take the whole question and the parts of it into debate, and that in particular of calling together the Parliament before, or at least assuring their meeting on, the 14th of August by proclamation.

The Scotch Lords have been with the King and assured an absolute extinguishing of this flame if new hands were employed and some grievances amended. But his Majesty being told by others that there are no grievances but Acts of Law. he is very averse from changing hands. The Duke of Monmouth takes post to-morrow morning for Scotland to see and represent impartially how matters stand, but with what further powers

I cannot certainly learn. Some think it an expedient of the Duke of Lauderdale, and others think that his expedient may turn him to ill account. This is clear, that as long as that noble Duke has the honour to guide or influence those affairs or be dear to his master the discontents will increase to a degree that nothing less than the calling together of the Parliament can appease them. It would make one's ears tingle to hear how licentious the discourses of most are grown; so that no man can pray enough in such a time for the preservation of His Majesty and of the Royal Family.

I suppose this post will convey to your Grace the order about my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, his Lordship having procured the order to be stopped. The last post got him little thanks in Council, where Mr. Secretary made complaint thereof.

There are many of the late passages in Parliament come forth in print, there being now no restraint upon the press by the expiration of the Act in that behalf. And somebody has also printed two letters formerly writ by the Earl of Clarendon, to shew, I suppose, that the present misfortune of the Duke had its prediction from so near a friend, telling how natural a doom must follow from the principles of Popery.

1679, June 17.—The letters yesterday from Scotland report the rebels to be about 6,000, gathered at Glasgow, but that about this time there are 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse marched against them; that there were a party of 300 going to the body of the rebels intercepted and defeated, eighty of them remaining prisoners; by which accounts the business of Scotland that gave so hot an alarm is now upon such terms as His Majesty expects soon to be at liberty to go to Windsor, and the Duke of Lauderdale looks gay and cheerful upon this face of things. So that yesterday did not prove so full of debate at Council as was expected, and the matter of calling or ascertaining the Parliament's meeting was let fall, unless future occasions revive it. Yet was there brought the copy of a letter, writ in 1669 by the Duke of Lauderdale to His Majesty, from Scotland, shewing what an Act he had obtained for His Majesty's absolute power of all Ecclesiastics; but this letter, which would raise no little dust in a Parliament, slipped easily off upon the good tidings from Scotland.

One of the Lord Ranelagh's partners told me this day that he uses them more strangely than he does anybody else; that he will not come to any account with his partners. So that they must be forced shortly to petition the Council Board; for unless they will admit him to clap on an article of £24,000, without any reason shown, he will do nothing. He added also that they desired only to come off savers, whereas it is plain that he hath got above £40,000. When my Lord of Essex did expose to the Committee how easy he had been in allowing several particulars to my Lord Ranelagh, who yet thought him his enemy, many of the Lords plainly declared, and those kind enough too, that they should never have been so indulgent to his Lordship. But one thing I forgot before to acquaint your Grace withal,

that upon occasion of that hearing *fz* [Earl of Essex] appeared passionately concerned as touched in point of honour that *fh* [Ormond], had not paid about £13,000, for which a letter was given him from hence, and made the only request at parting; and, therefore, desired an order for treating with the Farmers for the satisfaction thereof, but whether that order be issued or not I cannot tell. From this and some other passages the bystanders observe there is good store of discontent lodged in that breast.

I lately made application to the Earl of Essex that the letter lying at the Treasury, and to be sent your Grace for approbation, of the northern expense, might be despatched, for that I did expect your Grace would, by the directions herein contained, be able to apply something to my satisfaction as well as for carrying on the Fort of Rincorran. To which his Lordship replied that he had not yet had time to consider of those expenses there mentioned, tho' he saw already that he should not allow of some, which might very well have fallen under the head of the Concordatum Money; and that it was his practice when there to send to the Council Board here an account of the disbursement of the Concordatum Money. I told his Lordship that I could not speak to the particulars of the expense more than as they spoke for themselves; but that I should be glad that the letter were hastened and would presume to solicit his Lordship therein, because I was in some distress in my affairs for want of my compensation. I did indeed begin first with Mr. Secretary, urging him to move for a despatch of this letter, seeing your Grace was directed to begin again an expense of the same nature; but his answer was that he had already advertised your Grace where the letter stuck, and that you had since said nothing to him thereof. So that it may not be amiss if your Grace write to Mr. Secretary such a letter as he might send to the Lords of the Treasury to shew your Grace's expectation of this letter in question without taking notice of any objections thereunto. And perhaps your Grace may not think it amiss, seeing the items of that Northern expedition are here under delay, to send over the draft of a particular letter for power to apply the payments of the foot company of guards and the additional pay of four troops of horse, whilst unapplied to the use of the Establishment to such public uses relating to the safety and defence there as your Grace shall judge fit, and in particular for the new Fort at Rincorran, and the necessary expenses belonging thereunto. But this is submitted to your Grace, and I name it as supposing such a letter would be despatched without any delay of consulting the Treasury here.

Your Grace will this night receive an order from Mr. Secretary Coventry arising from the representation enclosed, whereof the party needed not have complained here, if, according to his duty, he had but complained to your Grace; but, I suppose, he has little work to deserve his salary by, and so becomes officious. But the Commissioners of the Admiralty did take occasion hereupon to load him with instructions to sound the harbour and to give an account of all the banks that are therein.

The Duke of Monmouth was to receive his Commission of General on the Borders, where the Council, having sealed the same, were to send it unto him, and then he was to go and take his place of Privy Councillor and so to head the forces there. I suppose he had with him no other instructions but what were drawn by the Duke of Lauderdale and the other Lords of the Scotch Council who are now here.

1679, June 21.—The freshest news spoken of from Scotland is in the paper enclosed. I had yesterday your Grace's of the 13th from Kilkenny descanting upon the nature of this eruption in Scotland and the difference betwixt that and the other plot. The reflections are very just and natural, but the conjuncture such that the generality here turn the scales the other way and will allow no comparison between them, and they that venture on it do it at their perils, which advertisement a very good friend thought it material I should give your Grace, especially seeing what a noise was spread on the reading at the Board your letter to the Secretary on the arrival of the five preachers in the North, tho' the prediction has proved very true.

On a petition yesterday from Colonel Talbot to go to his house upon bail, by reason of his sickness in prison, there was a long debate, and it was finally agreed that he should, upon ten thousand pounds bail, be allowed to come over and live in Yorkshire, where he lived before. Some thought he would rather choose to stay in prison than to come over on this side, and most were against his being free on that, which yet his agent does much struggle for, especially till his health be restored; and how the order will settle at last I know not, but it will not go till Tuesday.

On Monday, in the afternoon, there will be a Council particularly to debate what may concern the trial of Sir George Wakeman; not that His Majesty is concerned for what relates to Sir George, but because in that trial Mr. Bedloe declares he must reflect upon the Queen, and so in effect the Queen shall be tried in the person of another without any defence; for Bedloe ventures to say that he was by when Sir George told Harcoate that the Queen had given him two thousand pounds, and that if she had not pressed him very hard he should not have consented to the poisoning of the King.. How to prevent these reflections without taking a course which might wholly blast their evidence and consequently save the Lords in the Tower is the great point under consideration, and His Majesty seems extremely concerned herein.

I hope your Grace is mindful to give due execution to what the House of Lords addressed for in relation to Ireland, and it were fit before the meeting of the Parliament that your Grace sent a full account to Mr. Secretary of all the steps taken in that behalf. I have been sometimes thinking in relation to the Bill of Ireland, which some are offended at, that your Grace might there prepare those amendments which might be more suitable to the present conjuncture, which would be the only expedient to give the Bill despatch. But, besides that benefit, I am thinking for other respects it were not amiss if they tumbled it here into all the

shapes which they thought fit; for I see not that your Grace is in your particular more than others concerned in the same.

Sir William Petty does, in frequent letters to me, acknowledge your Grace's favour and concern for him, and many of his friends here are much contented thereat.

1679, June 24th.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 17th, in return to which the enclosed prints speak as much from Scotland as I hear anywhere else; and 'tis likely the Duke of Monmouth will soon return back here very triumphant.

Mr. Hayes, by a petition yesterday, would needs have been dispensed withal from going for Ireland, alleging that he left all the accounts behind at Dublin, and that Mr. Stepney gave an injurious information, but the former order is to stand and this further addition made to it:—that if the partners appear not your Grace is to proceed *ex parte* and presently levy the balance by process from the Exchequer; and the whole Board are so aware of all these subterfuges that my Lord Chancellor was vehement for a bill to be presently prepared and sent over for extinguishing all pretence of arrears whatsoever.

The Council hath sat these two days to consider of Sir George Wakeman's trial, His Majesty being wonderfully concerned lest upon that occasion the Queen should be injuriously reflected on and without any defence of her innocence, as was plainly and openly threatened by some of the witnesses. So that it has filled the whole city with discourse of late; some that the Queen was presently to be tried; others that she was packing up all things to be gone, and what not? But this morning Mr. Oates, Bedloe, Prance and Dugdale appeared at the Board and gave in all they knew, the two last speaking nothing of any moment, and the two first adding something, but not much, to what they said before; but all together does not amount in the judgment of law to fasten guilt upon her. And His Majesty is much at ease that the witnesses have declared they know no more. So that now some good news from Scotland may send His Majesty to Windsor.

Upon tidings from Tangier that one Captain Scroop was fled to the Moors and that the garrison was in a great strait for want of recruits it was proposed that three companies should presently be drawn out and sent away; but His Majesty would hear of no such thing, for tho' he loved Tangier well he loved himself better, and thought there was too much danger at home to part with any of the good men he had. Sir George Wakeman's trial is not to come on till the 16th of the next month, if then.

1679, June 28.—By the Duke of Monmouth's account from Scotland, they have killed six or seven hundred and taken 1,255 and a considerable body are sent to pursue the rebels' horse, which went off entirely towards Ayr. This was the cause that his grace desired to have his new regiment of horse sent down to him. But the Council Board think that needless, and His Majesty has very willingly agreed to the disbanding all the new forces

raised on this occasion. Now that there is no restraint on the press, the papers of all sorts fly about, whereof the enclosed are some. Mr. Langhorne is respited till Monday come sennight in order to the discovery of the estates of Jesuits; but 'tis likely he will suffer at last, tho' he be very vehement about his innocence.

His Majesty goes on Monday to Windsor, and upon Thursday will meet the Council at Hampton Court, and then resolve something about the Parliament, which 'tis likely will be prorogued until some further time.

1679, June 28. Spring Garden.—I am often speaking to my Lord of Essex to report what he shall think fit in that letter about the northern expenses; and I urge to him my concern about Rincorran, and how I can have no redress but by the despatch of that letter; yet still his Lordship hesitates as if he had much to say to some particulars thereof.

I am still supplying my Lord Courcy, as duly as the quarter day happens, and am now out of purse £70, and must be more in case of any stop upon his Lordship's pension. Mr. Tisdall tells me there is a stop, and, that having petitioned your Grace, Mr. Gascoigne gave him but cold comfort; so that for the Lady-day gale he could not get out any debenture. If this should be so in earnest it would import me to know it in time that I might discharge myself of the honour of maintaining his Lordship, which I cannot so easily do as I can serve him. His Lordship comes on very well at Oxford, and is now studying a part that he is to have in the next Act. I have by me a letter from your Grace touching a portion to be raised for his sister. I am shortly going to Tunbridge for my health, and hope for leisure to consider that with many of my own concerns, which I have much neglected to comply with what of other matters fall here to my share, and with which I am in truth grown so quite weary that I have thoughts of knocking off. For I see things are so much in new hands that unless I begin an apprenticeship in order to recommend myself I shall not outdo their own creatures and dependents.

I get nothing here, nor am I like to get more than downright wages, and those are casual. And I am got into such a track of living that I spend these and all my other estate besides. I have lately made a purchase of about £12,500, which has put me £5,000 in debt. Wherefore I see not in the world how I can do better than to sell my places towards the discharge of my debts, and take some time to look after my health, and cultivate with some care, repose and comfort (after fifteen years drudgery) the moderate fortune I have. I will not put into this scale the angry prospect of things, because I have substantial motives besides; but I will beg pardon that I presume to trouble your Grace with my private and domestic concerns.

1679, June 31.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 23rd instant, and am glad the success in Scotland is a sort of victory also in Ireland. Notwithstanding which His Majesty hath

thought fit to send thither a proclamation of indulgence in matters of religion. How far it extends I know not, but a Bishop of that country told me that all they could here do (with the help of our Archbishop and my Lord of London) could not prevail with His Majesty to waive that counsel, or to allow time that the Privy Council of Scotland should be first consulted therein.

I perceive by what your Grace says that our angry lord has little foundation for his displeasure. The retrenchment of all tables is to extend to the dinner usually given to the Lords of the Council at Hampton Court, which is very cold comfort and is soundly censured, as if the contriver of this good managery intended to find out the Philosopher's stone, and to be able to live without a Parliament. How popular such a commendation is I leave your Grace to think.

Our Zealand friend is invited over again to be a professor at Leyden. He is very well bent to pursue that work I sent your Grace so long ago touching the Irish transactions, and hath read many things since upon the same subject, so as to be able to enlarge what he hath already done.* If your Grace can have any leisure to see those sheets so as to say whether the thing be worth your encouragement or no I shall be glad to give him answer, for he seems willing to go on and get the whole printed on that side when it is done.

1679, July 5.—I was much troubled to see yesterday in the hands of Mr. Mulys a letter from Mr. Gandy intimating much of my Lord James's dissatisfactions in the college, whenas so lately before I had the enclosed from Mr. Drelincourt, whereby all things in the former feud seemed to be forgotten. I suppose your Grace may hear somewhat of it there from the same hand. But because 'tis almost impossible to believe that my Lord James should not have right done him by the Bishop and everyone else, I begin much to suspect that the Frenchmen are impatient till they have got him into their own country, and especially into the parts where they have relations which they take no little glory in. And because I have heard from a very worthy man and highly addicted to your Grace that Monsieur Drelincourt, tho' ingenious in several things, is not equal in mind and temper to the charge he has in hand, therefore, if your Grace please, I will at my return from Tunbridge waters (where I am now going) go down to Oxford in the beginning of August and see how matters stand; but then if your Grace likes this proposal I desire such a letter as may make it yours, and which I may show to my Lord Arlington, that he may not wonder at any event that shall happen.

I am told that now the press is at liberty one Dr. Burlace, who lives about Chester, is actually printing that Narrative of the Irish Rebellion, which I sent your Grace, and which Mr. Hill intended to file over. This I had heard before, but saw it verified by some epistle writ by one Mr. Piggott, who is chaplain to the Earl of Danby that corresponds with him, sending a long fustian

* See p.p. 378 and 384, *supra*.

apology by way of answer to the libel in February last against your Grace, which the said Doctor, on the other side, advised him to put in print; but I have desired Mr. Mulys to obstruct it, for that it excuses the matters that are objected and disproves none, tho' they are notoriously false.

Mr. Langhorne will certainly die unless my Lord Roscommon make good his letter to my Lord Halifax from Brussells by a sort of undertaking to make him discover something more valuable than his life, which a few days will bring to light. Mr. Langhorne made discovery of above £1,000 per annum and of the Jesuits' estate; but the Council advised His Majesty to send him back the paper, as was done without taking any advantage thereof.

There is a young yeomanlike fellow come from Yorkshire that deposes how Sir Thomas Gascoigne and his priest incited him to share in killing the King. He is a very notable fellow, and is sent down with some messengers to seize half a dozen in those parts So that this will bring in new vigour to the prosecution of the Plot and it is plain to me that *re* [Shaftesbury] does *ql* [resolve] if there be *my* [a Parliament] to befriend him and will never leave till *iu* [the King] has another *ut* [wife], and all this in contemplation of *fi* [the Duke] with whom there can never be *ng* [peace]; and yet I perceive endeavours are now using to bring *fi* [the Duke] to *fu* [England] and some other matter which *rp* [Sir R. Southwell] must not *qe* [relate]. But this is certain that the new *qz* [Secretary], *fz* [Essex] and *hn* [Ld. Halifax] have the monopoly of *iu* [the King] and *re* [Shaftesbury] sometimes rails, but more often derides it, and sometimes says 'twere much better one late *te* [Treasurer] than three, and between these two humours he breaks forth in all manner of companies, even ready to burst to think of their undertakings.

1679, July 10.—The business of this day has been that His Majesty after the despatch of some lesser matters told the Council that he had fully considered since their last meeting the point of the Parliament, and that thereupon he had resolved to dissolve it immediately, and did declare his pleasure accordingly without further asking their opinions concerning it. The first of the Lords that spoke was my Lord President, who said that altho' his opinion was not asked, and that he should always submit to His Majesty's determinations, yet he could not but discharge his conscience in representing the evil consequences of this resolution, and that the world would very much take notice of His Majesty's late declaration, where he promised to do nothing without the advice of his Council; notwithstanding which His Majesty had not only prorogued the Parliament without their advice, but had proceeded to a dissolution against it. To this the King replied that in matters of this nature, which were so plain, and wherein he was so fully convinced, as of the necessity of dissolving this Parliament, he could not divest himself of that power of resolving without the plurality of votes in the Council, and that he would in other things hearken as much as ever any other prince had done to his council. After this almost all the Lords spoke in the same style,

and to the same purpose as the other day; only my Lord Russell said that he was afraid the first vote of the next Parliament would be to declare such as gave this advice enemies of His Majesty and his kingdoms, and that indeed he believed that those that advised the prorogation of the Parliament were afraid to see any and did therefore endeavour to make them impracticable. At length these discourses ended in a resolution that another Parliament should be called to meet on the 7th of October next, and that Writs should be given out in due time.

My Lord Halifax produced a letter from my Lord Roscommon, being an excuse that he was not able to make good what he had hoped in relation to Mr. Langhorne as having been disappointed by some persons. A petition from Mr. Langhorne was likewise read, but it was easily carried that no further reprieve should be given him, which you would easily guess, hearing of the dissolution.

1679, July 11. Tunbridge Wells.—Altho' I chose to come yesterday to this place and leave behind me the great debate, yet this morning I have an account thereof which I presume to send your Grace. 'Tis not improbable but that *fi* [Duke of York] may now see *fu.* [England] and whether *iu* [The King] will see *my* [Parliament] is matter of *fe* [debate].

I know not into how many prospects this dissolution of the Parliament may run. One which is visible seems to be that the next may not be better, and that several who are now chosen will not so much as stand again. I am here at the waters and have not further opportunity to enlarge.

1679, July 21. Southborough.—I have the honour and consolation too of your Grace's long letter of the 5th instant, and do read the enclosed copy of what your Grace writ a few days before to a great Lord with very much satisfaction, for it takes in all the points depending, whether public or private.* It lets him see that instead of plaintiff he might in effect be made defendant; and whatever can be hazarded by vexing one in power and favour it is got again either in gaining the points in question or by the future justification of having spoken in time to the proper officer, who from thence forward stands accountable for the same. I hope among other consequences of more importance your Grace will get the opportunity of my satisfaction in the matter of Rincorran, and I shall, according to your Grace's encouragement, continue to supply my Lord Courcy in all his wants, being now ready to send to Mr. Tisdall the state of his Lordship's accounts for your Grace's view and approval.

Your Grace's kind remembrance of my mother helps to alleviate that heavy stroke, for I have so many memorials of her goodness that I could not in this world lose more. She was my nurse at first and my good steward at last. She instilled early into me the true principles of my religion, and for an escape I had from

* The reference is to a letter of the Duke of Ormond to the Earl of Essex, dated July 1, 1679, which will be printed in Vol. V. of this Calendar.

sickness she observed a weekly fast for thirty-five years together. This and much more she was unto me, and what she was unto others let her own good works praise her. I am sure she has a high place in Heaven, whereunto God grant I may by her example attain.*

I shall hardly be able to see Ireland until the next spring, especially seeing I have now Sir Philip Percival's help to rely upon there, for I am now at Michaelmas upon the experiment to extricate myself in manner as I have already told your Grace. And I grow the more resolved in that purpose since your Grace also thinks fit to admit some thoughts of like nature; for where shall I see such an example among the men of this generation when your Grace gives out. I confess truly I have not hitherto found it, nor do I hope for it in my time. But I can foresee and do already in prospect enjoy the content I shall have when I am at freedom to attend your Grace at Kilkenny, and to observe how the world goes on with reflection and comparison to the things that are passed. We shall conclude our drinking here of the waters with this month, and then soon after I mean to repair to Oxford, if your Grace shall approve what I proposed.

Postscript.—The Countess of Essex is here at the waters, and with her a niece, the Lady Isabella Dormer, whom the Earl of Mountrath is courting for marriage, and Sir Charles Meredith is here also with him.

1679, August 9. London.—Being returned from Tunbridge I went on Thursday to Windsor where the Council was at last adjourned until the first Wednesday in October. The case of the Lord Bellasis, in point of health, was made so very bad as that he is allowed for three weeks to be at his own house, but with the guards of the Tower upon him; but the like favour was the same time refused to the Lord Aston, though in but upon misprision of treason.

There was one Mr. Jennison, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, who, with his father that has one thousand pound estate per annum somewhere in the north, are lately turned Protestants; he came to set forth several matters relating to the Plot, and will doubtless when the Parliament meets add new flame to the matter, though at present nothing more was done than to hear him and to grant his request, which is that his elder brother, a Jesuit, taken up at the first and now in Newgate, may not suffer upon his evidence, but be transported, whereof a promise is made him; as also pardon to himself for misprision of treason in concealing his knowledge, which he says was to save his brother, and herein he clears off the reflection that some throw on him—of willingness to destroy his brother in order to have the estate. The heads of what he affirms are that he knew of the design against His Majesty's life, and that although he were zealous for bringing in that religion, yet he did never in his heart consent unto this. That Ireland

* Sir Robert Southwell's mother, Helena, daughter of Major Robert Gore, of Sherston, Wilts, died July 1, 1679.

did speak to him to find out four stout Irishmen and that he named to him Levallin, Carney, Broughall and one Wilson, an Englishman; that these or some others were sent into Windsor, and that on the 19th of April when he saw Ireland in London, being then come post from Wolverhampton, Ireland used means also to make him take a part in that undertaking, but that he did refuse, though offered by Ireland, besides the merit as to the Catholic cause. the remitting of twenty pounds, which Ireland, being his kinsman, had lent him; for it seems he had at dice played away fifty pounds of his father's money and was put to some shifts to make it up. He further says that when Mr. Ireland, Harcoate and his brother have been together he has heard them very pleasant upon the revolutions expected, and that one of them fell upon that expression which Mr. Oates in his depositions relates that if C. R. would not write R. C. he should not be C. R. very long; also that Ireland would frequently say that there was but one man's life that hindered all their business. That Ireland told him that Sir George Wakeman might very well poison the King, and when he answered that Sir George was but physician to the Queen, Ireland said that that would give him opportunity enough to do it. That he once telling his brother, the Jesuit, how that if he could but get a commission for a company in the late army at Hounslow Heath he might live very well with the eighty pounds a year which his father allowed him; whereupon his brother replied that if he qualified himself aright he would procure him a commission to the Duke of York. To which he replied, "that now can hardly be, for that army is completed." "Well!" said he, "there is other work to be done, and the Catholic cause must be brought in, and the great Catholics of England are engaged therein, as the Lord Arundel, Lord Bellasis, Lord Powis, with others whose names he has forgot, and that after the King was disposed of he should receive this commission; but that he must take an oath of secrecy, which was accordingly intended on the next ensuing holiday. He further added that in their discourses he heard them say that with very much ado they had prevailed on the late Lord Treasurer. This is what I can remember, and I believe this which he says and what more he is like to say, for *iu.* [The King] is confident he will every day enlarge, and will make no small stir in the next Parliament.

My Lord President took solemn occasion to reflect on the testimony which Sir Philip Lloyd had given on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, and that the behaviour of the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs was such on that trial as that he was no longer fit to serve either His Majesty or the nation. To which His Majesty said that if men had proceeded according to their consciences he knew no fault they had done, and although this matter went no farther, yet it is a fair prognostic of what we are like to hear of in Parliament, and the town does already make Serjeant Pemberton Lord Chief Justice. I did enquire of Mr. Secretary Coventry whether what he had writ unto your Grace in favour of my Lord Castlehaven might not also extend to the payment of the pension of my Lord Courcy? He told me he had writ something touching

my Lord Castlehaven, but could not recollect anything of my Lord Courcy, so that if your Grace find that matter defective I presume you will think fit to move Mr. Secretary again, that so the said payment may go on as formerly.

I also made enquiry what the Treasury had done with those letters concerning Ireland which had been so long a time before them, and speaking thereof to my Lord of Essex he said they had agreed to all the items that your Grace had mentioned, altho' some were large, for, said he, there is £700 for cleansing of arms, when perhaps all the arms in the kingdom were not worth so much. But for those general clauses of applying the surplus of the revenue to such uses as your Grace thought fit, he thought it proper to have those uses specified, and what every charge might amount unto, and that then there would be no difficulty to approve the same. And when I spoke of this matter to Mr. Secretary Coventry he told me the fact was as I had heard. So that he is now sufficiently empowered to send your Grace His Majesty's letters for all the items you have specified; and that if you think fit to send over another draught that may comprehend and specify the public uses unto which the surplus of the revenue may be applied there is not likely to be any further delay in that matter. And if your Grace shall think fit to proceed in this method I doubt not but your Grace will then also vouchsafe to mention my satisfaction for the lands of Rincorran according to the order His Majesty hath given therein already.

At my arrival here from Tunbridge I did expect your Grace would have said somewhat to me about going to Oxford; but I presently understood that my Lord James had upon some occasion been at Windsor, and upon your Grace's command was just returning back to Oxford. So that I conceive some points in question have been so far looked into as to know better how to proceed in the future.

1679, August 20. King's Weston.—I am here spending a month at my new acquisition, where I find a clear title, good air, a kind soil, a large prospect, and something peculiar which is in the neighbourhood of Kinsale. The house and conveniences are well enough for a hundred miles from London, but that which would crown all would be to see and entertain your Grace therein, which I will not despair of if ever it happen to lie in your Grace's way.* Here I receive the honour of your Grace's of the 23rd past from Dublin, and of the 30th from Kilkenny, the first coming a week after the latter, and therein I find your Grace's favourable remembrance of me touching my Rincorran account, which sorts very happily with the obligations that call upon me in this place.

What the Treasury have answered your Grace you know long before this time. I made bold also to mention what I heard thereof before I left London, and likewise in the same letter I told

* King's Weston, in Gloucestershire. Sir Robert Southwell entertained King William III. there on his return from Ireland in 1690.

your Grace that my Lord James was returned from Windsor to Oxford, unto which place I mean, God willing, to direct my course in our return to London, that I may make some observations in relation to his Lordship. At my coming down it was generally said that the Lord Ranelagh was going over, but all his motions are best observed and attended by my Lord Longford. I know not if your Grace had any satisfactory answer as to the Parliament on that side; but in relation to yourself nothing could sound happier than at my taking leave with my Lord Chamberlain.

I did call as I passed for an hour at Windsor, where *re.* [Shaftesbury] was the next day expected and to be plainly admonished that it was better to have him a declared enemy out of his post than in it, and that he should resolve accordingly. He was by sickness hindered from going; but on the other side he appears to undervalue his station, and would affect to be discharged harshly as the way to enhance him elsewhere. He labours openly in the new elections to have them men of his own mind. When he hears that *hn* [Lord Halifax] is labouring to be *ks* [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland] he says he wonders not that a man should desire to be absent at this *my* [Parliament] who did *er* [determine] the last. I am convinced that *re* will throw all the reflexion imaginable on the trial of Sir G. Wakeman so as to bring it under notorious jealousy that there was combination and bribing in that affair, and, indeed, the people are already at it without instigation. So as I fear *pr* [The Queen] is not out of gunshot.

I am very glad to hear from your Grace of the present quietness of that kingdom. I am sure ever since the Plot the two others have been in much more disquiet and agitation; and I think when the difference is well considered no man of sense or gratitude but will think himself bound to pray for the Pilot. For my own part I pray for my Lady Duchess also.

1679, August 22. King's Weston.—The frigate being not yet sailed I presume to send the enclosed for news; unto which I have nothing to add but that the newsletter says that none of those in His Majesty's service could get to be elected at Windsor, but the same that served before, which is a most base ungrateful instance of people that subsist now by the Court. 'Tis said also that Sir Thomas Armstrong is discharged all employments at the Court, and 'tis supposed for his too pregnant zeal against the Duke of York. I hear by a letter out of Staffordshire that my Lord Chief Justice in his circuit there has so mauled and knocked down all the priests and Papists that came before him that he resolves to pull back fame whatever it cost.

1679, September 20. London.—I got hither yesterday, making what haste I could to the Court, and having a great cold to contend withal I was diverted from my purpose of passing by Oxford, which, if the Court go to Newmarket, I may retrieve.

I observed everywhere in the countries a strange agitation in the spirits of the people; their minds warmed in a great part by

contention and animosity in the elections for the Parliament, where not only inclination but even moderation towards the Court seems to be grown matter of accusation and indifferency in religion. Then the swarms of pamphlets and the liberty of intelligence from hence adds new flame, so that if the Parliament were not so nigh, which they think is to remedy what every man expects, there are many, I fear, would be carving out satisfaction for themselves. London, methinks, which is the source of all, seems yet more calm and undisturbed than any place else. The Duke, they say, is to depart on Thursday, and the Duke of Monmouth the day before. But in case the King's journey to Newmarket be deferred (and the physicians do all declare against it) 'tis likely their departure may for some days be also put off. It is certain that *fz* [Essex], *hn* [Halifax], the new *qz* [Secretary] and *pb* [Lord Powis], who engross all, were wonderfully amazed at the Duke's arrival, and could not propose a more acceptable motive to him to return than that the other Duke should first depart (nor did His Royal Highness go away before until there was registered in the Council's books something to his gratification against the other Duke). But now this dismission also was obtained from *iu* [The King] with the more resolution upon another motive, as if thereby *re* [Shaftesbury] would be quite deprived of his instrument and the divisions in *dk* [Court] cease, which had hitherto distracted all the *dq* [Privy Council]. So that in the resolution of departure *iu* [The King] is very positive, but in the meantime there continues all demonstration of personal kindness, and although the King has revoked the commission of General and Lieutenant [ ] yet no new commission is designed for any ; and the pay [ ] of £8,000 a year as master of the horse is to be continued, and the Duke of Monmouth says his absence is to be but during this session of Parliament. So that your Grace sees how this matter hangs, and may also collect that *re* [Lord Shaftesbury] is to be shaken off and left to do his worst, which 'tis likely he will not be displeased at, but augment and propagate his interest thereby, and would even have broken loose himself if the way were not coming out to his hand ; and there is no doubt but he is whetting his tools against his quondam friends, and they on the other side are likely, and do already show some marks of willingness to expose all that lie within the reach of the Plot, and in particular that *te* be sacrificed, and such other things as may magnify their proceedings. This is the state of things as well as in so short a time I can understand them. *mo* [Lord Ossory] was just now with me and showed me what he had written your Grace, and we discoursed upon the advice which he has proposed, and he did desire I would express my disagreement with him therein, for I cannot imagine that all the enemies that *fh* [Ormond] hath can do more, if the Parliament had full leisure to hear them, than to get him removed. The sore place *mo* [Ossory] mentions is of so ancient a date that there will not be room to hearken to it in so busy an age of fresh and higher things elsewhere. But if that expedient were taken to cover over this it would justify so far in my opinion

the calumnies that have been lately spread which are altogether groundless, as to give occasion enough for an address to remove though not to punish, and, therefore, seeing it may rather hasten than retard a mischief, and if it would even do good *fh* [Ormond] will have little stomach to follow the two examples that are now given him; and considering also how unqualified some are lately become who stood fair before, and that 'tis hard to find any other to fill the place to the satisfaction of him that must give it, I think the expedient is not so advisable; however, I think it not amiss that everything, whether good, bad or different, be said and exposed, for *fh* [Ormond] will easily see which is best.

I am debtor to your Grace for one from Kilkenny with a copy of that which was written from the Council to Mr. Secretary, but being newly come I know not well where I have laid that letter so as to answer it in particular. There went a report at Court this night as if a warrant were out against the Duke of Buckingham, but there is no such thing.

1679, September 30.—I presume all letters of the last post told your Grace of the departure of both the Dukes; the one and the other were well thronged at the farewell, but His Royal Highness by a superior rank, it being said there were eighteen Lords went with him even to the ships, and all the Earl of Danby's friends were high in their caresses. Many think the Duke's coming has been of great use to him in countenancing the adherers to his right; and his own cheerfulness seemed to manifest no less. The point gained on his nephew as to the power of the army, and absence where hurt might happen, was the greatest stroke, which yet, as rumours already go, may be reversed by addresses of Parliament. Nay, some will add that the King did this only to hasten his return to Brussells and that James shall be admitted back and left to his own ways as before, notwithstanding the entry against him on the 3rd of March last in the Council Books. 'Tis true that his payments continue very large, and that there was no show of discountenance to the minute of his going, and he adventured to take no leave of his uncle, which is reckoned little less than defiance. He also told all that the King had declared his absence but until the next Session were over, and the Duke's friends also talk of his and his whole family's return in February next. But I have heard a very great man say he believed that the King would admit neither of them until they could both return together.

The prorogation for thirteen days begins to shake the confidence of many whether it may not extend further. The King urged for it the hopes of some alliance with Holland, the confirmation of his health, and preparing things to the content of the Parliament, so that it easily passed. Another point was the want of a commission from the Lord Steward, which was ordered. But *iu* [King] had secret advice that a knot of *lg* [members] here in town had agreed to begin at their first sitting down with *fi* [Duke], *pr* [Queen], and to see whether *iu* [King] durst so little countenance

our *qf* [religion] as to hinder their progress. I am assured that *re* [Shaftesbury] drives at a new *pr* [Queen]; somebody from among the high *fm* [Dutch] and by *ke* [law] to exclude all others. He is next for *ue* [war] with *un gq* [France] and that the *iu ei* [King declare] for head of all those of our *qf* [religion]. I believe he will soon be dismissed *pg* [Privy Council] and perhaps *xb wk wn wx wy xb* [Radnor]. In his *nq*, for he is fallen into the interest of the *te* [Danby], and to verify the reports that *te* still has *in* [interest] and influence *iu* [King] ordered *de* [Secretary] to send for him privately on Thursday last, but *y* gave *h* it under his hand it could not be done so that meeting fell. And surely it must be some mighty thing which *aa* [Earl of Bath] and other friends that daily pass and bring letters could not impart, but that such hazard of offence to *my* [Parliament.] must be incurred, which is another point of doubt upon the meeting for surely if *te* [Danby] can prevail he will not be for *my* [a Parliament] It is certain that *iu.* [King] is possessed by many of the little hopes of moderation from *my* where so many angry *la* [men] are to enter, and who will fasten upon *iu* [King] the protection of *ns* [the Plot] if he give them not their will, and hat they will begin with *fi* [Duke] *pr* [Queen] whose protection he means to assert; so that in prospect of this cloud he has said that if they would not do their *mz* [part] he could *wu ws ue wo* [live].

Now this of *lm* [money] and *xc xe wl l yc ws xc xd wk wx wm* [subsidy] will become the great point. And, indeed, if nobody shall be *wz wk xh wn* [paid] and that *iu* [King] will believe *gq* [France] (which 'tis certain they affirm to him) that he needs no *lw* [pains] as being secure on that side, we may on these terms spin out for some time, although the next year will *er* [determine] a great part of *lm* [money]. But surely this Council suits better with the fear and desperate fortune *te* [Danby], *pb* [Lord Powis] and the new *qz* [Secretary] than with the condition of *fz* [Earl of Essex], *hn* [Lord Halifax] who must desire to be on surer terms for the *meine.* And not leave the world to say (as already they do) that we have *se.* [succour] from *gq* [France]. As to *fz* [Earl of Essex] his care for parsimony in the *xz* which is so useful to *iu*, and of hopes to himself is become matter of accusation from all those who would have already *iu* run aground and at mercy for *si* [supply], so that he has sharp and angry eyes upon him on this account, and they bear it worse from him who but so lately was for reformation as well as they. Nay, *gp* [Sir Stephen Fox] has new clouds and menaces upon him for being thought the only instrument that has kept things afloat by his credit and supplies, so that all his past accounts are threatened with a Brookhouse. On the other side however this *kr* [lord] merits from *iu* [King], yet having lately said in reference to the *wz wk xb wn wy wx* [pardon] of *te* [Danby] which was designed to be *gq* that it were better to live under great *tl* [Turk] than where such *ny* [power] should be allowed, this has so disgusted *fz* whether the inclination for *te* [Danby] or the affected regality of the thing that 'tis said he shall never be single *nf* [Paymaster.]

As to *hn* [Lord Halifax] he is lately much impaired in his health, and 'tis said dejected in his ambition seeing so sharp a storm against him; reviled by *re* [Shaftesbury] as a betrayer of all their secrets, and menaced to be exposed in Parliament with the utmost shame, and both he and *fz* [Earl of Essex] troubled in many occasions that they cannot carry some points that would be popular.

Upon the whole matter from those general lines of uncertainty in what relates to *my* from the load that lies on some or the direction of others who gaped for *ks* from the present good opinion of *fh* with *iu* and the much greater things of public nature like to be in agitation, I think *fh* is out of gun shot, and that his enemies will not be able for this term at least to get their clamours on the list of causes to be heard. *Fz* inquired lately for the *ag* [Bill] transmitted, saying he would look over it when he could get time; a copy of it was sent him by *rl* [Solicitor], and whether this may be to pick cavils with it or to facilitate *my* on that side you can best judge. Sir John Werden and Sir Thomas Armstrong are both left here behind, and take notice of what passeth in Court.

Being lately with *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] he told me *as* [Bishop of London] had given him a large account of some very severe usage to Doctor Sall from your *cc* [Lord Chancellor], so that from thence and the absolute ascendant which *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick] had with him he suspects him little short of *mx* [Papist]. Your Grace may dispose of this information as you think fit. I perceive up and down great objections against thes aid *kr* lord, and even the friends of *fh* think he is more intimate there than he needs be. 'Tis whispered that either Sir William Coventry or Mr. Powell will ere long fill the place of Sir John Ernley, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1679, October 4.—From Newmarket they write that His Majesty is in good health and in very good humour, and the Queen the same. That they have every day the divertisement of the comedy, and at night nothing but dancing and merriment. If a stranger should see that scene and then turning elsewhere read and hear the loud alarms of *ti.* [treason] that fly about in so many parts he would conclude himself to be in two very distant regions.

Fz [Earl of Essex] is now gone to *bk.* to settle and fix the resolution of one to succeed *re* as I told you before, and the party the same. This I had yesterday in confidence from *as* [Bishop of London], but withal suspecting vehemently that *fz* [Essex] would choose rather to slip aside and close with *my* [Parliament.]

To this point of jealousy when you add what he hath done against *fi* [Duke of York] what he lately declared as I told you against *te* [Danby] and the thing that shelters him; when I consider that where he has appeared to *ct* [comply] *bt* [Sir H. Capel] has been opposite, and closed more in opinion with *re* [Shaftesbury]; when at the same time that I have heard the friends of *re* [Shaftesbury] revile *hy* [Halifax], yet to speak mildly of *fz* [Essex] and that this has told a confident of his he desired in

no kind to be *nf* [Treasurer] for about *ln* [Montagu] there are arising numerous difficulties; when to all these points the nature of the party is considered, and that such menaces fly of danger about his *ti* [treason] against the late *my* [Parliament], I see it not improbable but that what *as* [Bishop of London] suspects may come to pass. And if he be once loosened from the present *mi* [office] then certainly nothing but *ks* [Lord Lieutenant] will be in his thoughts. And by this means 'tis possible he may carry his point, which advertisement is not unseasonable, though I see not how to obstruct it.

The Lord President has this night directed that the Council meet to-morrow in the afternoon, and the reason guessed at is upon a report spread that the Duke of York and the Duchess were parted from Brussels and sailed towards Scotland; whereas I presume there is nothing more in the matter than that they went in a visit with the Lady Anne towards the Hague.

1679, October 4. Spring Garden.—In reviewing your Grace's letter of the 24th of August, I observe your Grace intended a petition to be transmitted in favour of my Lord Courcy, which as yet I do not find is come to Mr. Secretary; but because Michaelmas is come and I am this night sending fresh supply to his Lordship, I presume to make mention thereof. Also in my own concern about Rincorran I observe what your Grace in the same letter so sensibly expostulates, that by the punctilio of assuming all sort of direction to the Treasury, the beggars are let in upon what your Grace designed for public uses and are dividing the spoil.

Whether I do not *resent* herein both the cause and effect I leave your Grace to judge, and do humbly beseech your Grace that if things are by such grants left to a *scramble*, that your Grace would take notice of the date of my letter, being the 14th of March last, and prefer me to all subsequent orders; and especially seeing my business was depending for a year before, as will appear by the enclosed copy of His Majesty's letter ordering my £1,041 2*s*. 6d. to issue out of the same fund that was appointed for building the fort, which was the way and manner of payment that by your Grace and the Council there was proposed unto His Majesty. So that I hope your Grace has already warrant enough from this letter to proceed to my satisfaction. And when I presume to tell your Grace that I am £5,000 in debt I need say no more to show my want of this supply. Therefore I do most humbly beg your Grace's assistance.

1679, October 7. London.—There is now everywhere spread a report of the Duke's being gone with his family from Holland into Scotland. The Council met on this occasion upon Sunday last by my Lord President's direction, who told their Lordships that several of the Scotch nobility and others had assured of him the truth thereof, and that if it should so fall out he did fear the Mass and Presbytery would make but a mad medley together; that

it were fit to advise His Majesty thereof and worthy of serious consideration in case the Duke has undertaken such a thing of himself; but, on the other side, if it were done with His Majesty's approbation they were then to acquiesce therein. The tidings appeared very strange to most that were present, so that for farther information their Lordships ordered one of the clerks to go to Mr. Secretary Coventry, who lay ill of the gout, to know what advices he had and what he believed of the report. Mr. Secretary returned for answer that he knew nothing of it; that the King had imparted no such resolution to him nor had any pass or warrant to that effect gone through his hands. The Lords with this answer broke up, but directed that if Mr. Secretary should have any certain account he should give notice to the Lord President, that so the Council might be called again. *Rp* [Sir R. Southwell] does believe this report by the manner of speaking to him by *be* [G. Bridges] in which case if *my* [Parliament] resent it 'tis not hard to believe that *fh* [Ormond] will sit uneasy, especially if what I said in my last concerning *fz* [Earl of Essex] prove true. The said Council did order that Sir Tho. Gascoigne and Sir Miles Stapleton should be brought to trial next term at the Kings Bench Bar, and that the Lords of the Treasury should furnish £200 or £300 to lie ready for services in prosecution of the Plot.

This day the city have here chosen the same four burgesses who served them in Parliament before. And it was carried for them with such a torrent as that there was neither poll nor dispute that could stand in their way. When it is but considered what industry, arts and anxiety has been used to bring this matter thus to pass, one may easily foretell so far of some events in Parliament as the sense of this great city take place. Such events I mean as principally concern *fi* [Duke of York] and *pr* [The Queen], *pb* [Lord Powis], and God knows what else. So that much of what I had in apprehension when I writ to your Grace the first of this month was twelvemonth is in a great part now almost conspicuous.

I had last night the honour of your Grace's of the 27th past, in the first part of which I see your Grace full of the same impressions as to that sort of armour, which I before reckoned upon And surely nothing otherwise can be thought or resolved therein. Perhaps what was done in that kind by *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale] has some relation to the present rumour concerning *fi* [Duke of York] and *qw* [Scotland.] 'Tis here said that besides the late pardons of the Duke of Monmouth and Duke of Lauderdale (the first of which is not yet brought to the seal) that the new *qz* [Secretary] is also passing another, which inflames the animosity concerning pardons, so that most think the Parliament will break in with some law upon that point, as to prohibit any pardons to Privy Councillors and public officers but by consent Parliament.

As to the second point of your Grace's letter and the honour you vouchsafe me in relation to my Lord James, I will lay all other things aside and go on Friday next, God willing, to Oxford.

From whence I will bring a faithful account of what I find, let the blame light where it will. And above all I will study to gain some credit with my Lord James that he may take my word for what I shall say or what I may afterwards write unto him. I do hear from several hands that things are not there as they should be, and I now write to my Lord Chamberlain that I am going down by your Grace's direction, and that I will report to his Lord at my return how things stand, because his Lordship may be prepared as to Monsieur Drelincourt, whom he recommended, in case it should so fall out that I should have anything to say to his disadvantage. Sir James Shaen and the partners of my Lord Ranelagh were this day in close consultation together.

1679, October 10. London.—On Wednesday while the Lords were at Council, Mr. Secretary sent them what he had from my Lord Sunderland of His Majesty granting the Duke's desire to pass into Scotland; and that in a few days he would be in the Downs where two frigates were appointed to attend him. *re* [Shaftesbury] declared it was the worst counsel that ever was given His Majesty. *ce* [Lord Chancellor] answered that perhaps there was no counsel in it, but only a request made and the same presently accorded; to which the other replied he was sorry they were made so useless and to remember that it was otherwise promised in the late declaration touching the Council. But they presently rose, one of them saying it was much better so than if he had gone into Ireland.

Those who speak favourably of this resolution say that the Duke was so pestered at Brussells with the resort of Irish and numerous families that have lately gone out of England, that whatever discourses of danger or imprudence fell from them was placed to his account. Next that the Spaniards were not only uneasy, but even scandalized; that instead of seeing him at Mass (which none of 'em ever did) there were two ministers in his family reading prayers constantly twice a day, and sermons twice on Sundays to the Protestants that belonged to him; then that his expenses were very great, which, in Scotland, will not only be contracted but laid out in His Majesty's dominions. Others whom the journey displeased cry out upon a combination between the Papists and fanatics; that he will have now two kingdoms at his devotion—at least so soon as ever the right shall devolve unto him. That this explains the taking away the commission of General and Lieutenant-General, and that the Duke of Monmouth is likely to continue long where he is. Hence they prognosticate a short life to *my* [Parliament], and thereupon that *fi* [Duke of York] may speedily come hither, especially having the motive now spoken of that *fk* [Duchess] is coming hither to her rights, and here to remain.

I do perceive by discourse with *be* [Mr. Secretary Coventry] that he is deeply possessed with the advantage of this *dq* [counsel] given *fi* [the Duke] and that the rage of *re* [Shaftesbury] and such like thereat is that it confounds the measures they had taken.

Rp [Sir Robert Southwell] was last night to wait upon *az* [Mr. R. Boyle] at his brother's, who both told him of advice from their brother of a plot discovered in the county of Limerick, by one David Fitzgerald, who had long since revealed it to Sir Thomas Southwell and another justice, who are now accused of treason for concealing the same—(others report that Sir Thomas is clapt up); that this David had been sent by the Judges of the Assize at Limerick to your Grace, as under accusation of treasonable words; but that after examination your Grace had set him at liberty; that Limerick was to have been seized; that 5,000 arms were shipped at Morlaix in a doggerboat, and to have been landed between Youghal and Dungarvan; that the French are in the bottom of all this; that your Grace had ordered his brother to employ the nine companies in those parts to the most advantage that could be, which was accordingly done; but that the Irish in Limerick were three times more numerous than the English; that it would never be well or safe till the heads of the Irish were clapt up, and particularly those in Carbery; that there were strange fears and jealousies among all the English in that kingdom; that it was strange they should pay £5 a barrel for powder, which can be had at the Tower for £3 10*s.*; that the arms from the Tower are so unreasonably dear that no man will buy them; that it were fit all the English should be better armed, and that none but they have arms allowed; that Sir Richard Ingoldsby had been with him the day before lamenting several of these points; but the point Sir Richard thinks unanswerable, and everywhere speaks of, is that the proclamation which was issued for calling in arms should give twenty-one days' notice to lay them all aside. These are the themes wherewith some, I dare say, do rather comfort themselves than deplore the case.

News came last night from Holland that the Dutch do wave that alliance which we expected with them, that is, that the deputies being returned to the States, they broke up without any mention thereof, which is the effect, most say, of the French menaces; but others that they are willing to see what the approaching Parliament here will do in this great crisis, before they meddle with England.

I am just now stepping into the coach to attend my Lord James at Oxford having, by way of preparation, discoursed with as many here as had made any observations of that matter, and I wrote last night to my Lord Bishop that I was coming to wait upon him. As to news I suppose the letters of to-morrow night may tell your Grace something fresher than what here I mention.

1679, October 15. London.—Yesterday the Lord Radnor was by His Majesty called up to take the seat of Lord President, and he is at present the person much in request. Mr. Secretary Coventry acquainted His Majesty, upon reading a letter from your Grace, that the Earl of Orrery was dead; upon which none of the Board made any harangue either on one side or the other. My Lord Chancellor moved that all the Irish bills which were lying in the hands either of Mr. Attorney or Mr. Solicitor, might

be returned to the Board, and upon notice thereof the Committee for those affairs are to meet, and to fit those Bills to be sent back unto your Grace. This followed upon what I doubt not but my Lord Ossory will acquaint your Grace His Majesty said on the reading of your late letter referring to these Bills and the humour of a particular Lord. Upon which His Majesty presently declared that he would have a Parliament to meet in Ireland, which I hope will prove a happy turn for the benefit and defence of that kingdom, and an opportunity to testify and applaud your Grace's care thereof. My Lord Courcy's petition was yesterday read, and an unanimous vote given in favour of it. So I will get a letter despatched unto your Grace thereupon.

Mr. Attorney General having refused all persuasions to hold his place, my Lord Chancellor presented the names of nine to His Majesty, out of which Sir Cresswell Levinge is chosen to be the Attorney; his Lordship studiously continuing his son in the post of Solicitor. I happened to tell this news unto *fz* [Earl of Essex] and to touch upon the disappointment herein of *su*, unto which he replied that if my Lord Chancellor had but given his helping hand that disappointment had not happened.

There is one Mrs. Price, Mrs. Harris and Mr. John Taesbrough sent to the Gatehouse and are like to have the same fate with Mr. Reading, on account of tampering with Dugdale to renounce all his evidence. Mrs. Price alleges that Dugdale came first to her declaring his remorse, praying the Duke's pardon, and to be transported beyond sea. Upon which she and Mr. Taesborow (formerly a servant to the Duchess) did indeed urge him to show his sincerity by signing of a note of detestation against the plot and all he had done therein. And that Dugdale had come to her with pretence of marriage, in consequence of what had been treated of ten years ago at the Lord Aston's house. But Dugdale swears that she began, and that upon the very first motion made him he went and revealed all to the then Lord President, from whom and others having directions to entertain the proposal, he held the matter in hand, and did insist to have that under the Duke's hand, which they pretended in the Duke's name to promise him; and at one of the conferences there was placed in a study a Justice of Peace and his clerk who took notes, and now testify as Dugdale says, that Mrs. Price did own the whole matter to be brought on by herself. His Royal Highness was pleased to call in at the Committee, and to assure their Lordships that as soon as ever he had the first notice of this matter of Dugdale's penitence he did reject it as a trepan.

On Monday the Council will again meet to examine something which they call a Presbyterian plot, but will prove in likelihood to be only the contrivance of one Willoughby, who hid papers in the chamber of one Mansfield; for Willoughby, having been formerly in the pillory upon coining matters, his practices are all suspected.

The Lady Ranelagh is sending this night some cordials to her brother* as not believing him dead; it was so said by Dr. Cox.

* Lord Orrery.

I had last night a letter from my Lord James in his own pure native style and freedom, so that our correspondence is like to go on.

The *Garland* frigate is arrived at Bristol after great storms and tearing all her sails.

1679, October 18. London.—Being on my journey on Tuesday last I could not acquaint your Grace with what I suppose others did how that Mr. Bridgeman was sent with a letter from the Earl of Sunderland to my Lord Shaftesbury to let him know His Majesty did, excuse his further attendance in Council. To which his Lordship said that the letter needed no other answer than that he would give obedience thereunto ; adding also that he wondered not much to be dismissed, when he so lately saw His Majesty advised to send away even a son with tears in his eyes ; that he knew not that he had ever disserved His Majesty, and that when His Majesty thought so too he should be still ready to attend his commands.

On Wednesday at Council His Majesty took notice that in the commission presented him by the Lord Chancellor about proroguing the Parliament, the Earl of Shaftesbury was named for one, and as President of the Council. He thereupon bade his Lordship to make over a new one leaving that name out, and His Majesty having acquainted the Board that he thought it very ill service done him to have the advices and even the very words of those that sat there told about to their disadvantage, when they gave him but such counsel as was fit, he therefore ordered the clerk to strike the Earl of Shaftesbury's name out of the Council Book. And further, His Majesty acquainted their Lordships that for very important reasons he thought fit to have the Parliament prorogued unto the 26th of January ; that he would take this matter upon himself and desired nobody to speak therein, for he did not love that any should be arraigned abroad for their opinions there. *Bt* [Sir Henry Capel] made some essay of speaking, but because of the command thought fit to acquiesce.

On the Monday before the Lord President had appointed an extraordinary meeting of the Council, and then entered deeply as on the Friday before into a necessity of being concerned for Hamburgh to speed away an envoy to expostulate with the King of Denmark, and to fit out eight frigates to keep open the Elbe. Upon all which a report was to be made ready, and calculation of charge against His Majesty's return. And now also on Monday the Duke being arrived, the Lord President took notice thereof, and proposed a free debate in relation to the journey to Scotland ; but by agreement it was put off unto the next Council day. And this gave *p* [Earl of Anglesey] occasion upon Wednesday before His Majesty to break in upon that business with some preamble of inclination to the Duke's stay. But His Majesty told him that he thought his motion as unseasonable as everything else had been at that Board, in calling extraordinary Councils, etc., with relation to his brother, for that he knew nothing that

hindered him from going into England, Scotland or Ireland, or any other part of his dominions; that he was a brother who had expressed so much deference to him in all things that he must ever consider him accordingly; and that wherever he went it was not matter of concern there; but, by way of information, he could assure his Lordship that his brother was presently going into Scotland.

The same day at Council Sir Thomas Williams appeared, as also his antagonist, Mr. Oates, who had some witnesses to back his accusation; so that the knight was sent to the Gatehouse with this warrant—for carrying false messages between His Royal Highness and Mr. Oates; and for having said that he knew enough to break the neck of the Duke of York and all his party, and would out with it if he were provoked, yet refusing, upon examination at the Board, to declare the same. The knight denied flatly what was proved against him, but it was plain he had been blowing other coals than what concerned him in the profession of a chemist.

After this slaughter upon the knight Mr. Oates was heard against Sir Philip Lloyd, where all the objections were either answered or excused save only this: that after the trial of Sir George Wakeman, Sir Philip, in a sort of bravery, presented himself in the *Rainbow* coffee house, and declared that he did not believe any kind of plot against the King's person, notwithstanding what any had said to the contrary. He in excuse declared that he had only said he knew of no other than a fanatic plot. But Oates had got ready four shrewd coffee-drinkers, then present, who swore the matter point blank; so that the Board thought fit to advise His Majesty to suspend Sir Philip from his attendance during His Majesty's pleasure, lest his indiscretion against what had been so solemnly voted in two Parliaments, about which proclamations had issued, and a public fast solemnized, should seem to be countenanced there also, if he escaped without some mortification.

Those who, in the *Gazette* and the prorogation of the Parliament and the displeasure against the Earl of Shaftesbury, joined together, and this just at the season when the Duke is here, exercise great licence in their observations and discourse, imputing all misfortunes to one cause and magnifying the Earl of Shaftesbury as the public martyr. This will doubtless furnish new fuel to the press, which has already afforded such flames as if all the beacons of England were set on fire. And thus men freely talk in every corner; that the nation is left unguarded either as to force or foreign alliance; that the Plot and plotters seem to have protection from the Court; that these prorogations do but foretell the disuse of any Parliament, especially happening at a time when the public wants are so visible, and must increase by the failure of the additional branches; so that some think that resolute counsels are now taken up; that Scotland and Ireland must become formidable and keep all in awe; and that if there be any sense or meaning in these things it must arise, if not from a worse motive, at least from an unshaken confidence that there is no

danger to be apprehended from France, and that nothing need to be spent upon that account; and there are not a few that do really believe this kind of security, but are grieved to impute it to our own dissensions, in which we swim, and which as a strong tide carries us insensibly on that lee-shore, which we should better escape if all the winds and tempests of France were openly broken out against us. How far this confidence has any share in retarding a Parliament on that side and making the defence of that kingdom needless must be left to conjecture; but surely he that most urges in that particular does best exonerate himself in an important matter.

I shall add to your Grace these broken particulars that fly about. First, that *hn* [Lord Halifax] is certainly very sick and, as *re* [Shaftesbury] and others will have it, troubled in mind for having left his old friends and meddled in matters that run amiss and reflect dangerously upon him; that *re* should jestingly say of his sickness that *fh* [Ormond] lay heavy in his stomach, and he would never be well till he brought him up or down. But I am told he said seriously that *dk* [the Court] finding that *fh* [Ormond] would answer their purpose they thought no more of him. Some have now got it by the end as a great discovery, that the Lord Ranelagh had been instrumental by a lady's favour to gain *hn* [Lord Halifax] a full promise of *ks* [Lord Lieutenant], but that he had been as instrumental to break it all to pieces and to obtain a commission of three years more to *fh* [Ormond]. Upon which all the accounts that have hitherto been made so black are now to be white and clean; but of this you know best what the honest men here believe. Some thought the Earl of Radnor would have been made President, and 'tis said he expects it, but as yet it is not done. I am told in great secret that *be* [Secretary Coventry] gave the advice about *fg* [Duke of York] and *qw* [Scotland], and I am very apt by circumstances to believe it, and that *kf* [Lauderdale] knew it not till done; also that *lq* [Duke of Monmouth] had a letter sent him to continue where he is.

Mr. Attorney General has got His Majesty's permission to lay down his place, and who will succeed is not yet known, tho' Sir John Temple has been mentioned. Mr. Serjeant, the priest, has sent word that he will appear on this side. Yesterday there were about 150 members in the House of Commons who met about the prorogation; which was done accordingly without any motion among the Commons. Your Grace's letter with the Judge's report was read in Council, and little said thereto in reference to Colonel Fitzpatrick, but that the matter might proceed in the way it was in. Neither *fz* [Earl of Essex] nor the Lord Radnor were present. There is an order of Council appointing the Judges and the King's learned Counsel to meet to see how far the law will reach, or what may be done against the license of the press. The Duke of Buckingham has been lately seen in Paris.

I am promised the copy of a Bill drawn by way of project to reconcile all these disputes relating to Popery in the succession,

making everything as strict as can be devised—bating the Duke's exclusion. I will send it your Grace as soon as it c mes to my hand.

Postscript.—I have now the honour of your Grace's two letters of the 8th instant, in one of which I received the copy of a petition which I hope will speed very well in Council; and I heartily acknowledge your Grace's remembrance of me in the other point about satisfaction for my land. If it will depend on the success of what is to be approved at the Treasury here, I beg a word of instruction what I shall do in case my appearance be needful.

Your Grace is now pleased to acquaint me with a noise about French arms, and the deportment of FitzGerald, whereof I told your Grace by the post of this day sennight what I had before heard from the Lord Burlington and Mr. Boyle upon that subject, unto which I omitted to add this particular—that there were two priests taken in a vessel that came to Youghal; that they flung their papers overboard in prospect of their seizure; and that being examined at Castlemartyr one of them confessed he had been a sort of secretary unto my Lord Berkeley at Paris. I do not find that this new plot makes here any noise; but I am now armed by your Grace to speak as to the manner of the thing, though you say nothing as to the matter of it.

My Lord of Ossory desired me to acquaint your Grace that the Lord Burlington came lately in much kindness to him, saying that nothing stuck so much on this side in reflexion upon your Grace as the twenty days notice given the Papists by proclamation about their arms; and that the powder and arms sent thither from the Tower should be held up at such excessive rates as that very few will buy. Upon which two particulars it were good, he said, that your friends here were sufficiently armed. My Lord of Ossory told me also of another point which he said he would write himself, and in favour of which was that the same Lord gave the like evidence of his brother's illness, which your Grace observes some others there did, of desiring what might fall, and that his Lordship seemed to affect to succeed in the government of Limerick and of his brother's troop. My Lord Chamberlain bid me tell your Grace that whoever brings him the certainty about *mn* [Lord Orrery] shall have a guinea from him for the news. Just now my Lord of Ossory showed me your Grace's of the 12th, to which all I can say is that Mr. Solicitor told me about a fortnight after the time he was spoken to that he had not then sent the Irish Bill to that Lord, nor had it been sent for; but I will know more to-morrow. There is no certainty yet of the time of the Duke's departure. I never yet heard from your Grace whether you had any answer from my Lord President to your letter.

My Lord Chamberlain having read this letter acquiesced in all points but the advice of so long continuance in Oxford, knowing by experience it was apt to make a man stiff. I told his lordship there were some things so over limber that all they wanted was to be made stiff, and to think of despatching this young lord into France was to pour oil into the fire to *quench* it.

Unto which answer his lordship made no reply and bid me tell your Grace as much.

1679, October 18. Spring Garden.—I got early upon Saturday last to Oxford and left it upon Tuesday. I found my Lord James in health and vigour, very sanguine, and somewhat fatter than he should be, though all say it is not so much as it has been, and that he is also grown taller. He rides very willingly, but cares not for tennis, because he is not good at it; so that I mean to get Mr. Mulys to send him down some shuttlecocks and rackets which will strengthen his hand, and incline him by degrees unto the other exercise. And he must also have some waistcoats with a little stiffening before to keep in his belly, for he cannot endure some that were already sent him for being too stiff quite round. His own hair is coming up so extremely thick that he had best let it grow in the spring, for so his head will be cooler. I believe his blood is very hot and may be the cause that he uses some wriggling gestures, and the screwing his mouth when he thinks he is not observed. He spits also at times pretty largely, for which I advised him to chew in a morning some mastic; but above all I used arguments to induce him to rise early, as the only way to deliver him from the poison of physic and extraordinary medicines.

But first of all I waited upon my Lord Bishop to know how he understood the state of things; and his lordship freely told me that there had been much jangling and disorder, but that now of late all was in pacification, and he hoped things would go on well. That the young lord meeting here at first with several other noblemen's sons who did not study to humour him as he expected, he grew very forward and uneasy; and those that were about him helped to aggravate every trivial thing, thereby hoping to get away into France where their thoughts were placed. So that he seemed to brook very ill his station and condition there, and chose rather to have about him small companions that would please him than any others. But your Grace having, on the one hand, declared positively for their longer stay, and the Bishop having plainly told Mr. Drelincourt he must never expect to travel abroad with that young lord, and the young man himself having now by time learnt better how to sort and mould himself among his better companions, all things are much amended and in a hopeful way, and so not fit to be altered unless new wars break out. His lordship also told me that he had commanded the servitor, one Parker, that was too saucy, to keep to his *study*, and not to come nigh his lordship but in the hall; which absence the young lord brooks much better than his servitor, who is removing in discontent into some other place, and by the discourse I had with this lad the separation is not much amiss. Upon the whole matter his lordship said, that as things had now for a fortnight been in good tune; so if those about the young lord would but agree among themselves, and all vote the same way, they were like so to continue; but he thought they had done very ill before to make long stories,

and trouble your Grace with every impertinent thing, which either mended itself in a day or should have been mended by him on the least complaint, and he took it ill (as he had reason) that they should pass him by. However, he told me that Mr. Drelincourt was very diligent in his attendance and endeavours, and he thought him an honest man, and would do well enough there, as he was under his lordship's eye, but that he must never be thought on for the governor abroad, as having in conduct nothing proportionable to it; for our young lord (under the rose) has in his rage struck him and rogued him like a lackey; and he has brooked all much rather than to let go his hold. So that no man less than one fit to be a colonel, who can have authority with his young master, and also draw his sword for him upon occasion, is fit to go with him into the world; and some such man in due time must be found out, though it cost £500 a year. And then Mr. Drelincourt may in his own way of church preferment receive your Grace's consideration*.

Having to this effect drawn from his Lordship all the information I could, I was the better enabled to steer my course, and falling into conference with Mr. Drelincourt, I found him very complacent, and much more willing to touch upon my young lord's virtues than upon his faults; and he confirmed to me what I had also heard from my Lord Bishop, that he was very good-natured, constant to his prayers, and reading in the Bible, and had aversion to debauchery, but that indeed he brooked very ill to be crossed in any matter, and that your Grace had the only high ascendant over him. Mr. Gandy, whom I had also alone, was freer in owning to me that his lord was as yet very wandering and unstable in his thoughts and inclinations; only that he thought himself much more towards manhood than he was, and would too frequently undervalue learning, as if he needed but little of it. I did, in the first place, conjure them both to agree and even to combine together that my lord might hear nothing sounding in his ears but such things as your Grace and the Bishop did from time to time direct; that they would study to make Oxford delightful to him; and that whatever fell out amiss should first be represented to the Bishop. I also gave to each in relation to my lord's exercise and studies the best rules I could think of. I discoursed also with Mr. Aldrich, the tutor, who is a very good and well disposed man and hopes the best.

But last of all I entered into close conference with my young lord himself, and did ingratiate with him the best I could and I think with some effect; for he did pleasingly enough hear me tell him of all things that would make him great and happy; and also of the shame and misfortunes that would befall him if he neglected himself or yielded to evil courses. I told him that his mind (as most young men's) was like a garden, where his care must be to root out the hurtful weeds that would be constantly growing up, and to plant good trees in their room. And that he should ever fix the mark of enemy upon that man that came with

* This suggestion was adopted, and Mr. Drelincourt became an Irish Dean. See note at p. 333 *supra*.

flattery to tell him that he needed not to take pains, and that all was already well enough. We had much long discourse and made agreement to write to each other, and I have already begun desiring him to tell me all his wants of money, dogs, horses or any other thing that might serve for his health, credit or information; that he should write to me without care, for I should suspect if his letters were too fair and exact that they were not his own, and I revived some touches of our discourse, and particularly that of early rising, for which I tell him that I undertake to all his friends, and for many other good points.

He did tell me that he was very well pleased with Oxford, and all things that he had. And he repeated to me some verses out of Virgil, and did construe a few of them pretty well, and showed me what he was doing in arithmetic. And, certainly, for his getting hold of Latin and other good things peculiar to the quiet and care of that place, as also for subduing his natural passions when he is crossed, and learning now early to live by rule, he can be nowhere for about two years more to better purpose than where he is, for in that time the flying bee will in a great measure be settled, and it fortunes that there are some very good examples before him among the young noblemen of the college, with whom he begins better to sort, and by degrees I hope he will fix his thoughts and distinguish plainly between the things that will do him good and such as will prove mischievous unto him. I cannot enough mention the love, care and concern the good Bishop has for him in all his expressions, and I know no man has his thoughts and genius so much turned to the care and education of youth as this good man. So that I hope in time for a very happy crop.

My Lord Courcy grows up with some improvement, but I must quicken him to more pains about his book, which he has also heartily promised.

I am to return your Grace all possible thanks for your late favour and countenance to my nephew, Percival, wherewith I find he is very sensibly touched.

1679, October 21. London.—There is no manner of foundation for the news which is spread that my Lord Chancellor is to quit the purse, and my Lord Privy Seal, as some say, and others Sir Lionel Jenkins, to take it up, and this to arise, as they fancy, from a purpose to bail out, if not pardon the Lords of the Tower. Nor do I find that the Duke of Monmouth is at all sent for, as hath passed for current, making all to be reconciled, only by charging displeasure on two or three servants; for I see no other approach hereunto, saving that the Duchess of Monmouth is visited, and she hath also waited on the Duchess of York. The King has been induced by my Lord Chancellor to press Mr. Attorney this morning to continue his station, but whether it will take effect or no I know not. The Duke dined this day with the Artillery Company in the city with the same welcome as hath been usual. My Lord Radnor asked me what return was made about *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick] and was pretty intent on

the inquiry. This enclosed note was part of a letter from one Mr. Herbert there to Sir Thomas Lynch.

Pc told *ea* that *fi* [Duke of York] would have some command in *qw* [Scotland], for that things were now there much amiss. How this will operate on *kf* [Lauderdale] I know not, but his adversaries think they have as good hold as he.

1679, October 28. London.—Yesterday his Royal Highness departed towards Scotland with a very considerable train as far as Hatfield. He intends to be twenty-five days upon his journey. This proposition of Scotland came out from *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale] but seemed to be smoothly assented to till of late there appear some marks of dissatisfaction in it, for *fi* [the Duke of York] observing how the discontented nobility of that place disposed things to make his reception there very welcome, he was willing, as they expected from him, to experiment some composure, and therefore, by way of essay, sending a fit person to the lady of *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale] to touch upon that string, she burst out into open expostulations that she saw plainly the King's service could be ruined. And so nothing could be done or negotiated as was intended. Another thing was this, the Duchess having invited to go with her in her coach my Lord Athol, it begat such indignation and such struggling and endeavours were used to oppose it that *iu* [the King] was scandalized thereat, and said that perhaps in greater matters there had been more folly and mistakes than hitherto he had believed, so that hereby your Grace may see that *fi* [Duke of York] stands loose and independent, though not in any contradiction to *kf* [Duke of Lauderdale]. This much *cc* [Lord Chamberlain] told me this night to impart unto your Grace that you may know upon what foot things do stand, and that your Grace should not omit to send over some person of consideration to make your compliments, which is his advice. *ck* [Earl of Clarendon] was then present, and said that the Duke's reception in Scotland was like to be marvellous great by the accounts he heard given from the Scotch noblemen who in that country have great influence over the Commons.

I last post told your Grace of one Willoughby that was under examination, as one, according to the rumour abroad, that had been contriving to fasten a plot upon the Presbyterians. Upon examination yesterday at the Board, he proved so great a rogue in the course of his life, having been frequently in the pillory and jails about coining false money, and confessing by his own story that he would have trepanned the Earl of Shaftesbury, and in the matter of Mansel, it appearing too plain that he had forged the letters importing treason, and fixed them in his chamber to render him guilty thereof, he was thereupon sent to Newgate, and is to be prosecuted at law. It appeared in proof that this dexterous blade had taken notes at all the trials about the Plot, and resorted frequently to the Lord Powis in the Tower and met his Lady in several other places, so that in the prosecution of this matter at law, they will go nigh to discover, as is already

said, that this man was set on by the Papists. For parallel hereunto was there not a while since a rising of the prentices in Dublin intended for pulling down the Mass-houses, till their purpose was stopped, and upon inquiry 'twas found that this matter was promoted by *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick]—thus it was observed by *fz* [Earl of Essex].

1679, November 1.—'Tis now near ten that the Council is risen, having sat morning and evening to examine Willoughby, whose true name is Thomas Dangerfield. He has since he was in Newgate written a narrative of seven sheets, and was carried to my Lord Mayor where he swore to it, and his Lordship had not only Sir Joseph Sheldon present, but sent also for my Lord Bridgewater. This day he has affirmed all things to the same effect, amounting to this—that the Popish Lords in the Tower, particularly the Lord Arundel and the Lord Powis, offered him £2,000 to kill the King, which, he refusing, they offered £500 to kill the Lord Shaftesbury, which he accepted, and was twice with him at his house to have done it with a dagger in case he could have been with him alone. And while they were using all means possible to carry on the Popish plot, yet stifle the opinion and credit of it, they framed another contrivance to possess the King, the Duke, and some Ministers with the fears of a Presbyterian plot, naming officers for an army and Privy Councillors. Besides the Lords in the Tower who are named distinctly for their advice and instigation herein, the Lady Powis is named as a main agent, and has been examined at the Board. So has my Lord Castlemaine, who is sent to the Tower. So was Mrs. Cellier, a midwife, who is sent to Newgate. Gadbury, the astrologer, is not yet found, being accused, nor a certain French merchant. Lord Peterborough is made knowing of the design against Lord Shaftesbury and promoting it with some others. Dangerfield (though of infamous life) has told so much, and so many particulars, that however the King undervalues things, yet the Lords are wonderfully startled and give credit to the main of what he says, and doubtless the whole will very soon come out in print, and revive the horror of the Plot, and wonderfully commute [?] for what reflection arose on that score of the Scottish rebellion. By the next post I shall have more time to enlarge. Mr. Sergeant was yesterday examined at Council, and denies all that Rookwood affirmed of his knowing of the Plot.

1679, November 3. London.—Your Grace will see in the *Gazettes* not only that the Council are very busy examining after the Plot; but in what form and new edition it was now again coming forth, namely, that while the Popish Plot went really on, it was among other industries to be concealed by a counterfeit plot to be fixed on the Protestants, and of whose progress they were to give notice to the King, who were the contrivers thereof. Thomas Dangerfield, who now discovers as much as came to his share, entered the list upon this account. There being a purse

made for the relief of poor prisoners, and for their liberty, if possible, the Lady Powis was a great promoter hereof, and Mrs. Cellier, a notable, zealous midwife, was a great agent and frequenter of the prisons upon this account. Under this specious pretence there was a great communication and consulting and intelligence passed round upon what imported the main concern. And Mrs. Cellier, having released one Mrs. White from Newgate, did enquire after some well qualified dangerous fellow that might be fit for every sort of business. Whereupon she named this Dangerfield, who lay plunged and abandoned there on account of clipping or coining, and for which he had often before and for several cheats tasted of the whip and pillory. This man Mrs. Cellier gets out of jail, not without Captain Richardson's remark at the same time, that it must needs be for some wicked purpose. This man being got out does so well approve himself in all the matters wherein he was employed that at length he grew much into favour with my Lady Powis, and with her lord at the Tower, and with the rest of the Lords also, that they gave him money and liked his service, so that at last the Lord Arundel did in the Lord Powis his bedchamber ask him if he had courage enough to kill the King; but, he refusing, though a reward of £2,000 were mentioned, the Lord Powis said it should be £500 to kill the Earl of Shaftsbury; this he freely undertook and went twice with a dagger to that Lord's, with whom he desired to be private, and thought to amuse him about dangers threatened his person, according as he was instructed. But my Lord Shaftesbury not consenting to be alone with him, he put off the execution till another time, and says that among others who reproached him for his cowardice and omission herein the Earl of Peterborough was one, whom he met at Gadbury's and was charged by his Lordship not to fail of his stroke the next time he went. He further saith that a design being framed by much industry of several heads, and particularly by the Lords in the Tower, by setting down all the noted mutinous clubs, with several contrivances they had in hand about a plot among the Presbyterians, naming several officers of an army, as the Duke of Monmouth for General, Earl of Macclesfield, his son, Lord Gray, and Sir Thomas Armstrong for Lieutenant-Generals, Sir William Waller and Blood for Major-Generals, etc. Also a Privy Council wherein were named the Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Radnor, Duke of Bucks, Earl of Essex, Earl of Halifax, and Lord Wharton, with such other like mad and improbable mixtures. Yet this matter as it was thus framed lay in the hands of Dangerfield, and much care was had to have it in readiness to acquaint the Duke withal when he first came over, and in truth to amuse him therewith, and by his means to gain credit with the King. So that in pursuance hereof this blade and Mrs. Cellier were by the Earl of Peterborough secretly conducted to the Duke, where he had long audience, and some guineas, and by order given to Mr. Halsey was conducted to the King; and from thence to Mr. Secretary Coventry, from whom he would have had a warrant to have searched Mansel's chamber for dangerous papers which should manifest the truth of what he said. Halsey, by the King's

order, gave him forty pound, but the Secretary was unwilling to give his warrant without affidavit first made. Wherefore he went to the Custom officers and got them to search as for prohibited goods, and there accordingly was the packet found which he himself had pinned behind the bed according to the advice of Lady Powis, who frequently signified unto him the mind of the Lords in the Tower. And lest those officers being now possessed of these papers should conceal them, he was directed presently to acquaint the Earl of Peterborough where the said papers then lodged, and also to acquaint the King thereof, which he accordingly did, getting audience by way of Mr. Chiffinch. And that when he after told Mrs. Cellier, and soon after the Lady Powis, how long he had been with King alone, they both lamented the opportunity he had lost, and that he was not then provided to kill the King. He swears also that the Lord Castlemaine was before that in displeasure with him for refusing the proposal which had been made him in the Tower. And Gadbury also railed at him for not accepting the proposal to kill the King; for, said he, did not Mrs. Cellier bring me your nativity before she took you from prison where you might have starved? And did not I prognosticate that you were born for such an action and to escape? But to return to the late exploit, Mansel, having his chamber ransacked, found out this Dangerfield, and hearing something of his life and conversation got him arrested, and bringing him to the Council Board (where Captain Richardson painted him forth) he was from the Board despatched unto Newgate where, notwithstanding the care and supplies and conjurations of Mrs. Cellier, he found himself so little at ease that he writes a narrative of above seven sheets, and is conveyed on Friday night to my Lord Mayor, before whom as also the Earl of Bridgewater and Sir Joseph Sheldon he makes affidavit of the same. On Saturday morning he was under examination at the Council Board discovering the series of what I have here related; and my Lord Mayor, about noon, bringing to His Majesty the said papers, His Majesty sent them into the Committee and followed after himself, and sitting down seemed to wonder much to find the whole Board so advanced into a strange belief of what this man had related. But when the Council met again in the afternoon to read over the narrative which he had written, and to examine such as were taken thereupon, and the Council sitting again on Sunday in the afternoon in the prosecution of this matter, His Majesty could not free himself from a belief of something in the matter; for notwithstanding the party had been so great a villain, yet dilating himself into so many particulars and circumstances of things and persons, and everything upon cross examination proving true, and even confessed, unless in the points which would make the parties concerned guilty, he has raised a strange new fermentation in the minds of all men, not only as to a belief of the Popish Plot, but of rage and indignation that it should be fastened by them upon the Protestants. The Lord Castlemaine is hereupon sent to the Tower, Mrs. Cellier and a French merchant to Newgate, Mr. Gadbury to the Gatehouse, etc.; and on Tuesday the Lady Powis

will be again examined, as also the Lady Abergavenny and very many more.

1679, November 4. London.—It is now just nine at night when the Council is risen after examining several persons upon this discovery of Dangerfield. By all which the truth of his information is more and more confirmed, how strong soever the infamy of the pillory rises up against him. My Lord Peterborough has been examined and given a large—and in appearance—a very frank relation of all things; by which it is manifest that the Lady Powis has been an extraordinary agent in several intrigues, and that his lordship and the Duke were to be imposed on to believe really a Presbyterian plot in order to bring the King more entirely into the same belief. And his lordship also informed how Mrs. Cellier had brought things about with Sir Robert Peyton so as to reduce him to a desire of waiting upon the Duke. After his lordship had finished his narration and several witnesses were examined, my Lady Powis, who is a woman of much dexterity, was called in, and in conclusion by the unanimous vote of the Board, her ladyship was sent to the Tower for treason; and their lordships are to meet to-morrow or next day to consider what is fit to be advised upon the whole matter of this information.

For my own part I am of the opinion, especially upon this new eruption, that nothing but a Parliament can deal with the Plot so as to bring things to a final determination and to quiet the minds of the kingdom upon this subject. For I perceive it is like a tumour that grows bigger and bigger, not likely as some have hoped by time to evaporate, but must absolutely be lanced or else it will never end. And, therefore, in proportion as I think this new matter will irresistibly call on the Parliament, how remote soever it were from some men's thoughts, by the same steps will the late purpose of a Parliament with you naturally vanish. And your Grace ought not be less upon your guard for the death of one in Munster who was always giving the alarm; for if there be any kind of footsteps of information there, it will be fit not only to represent it, but to prosecute every appearance of danger with vigour; and though no imaginary dangers are to be in any degree affected, yet to appear supine in that country while the alarm is so strong in this will but create ill effects, and give advantage to malicious enemies. And having given this hint, 'tis sufficient, for your Grace will know what value and consideration is to be had thereof. This revival of the Plot will certainly extinguish all expectation in the Popish Lords to come out upon bail, which they did most certainly expect by particular favour designed unto them. And it was expected they should have been tried out of Parliament, but that *ce* [the Lord Chancellor] told *iu* [the King] that no Lords would sit on the trial, for fear of being accountable to the House whenever they met for deciding in a matter that was depending in Parliament.

The Earl of Danby had his petition ready, and hoped to have been bailed out by the Council; but it has not yet appeared, either for fear of insuccess, or that it may give fresh occasion there to

press on for *my* [Parliament]. *fz* [Earl of Essex] is now most zealously prone hereunto upon all occasions, and, I suppose, has taken quite new measures as to this particular. *de* [Secretary Coventry] is thought to have given too much credit to *pc* [Presbyterian] *ns* [plot], and to have pursued too zealously some mistakes, for which he is entirely lost on that side, and especially for being noted the chief in *dg* [Council] to *fi* [Duke of York] especially in reference to *qw* [Scotland] and all things rising since that vote. *fi* [Duke] drives up hill in this new eruption, and too much or too openly shows more *ai* [belief] *pc* [Presbyterian] than *mx* [Papist.] I will not tire your Grace with any more but that Mr. Blood is fallen almost into as much displeasure in the city as Sir Robert Peyton. But as more manifestations thereof appear I will acquaint your Grace therein.

1679, November 8. London.—To-morrow, being Sunday, in the afternoon the Council are to meet to consider of the whole matter of this late information touching the Plot; for notwithstanding several are sent to prison, yet few without doors seem to be satisfied that the Court prosecute this matter as were fit. And that in consequence leads them to say little less than as if the Court were in the concern. I cannot really understand why it was that the new *qz* [Secretary Sunderland] was lately for two hours with *re* [Shaftesbury] and this party in secret the same afternoon with *iu* [the King], but from such intercourse your Grace is left to judge. I was told that *re* [Shaftesbury] sent word he was ready at a beck, but he had already declared his conditions; and without them he would never enter, nor was there any good to be done. I am told he would accommodate in all other points if *iu* [the King] would change his *ut* [wife].

This new alarm of the Plot has bred so much new talk about the necessity of hastening the Parliament that I am told my Lord Shaftesbury has proposed that they meet presently together as a Council, though not to act as a Parliament until the 26th of January. And this opinion for the Parliament's speedy meeting is in a great part increased by a strong opinion that it was the contrivance of this false plot and the dangers thereby apprehended which caused the prorogation. For it seems the first information to my Lord Peterborough was that there would be strange proceedings upon the very first meeting of the Parliament. I am told my Lord Shaftesbury resents very much that when it was made so apparent at the Council Board that his life was in danger there should be no advertisement sent to him thereof, which he thought was a respect due to him and every other person, and which, in effect, in a much less occasion had formerly been shown unto him.

While Blood was named to be an instrument in this new affair it was said by one conversant with *re* [Shaftesbury] it would be made appear that Blood did hold correspondence with *gi* [Col. Fitzpatrick], whose name is upon frequent occasions made use of as the poison against *fh* [Ormond]. The Earl of Halifax, though they say he be recovered, doth not yet come to the

Council, and *fz* [Earl of Essex] is at his wits end to know what will become of matters; and as a good expedient grows very keen in the matter of *ns* [the plot]. I am just now told by an undoubted author that the scope of the late conference and advice from *re* [Shaftesbury] to *iu* [the King] was this, that he should leave to *my* [Parliament] all that concerned *pr* [the Queen] and *fi* [Duke of York] without which all other expedients of making things better are insignificant. Thus much at least was told by *iu* [the King] to *pr* [the Queen], and with the same kindness as formerly.

1679, November 11. London.—By resolution taken on Sunday last in Council Mr. Attorney is to consult the Judges about what prosecution is fit on the parties concerned in this new plot. There were some very home touches for ascertaining the *my* [Parliament], but all put by *fz* [Earl of Essex] was loud. There is a report about the town that *re* [Shaftesbury] was with *iu* [the King]. But it was only the younger *qz* [Secretary] [was willing?] [Salisbury] who sent such points of proposal leave *fi* [Duke of York], and *pr* [Queen] to *my* [Parliament], that *iu* [the King] was scandalized. It is to be feared that attempts will be made by public petitions to draw on what they apprehend was held back; and so deprive those of the good grace of doing a thing, which is not acknowledged when it comes from importunity.

1679, November 18. London.—After some impatience for want of your Grace's commands I had last night the honour of three of the 8th, 9th and 11th instant, together with a paper enclosed concerning the disarming of Papists and the arming of the Protestants, which I think is very closely argued, only I conceive there may be some mistake in that computation of fifteen Papists to one Protestant, for I have often heard Sir William Petty computing all the people in Ireland at eleven hundred thousand—he made the Protestants three and the Papists eight, which is not three to one. I went this morning to Mr. Secretary to show him your Grace's of the 11th, but he rested not all night, and so I could not speak with him. I will to-morrow show him the letter and am glad your Grace is there piecing together your various informations into an entire narrative. And 'tis well to employ the Bishop of Meath in the works of that nature, because his authority weighs with many, and will not only satisfy expectation that there could no more be made of the matter, but that it also could not sooner be finished.

Our prosecutions here have as it were quite laid asleep the thoughts of the Irish Bills, and the rather because there is arisen so much new struggle touching the necessity of a Parliament here which any operation upon those Bills seems by implication to thrust off to an ungrateful distance. And 'tis now upon this point according to the general vogue that the Earl of Essex has

resigned his station in the Treasury as a demonstration to the world that he is ardent for the meeting of the Parliament, whatever hard censures have passed upon him for any advice or opinion to the contrary. And although his Lordship, as I hear, intends not to leave the Council, yet this single fact has filled the town with discourses as if Sir Harry Capel, the Lord Russell, the Lord Cavendish, etc., would leave the Council, and some also of the Commissioners of the Admiralty give up their charge; but of all this I shall believe nothing till I see it; only most do agree that my Lord Halifax is so shattered in his health, and the dissatisfaction of his mind does also operate thereupon so far, as that 'tis not likely he will come to Council in a long time.

Mr. Secretary Coventry being then laid up with the gout did on Wednesday last send me one from your Grace to show His Majesty in Council, and if he thought fit to have it there read. It was what your Grace freely said touching the Bill of Confirmation—to take it or leave it as they here thought fit; but His Majesty not being disposed to read bid the letter be shown to my Lord Chancellor, who, having read it over, did hand it to the Earl of Essex, and he also read it, which was all the reading it had; but perhaps Mr. Secretary may offer it again to-morrow in order to awaken the business of the Irish Bills, and to see whether any progress is to be made or not. If the business go on I shall not spare my attendance, though I get no more by them than I did for my pains at London and Salisbury about the Act of Explanation. But it is my fate after fifteen years service in my station never to have gotten by Ireland in the way of bounty the value of one acre. I wish your Grace would show me some hopes of what in justice I expect for my recompense about Rincorran; for whereas I was to depend on some letter to be sent from hence in reference to public uses, Mr. Secretary now tells me that your Grace waives the insisting upon such letter, and so I am perfectly in the dark and know not when I shall see the shore, which is some discomfort unto me.

This vacancy in the Treasury being filled by Sir Stephen Fox your Grace will not dislike. 'Tis generally said that Mr. Hyde is to be Viscount Killingworth, and will not only be at the head of that commission, but soon admitted to the Council Board, being for his good abilities and devotion to the Duke in a more prinicpal regard with His Majesty than any man else as it is certainly said.

I am told that the Earl of Shaftesbury does plainly own to his friends that the late message brought him by the Earl of Sunderland, and repeated again to him by another hand, was to offer him the Treasurer's staff and to make all other the great officers such as he should like, but that his answer was he would never more enter the list at Whitehall till it were resolved there should be excluded from thence *pr* [Queen], *fi* [Duke], *ph* [Duchess of Portsmouth] and every other *mx* [Papist] that were but an inch long. And though this sounds high and looks romantic yet 'tis what he glories in to say and to be reproached ~~for by~~ *iu* [the King] as he is for such exorbitant demands. But he takes those things very little to heart, and augmenting every day in his

interest elsewhere he seems to say it is the pleasure perhaps of *iu* [the King] to expose men that are of *dk* [the Court] and therefore he will keep out of that danger's reach. *fz* [Earl of Essex] consulted him if he should not also quit *dg* [Council] but *re* [Shaftesbury] advised the contrary; so that *fz* [Essex] and *hn* [Halifax] are making atonement there all that is possible. And I am also told that *be* [Secretary Coventry] has found it necessary to do something also of this kind in reference to the cloud he saw growing and some personal words of his, which he heard were much resented.

I am told that there are meetings of some of the nobility in order to an address to His Majesty about the Parliament, and that they will conjure the Archbishop to engage the Bishops in the like address; and that the Grand Jury of London will show some precedent of this kind to other places. And all this agitation to take growth from *re* [Shaftesbury] and doubtless is become very considerable. I perceive he has not thought fit to write to *fh* [Ormond] which must be borne with Christian patience; but it is suitable to my information that he does not forgive *mo* [Ossory] and is much dissatisfied, I know not why, with *ks* [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland]. There is a paper called "Mr. Smith's Narrative" touching the Plot, which was written or at least reviewed, by *re* [Shaftesbury], and is here much in request.

I will not further tire your Grace, only I am going to complain against my little correspondent of Oxford that he sticks in my debt, though I am as little serious in my letters as himself. The only one I have hitherto had is the enclosed, which I pray your Grace to return me back again, because I expect many more of the same kind.

1679, November 25. London.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 16th and could never hear a more lively character than you give to him that seems to have everybody's destiny in his hands; and you will think it no very ordinary influence when at this time those very three points are put into a petition intended to be presented and to press home for *my* [Parliament] as the only sovereign antidote against all infection whatsoever, and doubtless, according to the course of things, all will at last end there. I am told that several of the nobility have had meetings and intend in a body to wait upon His Majesty and to press for the meeting of the Parliament; and, if that fail, then a petition to be offered, by which precedent many others are like to be made from different parts of the kingdom, which is thought a method irresistible.

This day Mr. Knox and Mr. Lane were at the suit of Mr. Oates, convicted of a combination against him in their affidavits and former design to have charged him with buggery towards the said Lane, his servant, while he was at Whitehall. And there is no doubt but they will both run Mr. Reading's fate of the pillory. That which is most remarkable in this matter is that Knox and Lane were both managed by the Papists during that accusation. For Lane lay sometimes at Mrs. Cellier's and sometimes at Powis

house, under the discipline of those two ladies and in particular of Mr. Neville, and Dangerfield comes in as part evidence that it was so. And Lane does in a manner acknowledge his guilt. But the point of more remark is that this Knox, a pragmatical busy fellow, is servant to the Lord Dunblane, and did formerly appear at the Council touching this matter, to vouch something about the innocence of my Lord Treasurer, when Bedloe accused him of offers and tampering to send him out of the way; and by this trial that Knox is found a partaker much reflection is made upon that noble family; and that you may know the cause is of moment it was yesterday by accident put off unto this day. But both yesterday and to-day there attended in the Courts the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Lord Grey, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Huntingdon, the Lord Howard, etc., in all eight of them, and the matters passed in Court with high applause after the verdict given, and great remarks by Sir Francis Winnington on all the progress of Knox his accusation. And these Lords dined together, and there is to be a weekly meeting of the Lords who will associate for ends and purposes of the public good. *kq* [Earl of Longford] is this day gone towards your Grace. We had lately much discourse touching *my* [Parliament] there, wherein I find he is much cooler than formerly, fearing the spirit of *fu* [England] is got thither and may be more unreasonable than was formerly thought; whether this be the mind of *fh* [Ormond] I cannot tell. If it be 'tis best I suppose when concealed, being surely not so popular.

I formerly told your Grace from *ce* [Lord Chamberlain] that *fi* [Duke of York] would mollify things in *qw* [Scotland]; but he now bids me tell your Grace that his adviser tells him the contrary, and that the way and will of *kf* [Lauderdale] must stand, and the most knowing of those that are gone expect nothing of alteration and design—nothing but compliment, from whence your Grace will conclude that *fi* [the Duke], is not likely there to take any deep root.

It is almost incredible what multitudes of people met on the 17th instant to celebrate Queen Elizabeth's night, and as strange that after all those squibs and bonfires they should all without confusion resort unto their beds. The celebrating thus the memory of one Prince is doubtless matter of advertisement to another, and their quiet does but declare their expectation of a Parliament, unto whom they leave the more serious consideration of their entertainment and the reasons thereof. I observe your Grace is intent there upon transmitting such informations as present themselves, which are not now safe to sleep at any man's door.

1679, November 29. London.—Being awaked on Friday morning by five of the clock by the sound of the bells and a succession of some bonfires, I heard in the morning that the Duke of Monmouth was arrived at the Cockpit about one of the clock before; that His Majesty hearing of it with surprise sent to forbid him his presence, upon which the Duke writ His Majesty

a letter wondering at his displeasure, for that he was only come over to clear himself from the scandal of being named general of a rebellious army according to the late contrived Plot, and that he had no other business in England but to manifest his innocence. His Majesty presently writ him back that 'twas strange he should wonder at the surprisal, seeing he came without his orders and without his knowledge; and, therefore, having just reason to be displeased with him he forbade him the Court, and commanded him to return presently into Holland. The Duke hereupon removed to the little Mews, where great visits were made him, and at night bonfires appeared in every street and the bells rang in every place. The Duchess of Monmouth was with His Majesty to extenuate the offence, but His Majesty appeared so inexorable that her Grace promised the Duke should the next day depart. But his Grace is of a different mind, and desires to see His Majesty and to remain in his dominions and to clear himself of all things that can be objected unto him. He supped the last night with Mrs. Gwyn, who was this day at her utmost endeavours of reconciliation, but received a very flat and angry denial, and by all appearance His Majesty is incensed to a high degree. So that not understanding what this matter might portend, all the officers of the Guards were the last night commanded by His Majesty to give him no obedience, and his particular commands were offered to the Duke of Albemarle, upon whose excuse I think they are not yet bestown. There is a paper out this day in print, but I have not seen it, proving the right of his succession to the Crown and the solemnity of a marriage with his mother. It is supposed that the Lords who meet are his advisers in this enterprise, and some say he has been in town four or five days before. And all that I hear besides this is only conjecture, as if his Grace might in a few days weather His Majesty's displeasure, and that the bells and the bonfires would prove advocates for him, and that he might at last take a share in the intended address from the other Lords to importune His Majesty for a Parliament. Others are amazed at the action, considering how all the Duke's interest depends on His Majesty's goodness, and cannot devise by what counsel he has been led to this undertaking, which, if not improved to a very high degree, must turn extremely to his loss of ground and disadvantage, and this is all that offers to me on this matter.

Yesterday my Lord Chancellor moved in Council that seeing the term was over and several copies of the Bill of Confirmation given to the Lords, it were fit now that the Committee for Ireland should meet thereupon, and perhaps find it reasonable to alter several things, or to let it quite alone until the Parliament of Ireland did signify their own desires, but he beseeched His Majesty to write over a letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Council to invite them to the asking of such Bills that might be grateful to the Parliament there, and not to leave them to be the effect of importunity; that in particular the late Bill that passed here for excluding Popish Lords and the Act for the Test upon all that were in employment might have effect there and all other laws against Popery that could consist with the Government and condition of that kingdom.

With this my Lord of Essex closed, and Mr. Secretary did open what your Grace had lately written upon occasion of the Bill of Confirmation, to the sense of which letter my Lord Chancellor did indeed also speak, he having formerly read it as I told your Grace. Mr. Secretary did also add the prosecution you were upon of plot upon plot there also, and that you might be required to issue a proclamation to the effect of that here, which requires informers to come in by a certain time, which was also ordered. And my Lord of Essex did propose that a Bill may be transmitted for annexing the Phœnix Park to the Sword, which was also well approved of; and a letter upon all these heads is to be sent your Grace and the Council, and the Committee here are to meet on Saturday next. But after all this preparation for a Parliament on that side I cannot think, as matters here are working, but there will be a Parliament on this, and that is all I have to say unto this particular.

I send your Grace here enclosed a fresh epistle I have received from my Lord James which has been seen by my Lord Chamberlain and his father and mother—the first and last of which are for gratifying him his desire to be here at Christmas, but his father bid me consult your Grace, whose answer I shall expect in the matter; and mean now to write unto him that I have moved your Grace therein; and pray return me back the letter when your Grace has done.

I should have observed that while the business of Ireland was speaking of, my Lord Radnor made very sharp enquiry after Col. Fitzpatrick and whether he were, according to order, yet outlawed, to which Mr. Secretary replied with the state of the fact as it now stood, and his Lordship did scarce acquiesce therein.

1679, December 2. London. Yesterday and to-day brought me your Grace's of the 26th and 27th past, together with a taste of what my Lord Ranelagh's final audit is like to amount unto, which just now I gave my Lord Chamberlain the satisfaction to peruse, and which will differ very much from those cheerful echoes that were lately sounded in his behalf. There had newly been with his Lordship in a long visit *hn* [Lord Halifax] who does frankly and professedly revile *re* [Shaftesbury] in every point of the compass. He said he had been with *iu* [the King] and used many long arguments for *my* [a Paliament] which were very patiently heard, and although he got not ground, yet he will not despair in that point, resolving to return again to it, and advising all his friends to concur in the same battery, that he means not to leave *dg*, [the Council], but to stick close with all his might that he might succeed in that of *my* [a Parliament]. He thinks the business of *lq* [Duke of Monmouth] such a morrice-dance as that none but *re* [Shaftesbury] could have been adviser in it. He and *lq* [Duke of Monmouth] do in their discourses intimate as if *ml* [Prince of Orange] would speedily be here and unite with their desire of *my* [a Parliament], and set forth the ruinous state of his interest by reason of the practices of France unless immediately supported here. Your Grace says in your material remark

touching the Parliament's meeting—if on the one hand cause were given to suspect it should not meet there was reason to blame the conduct, etc. This certainly was the state of things at that time. For those who broke into the question have taken alarm from some symptoms which better conduct might have concealed, and being willing to *f* or *n* any share on the secret were resolved to provoke as much [as] amounted unto a divulging of it.

I do not find any variation as yet in His Majesty's commands upon the Duke of Monmouth to go, and his Grace's refusal to obey. Those about His Majesty aggravate the disobedience, and commend His Majesty's stripping away and distribution of his employments, and that if His Majesty shall not carry this point nothing is to be hoped for at home or in reputation abroad. But the cry on the other side is malicious, and that all this mortification befalls the great champion of the Protestant cause, and that such a man as he is not to be deserted by good Englishmen. If upon this alarm the Duke should now come post from Scotland it would, above all other things, rekindle the late bonfires and keep up that joy which perhaps with a little time may grow much less, if not extinguish; and 'tis the fear of many the Duke may be ill advised to such a thing.

When your Grace answers my last as to the Oxford student I will then prevail that he expect the horse that is promised until the next spring. I will to-morrow find out Sir Cyril Wyche to see what hopes may be in that discovery which your Grace mentions. I was desponding and had just taken up Seneca, but I shall now lay him by till I see further occasion, which I hope your Grace will prevent.

1679, December 6. London.—The enclosed letter from Mr. Francis Gwyn is to accompany the news of my surrendering to him yesterday my place of Clerk of the Council. I did acquaint your Grace this last summer of my [intention] therein, and I have since been casting about with some care to find a man devoted to the Crown and who would be obliged to be my rival in zeal to your Grace, which were two indispensable points that I set my heart upon. And having lately met with this gentleman, whom I knew well fixed in the first point, I soon discovered that no relation to my Lord Conway, nor acquaintance by that means with my Lord Ranelagh, had the least impression upon him; but that he was full of acknowledgments to your Grace of favour done him, and resolved to do all things that might merit the continuance thereof. I did not know until Wednesday night whether His Majesty would gratify me and accept of him. But the joint application of my Lord of Ossory and Mr. Seymour, his kinsman, had an [ ] consent and as to me with a circumstance [ ] very fond of; for I was on my own account unwilling to be thought a deserter in this cloudy time, and as little willing to cast any reflection upon the [ ] rone by what I did herein, and therefore my first request was that His Majesty would vouchsafe me some employment in his service abroad,

and in the meantime to let me sell what I had bought towards the discharge of my debts. And His Majesty was pleased accordingly to acquaint the Board that he designed me for employment abroad. So that I am still as a candidate to his service, and many wishing joy to the promotion that is intended me. I beg pardon that I do so particularly acquaint your Grace with my private case. But having now for more than fifteen years laboured with fidelity I was willing to withdraw without reproach; and I thank God my enemies at Whitehall are as few as my friends, which is some good fortune, and I go with a resolution to be always ready at His Majesty's call at home or abroad whenever he shall think fit.

I purpose about March to convey my family to King's Weston; to step myself from thence to Kinsale, and soon after to kiss your Grace's hand at Dublin. And His Majesty has allowed me when I depart from hence to transfer the care of my place in the Excise Office to Mr. Blaythwayt. And now my principal care must be how to extricate myself from debts; for till those be overcome my mind cannot be at rest. Mr. Gwyn gives me £2,500, but the place is much better than when I bought it.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the first instant, and observe how the Plot begins to ferment, or at least the informations to increase on that side. It is certain there are printed here in one form a multitude of petitions dispersed into the several counties [and] confided to certain gentlemen therein to go from parish to parish, and not only to gather hands but to set down those that refuse, that their good qualities may in convenient time be made known. The hands to these petitions in each county are to be cut off and posted to one copy, and brought up by ten gentlemen from each county, and so presented. That in Essex there are already near eight thousand hands; and I am told that to-morrow the confederate Lords under the character of Councillors by birth will address to His Majesty after coming from Chapel to set forth in a few settled words the danger his Royal person is in from the Papists and to advise him to ascertain the meeting of the Parliament. We shall see what to-morrow will produce. In the meantime it is now in everybody's mouth that these Lords have not only the concurrence of the Duke of Monmouth, but the interest of the Prince of Orange that all cry aloud for a Parliament. And *ne* [Penn] told me plainly this day that he saw plainly so much extremity intended on this side as well as on that of *fi* [Duke of York] that he resolved to withdraw himself from all manner of meddling, since things to him appeared violent and irreconcilable.

This day the Irish Committee met, and I, having some foresight how the Bill of Confirmation would by some good friends of your Grace's be called the Bill of unsettlement, as I am told it frequently was, I got Mr. Secretary early there with your Grace's letter to testify how little you were concerned in the fate thereof. The Lord Chancellor also came there, who shewed those notes your Grace had formerly seen, and when your Grace's letter was read after the Bill it was observed there was no great difference between

your Grace's judgment and theirs. So that they have agreed to *rp* [Sir Robert Southwell] that this Bill be laid in the chest, and that it be left to the Parliament when they meet there to propose what they think fit.

I confess I rejoice much in that fortunate letter of your Grace's which was the same formerly shown by me to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Essex as I told your Grace. As for the other Bills, copies and [abstracts ?] appointed to be made thereof and given to the Lords. And for such Bills as are taken from the pattern of England, the difference, where any is made, to be shown, and this is all that passed.

I thank your Grace for remembering my Lord Courcy, and on Monday I hope to meet Sir Cyril Wyche about Rincorran.

1679, December 9. London.—The great discourse at present is of the Lords' address made upon Sunday last to His Majesty, of which the enclosed printed paper gives an account, and nothing more can be added than my Lord of Shaftesbury's good humour while they attended His Majesty's coming from the Chapel, telling the courtiers that crowded about them that they were come with a project of advantage to them and to all others; to them in particular, for whereas they had now neither meat nor money they were to have both, and even new wenches too, in case the old ones would but give them leave. The Earl of Bedford came purposely to town to bear them company, but fell that morning ill. My Lord Wharton, whom they say was earliest in this advice, withdrew himself from the prosecution as advised thereunto by my Lord Anglesey, for which they mean to remember his christmas box.

This address is esteemed but the breaking of the ice and the firing of the first beacon, for your Grace will see here enclosed what sort of petition is diffused into all the counties of England for gathering of hands. And yet I saw this day the draft of another, short and much milder, yet imploring the speedy meeting of the Parliament, which will not fail together in most of those hands which may happily withdraw from this. I am also told of a third matter in agitation which is exactly to imitate that method of association which was practised in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards confirmed in Parliament in the 27th year of her reign. But what is doing in counterbalance with all this motion I do neither see nor hear, unless it be that a select Committee did yesterday meet about reforming the Justices in all counties, which will be a tedious work if not difficult and thankless.

There is nothing more visible or more avowedly done than the invectives that pass between the two Earls of Shaftesbury and Halifax; the latter desires only to be keen, but the former would be pleasant also; and says that upon condition His Majesty would send this Earl to the Tower he would engage all his interest for getting out the beloved Earl of Danby as deserving it much less. For this Earl destroyed that long Parliament which would have destroyed England, but the Lord Halifax dissolved the short one that was setting all to right. That the Earl was the

man who sent away his Royal Highness, but this Earl was the man which brought him back.

'Tis here reported that his Royal Highness would have entered the Council of Scotland free from taking the oaths, as exempted according to the custom here by his blood. But upon the difficulties that were made 'tis said His Majesty has sent a letter to overrule that matter. *ce* [Lord Chancellor] tells me this night that he wonders the Duke should be advised to enter at all, but is now again informed as if *fi* [the Duke] were to lessen *kf* [Lauderdale], but the matter has been from time to time so variously represented unto him that he knows not what to believe.

I here enclose to your Grace the copy of a Bill hammered, as I am told, by way of project by some moderate men, or those that would pass for such, in reference to the succession; that the expedient here mentioned is such as his Royal Highness will acquiesce in. It has been handed amongst the great men of all sides some months ago. I hear in particular that the Lord Hollis and Sir Thomas Littleton have laboured in it.

1679, December 13. London.—The late *Gazette* shows with what solemnity his Royal Highness was received in the Council of Scotland, as soon as ever His Majesty had decided the place he should take and the privilege due to his blood of exemption from oaths. However, there are some of the Duke's friends that think it had been more suitable to his interest to have kept out, and been rather as a mere passenger in the ship than not to have the superior direction; for then the discontented would live in belief of ease from him, if it were in his power, and that belief would have created some influence among them. Whereas if he only enforces and plays out the game of another hand he is not like to be any great gainer either in interest or glory.

'Tis observed that the proclamation of proroguing has a new title, being said by His Majesty in Council, which happens because all that spoke differed they say from the thing; those that were silent are reputed to have consented; but there not being ground for putting that consent into the body of the proclamation is thought to be the reason of the title. *fz* [Earl of Essex] is so incensed that were not *ip* [Ireland] in his head *pg* [the Privy Council] would not longer hold him. *Hn* [Halifax] is a little more moderate herein. There cannot yet be seen how the discontented party will steer their course upon this long prorogation, because there are many and must have time to consult. Some are now more eager to subscribe than before, but I was also told that a roll of 800 names has been burnt by the chief subscribers. My Lord Chamberlain laments the use of his hand, being in arrear to your Grace, though he hath found great benefit by the socks and glove recommended by your Grace; but after all the description of their virtues he had not known what they were made of but for Sir Nicholas Armorer. Mr. Hobbes is lately dead, in all the forms of a very good christian.

1679, December 20. London.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 10th, and have writ down to Oxford to signify by the best arguments I can how preferable the keeping of Christmas ought to be in that place; and that I shall lay out ten or fifteen guineas here in globes or maps or whatever his Lordship pleases to commute for the disappointment; besides I give assurance of a fine horse from Ireland in the spring.

I have discoursed with Sir Cyril Wyche about the £12,000 and afterwards with others; but last with Major Huntington, who tells me that he and his partners had £30,000 advanced by these Farmers as recompense to some demands of the late ones. So that if the late Farmers have got any defalcation of £12,000 in consideration of a part of the thirty, that will appear a mistake. But yet he says there is no great harm done in it, for that Mr. Dashwood, who was one of them, does yet expect far greater defalcations than that does amount unto, having in one sum £10,000 stated and allowed unto him by the late Lord Treasurer on the score of the Plantation Act. The Major further told me that the Lord Ranelagh did about six weeks ago inquire of them about this matter, to which they returned him an answer, and that Mr. Bridges is able to give a full account thereof. So that I fear there is no hope of relief or justice to me upon this *fond*, but *must* still recommend myself unto your Grace's remembrance.

I have little news to acquaint your Grace withal at this time, only that His Majesty entered upon a milk diet, which gave an alarm to many; but they say he has either left it off, or will use it but sparingly to abate the sharpness of some humours; but he complains that since his ague his stomach is not perfectly come to him. My successor will acquaint you with the progress lately made against Popery, wherein none are more zealous than my Lord Sunderland and Mr. Seymour, who is present in a great degree of good grace.

I hear the petition goes on in many parts notwithstanding the proclamation to the contrary, and that they are likely to thicken very much before the 26th of January, because that after Christmas the Quarter Sessions will be held in all places, from whence this matter is designed to commence to make the proceeding more regular. So that whether on the 26th there may not be some intimation of a shorter day is what many do hope, or at least that the Parliament may be dissolved and a new one shortly appointed.

The Prince of Orange, having understood that he was reported here to have united in the councils of the Duke of Monmouth, and to follow him in a short time, declares that he knew nothing of his coming over; nor has he himself any purpose of coming, his affairs being in too much disorder there to permit him that satisfaction. That he does earnestly wish a happy reconciliation between the King and his Parliament, which would also have very good effects in Holland; but that he shall never desire to see his wishes satisfied by methods that are improper or ungrateful.

The Council of Scotland have writ His Majesty a letter signed by thirty hands in the highest strain of thanks for the Duke's

company there that can be imagined. But I am told that Duke Hamilton is come from thence in dissatisfaction with his Royal Highness. I know not yet what reflection will be made on the late letter about Costelloe's behaviour; but in the meantime I am heartily vexed in this age of calumny that he is escaped the messenger's hands.

1679, December 23. London.—Your Grace will doubtless be much surprised at the orders going this night for your sending 200 men out of Ireland into Tangier, but much more when their pay is to be continued out of the Irish Establishment, but so as not only the expedition of the service but the necessities of this place require it; five of the outworks there being lost and abandoned by order of the Governor without the loss of more than nine men: his conduct is called in question, and upon his complaint that he cannot agree with Col. Dongan, but writes for Sir Palmer Fairburne. Sir Palmer is to go and recover the ground that is lost, and his Lordship may probably come home.

Yesterday there was election of a new Common Council in London, and upon the change of several members the petition is much promoted. The late rigorous orders of Council against Popery have this reflection—that His Majesty had been safer to have suffered the same to have been done by a Parliament, and that so much rigour would have gone far towards their gratification. There is a wild story about the town as if Mr. Seymour were to be Lord Chancellor; but he is gone this day to get my Lord Conway a young wife.

1679, December 27. London.—There is much discourse as if by the success of numerous hands to the petition the time for the Parliament will be shortened. Sir Wm. Jones refused to sign it, which has incensed them against him to a high degree, especially when 'tis said that six of the Judges will sign it as agreeable to law and the highest privileges of the subject.

Re [Shaftesbury] cries aloud against the last Monday's *Gazette* that thunders so against the Papists in the first part, when at last the letter from Scotland gives thanks for the order from His Majesty that supersedes several repeated laws which require oaths to be taken by all of what quality soever that enter the Council; and that this case has had such operation on some great men here who had prepared and qualified a Bill so as to admit the successor under certain restrictions, that by this they see nothing can tie the supreme authority from any Act it hath power to assert, and so abandon any further thoughts of what they were about.

1679-80, January 3. London.—I think the holidays have had some good operation in livening the news, and the variety of troublesome events, which other seasons are pregnant withal; so that unless I entertain your Grace with a pack of cards, or a paper of verses said to be made by one Carroll, a prisoner about

the Plot, I hardly know what to say. But you will find your Grace makes up a card of the pack. After Christmas when the Quarter Sessions are held we shall see what progress the petition will make, and whether the subscribers will appear so formidable as to shake any of the resolutions taken in reference to the distance of the Parliament. But as the certainty will not be known until the 26th instant, so in consequence cannot it be determined concerning the Parliament in Ireland:—whether none at all by having one here; or when one there, tho' there should be none here. For perhaps those who are now most in credit in the Court, have had less occasion to think of Ireland than of other things. But till the transmission of the new Bills your Grace mentions in yours of the 14th, there certainly can nothing be done. But when they are here we shall see the entertainment they have, and how they are like to be speeded. It falls out very well that the Bishop of Meath presides in the examination of the Plot, since the work proves so dilatory. But 'tis much wondered that the information against the Earl of Tyrone is not come over, seeing he is under commitment thereupon.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 24th, and most thankfully acknowledge your Grace's favourable sense touching my demission, which in truth the necessity of my affairs did require. And tho' it puts me by the box, wherein I was faithful a sentinel as I could approve myself, yet I think I am now in condition to speak bolder and freer the truths I know, and which some will certainly believe, than when I was under a double awe of some peevish superiors within, and insolent aggressors from abroad. Besides my pretensions are now, as they have ever been, so moderate and just (if any at all) that I thing I shall little fear any that will unjustly be angry with your Grace upon that account. Besides, I hope, even in the post I was, my successor will acquit himself with candour and respect. And what he wants in experience shall be supplied by Mr. Blaythwayt, who has all the fit dispositions to serve your Grace, and I will give him the best preparation therein before I go that I am able. Mr. Gwyn is this Christmas in the country.

The enclosed paper of my Lord Chamberlain's case is the opinion of two differing persons. The first is Sir James Shaen; his Lordship knows not what to think of their secret kindness, but desired me to send your Grace the paper, and that you would please to say what you think thereof.

I presume I might have credit enough at Kinsale to serve there in the Parliament on that side, if things so sorted with the time of my being there. But the other point your Grace vouchsafes to mention is of an higher nature, which perhaps when I kiss your Grace's hand at Dublin you will not think me so well qualified for. For tho' I have had luck enough to break through an undertaking of clerkship, which your Grace stood in some measure, by your recommendation, accountable for; yet the high-rope is another thing, and I know not whether my head might not turn round. But I shall refer myself to your Grace's judgment in all things when I have the honour to kiss your hands in Dublin.

1679-80, January 10. London.—Sir Robert Peyton was yesterday sent to the Tower for traitorous contrivances to disturb the peace of the Government. It seems his friend Gadbury being weary of the prison, and willing as he said to tell all things he could ever call to mind, gave an account in writing how that Sir Robert in discourses to him and Mrs. Cellier, when they were treating his reconciliation with the Duke, did own unto them that if the King had died it was agreed between him and his friends that he should presently be at the head of 20,000 men, and in a short time after of 60,000 men, who would all declare for a Commonwealth, and for the exclusion of the Duke. And in order hereunto they had resolved to knock the Lord Mayor on the head, to seize the Tower, as also Portsmouth and Plymouth, with other like things of this strain. And Mrs. Cellier being present at the reading of this information, did own the remembering of several material passages thereof; so that here are two witnesses to things of an high nature, which he notwithstanding utterly denies, and 'tis under consideration to have them pardoned in order to his prosecution; and perhaps for as much of this matter as may concern Sir Robert Peyton few will be solicitous what mischief may befall him; but surely to me the matter looks attended with various intricate points. First, this discourse of Sir Robert's to them is owned to have been in order to raise his greater estimation and rewards with the Duke. And as my Lord Peterborough had in the Duke's name promised forgiveness of all, and the same was confirmed by the Duke himself, when Sir Robert twice kissed his hands, to fall now under prosecution for the matters so forgiven will not much gratify the Duke. Next, it will be said that this is to show that the belief of a Presbyterian plot is still fresh, and that there remains hope to find out, either by Sir Robert Peyton or others, some considerate actors therein who must likewise fall under prosecution and severity as the law shall require, which is become a very unpopular and discredited point. For, in the third place, Dangerfield has his pardon in a great measure for confessing how that the Papists had contrived to fasten upon the Presbyterians the guilt and scandal of such a plot. And Mrs. Cellier and Gadbury are not only made prisoners upon this account, but more particularly for having meditated and conspired the death of the King. Now if these two shall be pardoned in order to prosecute Sir Robert, there will many jealous if not odious questions be started, in comparing the merits of the two plots; and whether contrivance against the King's life, or for disturbance after his death, ought most to be disfavoured. Then again if Sir Robert should name any of the most renowned prosecutors of the Popish Plot, what noise and conjectures the falling upon them would beget is from every day's licence become very obvious. I dwell the longer upon this story because it affords new matter; and may multiply such intricacies in the Government as that nothing less than a Parliament will be able to dispel the difficulties. But it were also to be wished that there were a Parliament which would not too much resent them. For the unhappiness is that

this body is already apprehended as too formidable, and yet whensoever they must meet they are likely to be more.

On Wednesday morning there was a Committee to consider the refusal of Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe to attend Mr. Attorney, who had it seems frequently sent for them in order to prosecute some priests in gaol to a conviction. And tho' they did the evening before come to the Attorney's chamber, yet they plainly told the Lords of the Committee that they would appear no more before the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, for that he had defamed their evidence in the public trial of Sir George Wakeman, and by several expressions since, for which they intended to accuse him in Parliament. Upon this the Committee ordered them to bring in their complaint against him to the Board, which they have accordingly promised to do.

It is now declared by the Dutch Ambassador here that the States have refused the French alliance. It seems the French Ambassador there suspecting this event, and finding Mr. Sydney very warm in representing how deeply his Majesty would resent the same, he did show a letter from the French Ambassador here, first to some of the States of Holland, and then afterwards to the Pensioner, adding that he would make no scruple to show it even to the States, importing as if our King had declared unto him that he was willing enough to see Holland and France allied, and that he himself would embrace an alliance with France. This being represented over by Mr. Sydney gave first great disquiet to our Ministers, and is since become the discourse of all. His Majesty has utterly disowned any such words, and Monsieur Barillon being sent unto to return his answer upon this matter in writing, after three day's pause he flatly denies having sent any such letter; which, as nobody can believe, so many are troubled that His Majesty does not express more displeasure against him, and at least press for his revocation.

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 27th past, and am sorry to find the gout seizing your Grace so unreasonably as in the Christmas holidays. As for the paper enclosed, demonstrating the £12,000 to have been unjustly brought to an account, and so properly appertaining to His Majesty, I did this day call upon Sir James Shaen, who casually meeting me about ten days ago said he thought he could put me into a way of getting my recompense touching Rincorran, and when I told this news the next day to Sir Cyril Wyche, Sir Cyril told me Sir James would probably mention the said £12,000, for that he had had some discourse with Sir James about it. Sir James first owned to me that he and the present Farmers actually paid their £30,000 here, and that the whole was actually received here by Huntingdon. And yet the late Farmers had gotten an allowance of £12,000, as part of their £30,000 in Ireland, notwithstanding which plain mistake he says that the King is not entitled to anything hereby; for that all the debts and revenue of the kingdom of what kind soever belong either to the Lord Ranelagh or to the present Farmers, and so whatsoever is to be recovered will belong to some of them. And that he has long known of this concealed sum,

and expected in due time his advantage by it. This is the present answer he gave me, but has promised me a larger one ere long in writing. And as to my payment for Rincorran, he says that they now pay £300 a week to the Fort, and that in this winter season perhaps £200 a week is as much as can be employed. So that if your Grace would appoint the other hundred pounds a week to my satisfaction, he and his partners would give obedience thereunto. Thus far he told me to-day, and I presume to relate here to your Grace what his opinion was therein, being attentive to anything that sounds like the method of my satisfaction.

I had already a visit from P. W. [Peter Walsh] who desired me to peruse a long letter he had writ to *fh* [the Duke of Ormond] wherein he bemoaned the not having heard anything since his being on that side, and the comfort he should have to receive a few lines; but acknowledging in the meantime that he did receive the effects of former favour punctually continued unto him. I did upon discourse so convince him of the inconvenience that might happen either by the writing or receiving answers that he presently flung his letter into the fire. And further to prevent any inconvenience that might fall out in this busy time, he promised to search over all his papers for any letters he could find, having of himself a year ago burnt as he thought all but one. Yesterday morning he came to me again showing me two, which he had found, leaving them in my hands to burn or dispose of as I thought fit, resolving to extinguish every shadow of inconvenience that way. The first of them is dated from Whitehall, 21 November 1668; wherein somewhat is touched of the forged authority of J. F. who was brother to the Earl of Carlingford; also of the malice of *mn* and the Papists then raging against him. The next letter is from Clonmel, 30 August, 1674, touching upon the recommendation of a certain writer to Sir John Duncombe; then of his kindness to the Remonstrators, who have been constant, and pitying those that were compelled to retract; enlarging upon the interest of the English Government to support those that were well affected to it. Then mention is made of a large letter sent to the Lord Lieutenant. These two letters he has left with me to dispose of as I thought fit, not thinking in his own opinion, nor I much in mine, that they deserve this fine. However, I keep them in my hands for a time; and, to do him right, he was heartily concerned to do everything that I thought advisable in that point.

I suppose your Grace has seen the Irish History put forth by Dr. Burlace, which being a quite different thing from what Mr. Hill had under his hand, P[eter] W[alsh] was very inquisitive to know whether your Grace would never think more of that matter. For if you thought the contrivance of what I sent worthy of the labour, Mr. Hill, though now fixed in Holland, would be contented to carry it on.

I here send your Grace enclosed two of the wild papers that here fly about, wherewith many entertain themselves.

1679-80, January 13. London.—This day one Mr. Smith, a lawyer, and used by Mr. Oates in all occasions for his counsel,

did present to His Majesty the petitions for the meeting of the Parliament, with a large bundle of names from the people of Westminster, and (as Sir Gilbert Gerard who bare him company said) in the behalf of thousands more. His Majesty manifested his displeasure at this address, and told Sir Gilbert that he was very sorry that any with the name of Gerard should be concerned therein He noted to them how that he saw no names of remark in the bundle, unless that of Major General Desborough, adding further that he knew better than any man else what concerned the government of the kingdom, and would take therein all the care that was fit. So I presume what other addresses may come will in like manner be received without any variety touching the Parliament from this motive. But what will happen from the motive of Holland, which will doubtless press very strong, a little time will show. 'Tis plain the Prince of Orange has to the utmost strain laid about him to procure a soft gentle negative to the French demanded alliance, in which, however, they will no longer persist than to see whether they can find good anchorage with us. And if they conclude that nothing but union between the King and the Parliament and the supplies of a Parliament can make us for their purpose, 'tis natural to believe, (and the Dutch Ambassador says already as much) that the King and his Ministers will be warmly moved by the States and by the Prince in this particular. And how far the Ministers may think that a Parliament will be charmed at their meeting with an assurance of friendship with Holland and open their purses, which few other arguments will be able to unlock, and dispose themselves to a more general harmony at home, while things may then prove well abroad, in proportion as these motives operate as well as some reflection of their own risk and danger if they neglect them; so we may see and a little time will tell us further tidings concerning the Parliament. And until the 26th of this instant be over, your Grace will hardly know as to your affairs there what certain measures to take.

The Committee for considering the lists of Justices do proceed towards the leaving out such as appear not well affected to the Government. I am told there will go fresh orders to your Grace, to give some further disturbance to the titular Popish clergy there, and that *p* [Earl of Anglesey] is often zealous herein.

1679-80, January 20. London.—The Common Council meeting this day, and having many hours debate, the conclusion was that sixty-six were for the petition, but sixty-eight against it. Fifty of that number did not appear, and ten were excluded from voting as not having taken the oaths. Among the Aldermen fifteen were against it, and five only for it, whereof the Lord Mayor was one. So the vote passed that for the present they would not petition. This event doubtless is very grateful to His Majesty. The Lord Herbert has lost his company in the Guards, for being one of the petitioners; several new Justices are removed, and more will follow.

The Duke of Monmouth had a message from Sir Stephen Fox, to pass beyond sea. He presently answered that it was very strange he should now be commanded after the loss of all his employments. But if His Majesty pleased to send over the Duchess of Portsmouth, Duke of Lauderdale and Lord Sunderland, which would be as useful to him, he would go in the same yacht, tho' he liked none of their companys. This fresh menace from France to Holland will in all probability have some operation with us. How far it will operate I know not, but in Holland they believe France meditates war against them. I have this day been so lost in variety of business that I cannot write more, especially seeing my wife after miscarriage has lain these nine days under a dangerous crisis, which just now I thank God seems to be happily over.

1679-80, January 17. London.—The last Wednesday produced a new turn in the evidence of the Plot. For whereas the last account your Grace had, conveyed Sir Robert Peyton to the Tower on the evidence of Gadbury and Mrs. Cellier, Gadbury comes now to the Council Board to declare that having said all he can touching Sir Robert Peyton, he can swear as to Mrs. Cellier what what she had communicated to him, her having knowledge of the endeavours used to take off Dugdale's evidence, and that she owned herself to have actually set instruments at work to take off Oates and Bedloe; that she declared often to him the Plot would go on, notwithstanding all opposition, and that the kingdom would be sooner overturned than that Lords within the Tower would suffer; and that she knew the truth of what she said from an higher art than any he meddled in from the stars; that she often pressed him to calculate the King's nativity, and to let her know the length of his days; which he absolutely refusing to meddle in, he believes, by her importunity to be satisfied, that she went to somebody else. Mrs. Cellier being summoned to the Board did flatly deny all this matter, and prayed she might have leave to speak in private with the King, in order to which her further examination was put off until the afternoon. Whether she spoke or not to His Majesty I do not hear. But to the Committee in the afternoon she spoke of nothing but contempt of death, and that she was too loyal to expect or find any favour. There are many of these Papists that fall often into this way of speaking, and do infinitely prejudice His Majesty by mixing Popery and loyalty so near together.

On Wednesday my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs appearing at the Board said in the presence of Oates and Bedloe that sure nobody could doubt that either of them would want test-money against any man. This unadvised speech Mr. Oates laid presently hold on, desiring the Board to be witnesses for him at what a rate he was used, and whether he could properly appear to give any evidence before such a Judge. He and Bedloe gave in yesterday about twenty general articles against his lordship, unto which I am told his lordship's answer will be read in Council on Monday next; and just now to mend the matter comes Mr. Dangerfield

to give evidence that Mrs. Cellier told him in September last that she was going to a private place near the Tower to meet my Lord Chief Justice, and to do somewhat touching £10,000 with reference to the late trial of Sir George Wakeman. Oates and Bedloe have further prayed the Board that they may prosecute his Lordship in the King's name, and have all His Majesty's Counsel to their assistance.

My Lord Mayor having upon address made to him appointed a Common Council to meet on Tuesday next (which the Court of Aldermen showed inclination enough to have deferred), His Majesty sent for his Lordship and would have had the meeting put off, which his Lordship said could not now possibly be. So they parted with little satisfaction on either side, and 'tis believed the business of the petition will be there fomented. What by such example may spring up afresh in other counties I know not. But 'tis certain that in several counties the matter languisheth; and at the Assizes in Somersetshire the gentlemen apprehended the promoters, and are sending up representations to His Majesty of their dislike and aversion to such tumultuary proceedings. I am told that in Derbyshire it is opposed by Mr. Sacheverell, but on a different account; namely, that the Court is not yet sufficiently starved, and so not thoroughly qualified for a Parliament, as in process of time it will be, and especially since in the interim there are no taxes paid. I am sorry they have so shrewd a calculation of our wants, which are such that neither the Commissioners of the Excise nor of the Customs, and even the Lords of the Treasury have not touched anything of the last quarter, altho' the former never used to go to the Exchequer for the same.

Sir James Shaen says that my Lord Longford has lately writ unto him about the £12,000, and he is making a deduction of that whole matter which I shall see when finished. In the meantime I think it may not be amiss if your Grace venture a letter to the Lords of the Treasury, opening a little of the case, and referring the rest to Sir Cyril Wyche, as he shall be able to make it out more clear, and in such case to pray their aid.

1679-80, January 24. London.—The petitions presented from Westminster, Wiltshire, Essex and Berkshire have received from His Majesty much discountenance, and yet no man can tell, or at least pretends to know, the certain time of the prorogation. Those that reckon on the Duke's being speedily here, and that by sea, do compute upon much length of time. But those who contemplate the affairs of Holland, how they have again refused the French importunities, and must naturally fall in to become petitioners to His Majesty for a Parliament, think the time cannot possibly be far off. The Lord Chamberlain was credibly informed from a good hand that the Duke of Lauderdale was peaced up with Lord Shaftesbury, and now playing tricks with the Duke of York, whom for a while he screwed to a great height, and this in part is the motive of expecting him at Court; and although the Lord Chamberlain thinks this very incredible, yet he bid me write it. Mr. Gwyn is not yet returned from his negotiation of

my Lord Conway's marriage, which confirms what the Lord Arran, a rival, declares, that the Lord Conway is like to miscarry. 'Tis said if the Duke come, he may probably make himself the instrument of the Duke of Monmouth's reconciliation with His Majesty, for that 'tis said the King is uneasy with this state of mortification, and is pleased enough to hear anybody speak well of the said Duke.

From Spain Sir Harry Goderich writes much of the festivals upon the late marriage, and that the King, instead of going sometimes to Council and sometimes to hunting, appears very anxious, and spends all his time at cards with the Queen and her ladies. But he adds a remarkable passage, which filled the whole town there with discourse, of Sir William Godolphin's being made a grandee; wherein, not to make any mistake, he took his information from Sir William Godolphin himself, who told him that the Duke of Arcos came to him, wondering that he did not congratulate the King upon his marriage, to whom Sir William answered that he was now in the condition but of a private man, and he thought it was sufficient if the King knew that he prayed for him. But the Duke inviting him to come, with intimations that he should be well received, he came with three coaches, but not conducted with any marks of ceremonies. There were on each side the room three grandees, and when he approached the King at the upper end, the King bid him be covered, and again repeated with a smile that he should be covered, which is as much the way of making a grandee there as knighthood is given here by the sword on the shoulder. Whereupon he put on his hat, and declared his congratulations on the marriage, and being withdrawn he received from some of the grandees the joy of his promotion, with declaration that he was a grandee during life, and that this was the effect of a consult. Sir Henry having writ this from Sir William's relation adds of himself that there had been known no other English grandee in that Court but the Duke of Richmond, and who came thither in a shining Embassy.

After all this is said and that Sir William has set his heart on the thing, there is a by-letter which mentions a great opinion among the Spaniards there that this was done upon no other account than that Sir William, tho' ceasing to act as an Ambassador, was not yet divested of the privileges belonging to that character, especially having found great respect in that Court, and the more for his sufferings about the Plot, which they extremely under value. Sir William's friends here do not mind what use he can make of this honour, but by living always there. And they fear it will disprove what in several letters he has so sharply asserted of his being a Protestant. But after all if he should prove no grandee, and come to undeceive himself in that point, it would be but an unfortunate delusion unto them.

1679-80, January 27. London.—By the enclosed paragraphs your Grace is left to guess the probability of an Irish Parliament, for the distance of an English one is fairly enough asserted.

Three yachts are already gone to fetch the Duke and Duchess, and 'tis whispered that to-morrow His Majesty would in Council tell the Lords of the Duke's coming, and how he shall demean himself when there. I suppose there must now enter as many retrenchments of expense as can be devised in all kinds.

1679-80, January 31. London.—I can say nothing of certainty now unto your Grace; but what I hear spoke of by several is that some of the Privy Council have often met of late, and that the Marquis of Winchester, the Lord Cavendish, the Lord Russell and Mr. Powle will retire from the Council Board, and that in a while after the Earls of Essex and Halifax, the Lord Fauconberg and Sir Henry Capel would do the like. The Lord Halifax is gone from Sir William Coventry's to his house in the North, instead of returning hither. They add that Mr. Secretary Coventry will resign his place to Mr. Godolphin, upon valuable consideration, and that Mr. Hyde is in such a degree of fame that if he affects the Staff he may not long be without it. He is up every morning at five, and at the Treasury an hour before the rest. And some think my Lord Sunderland is a little jealous of his augmentations, which will certainly increase upon the arrival of His Royal Highness, at which many do expect some difference on the face of things, and talk already of his being Lord Admiral, tho' I see no better ground for it than that some of those Commissioners have offered, and do in discontent submit to Mr. Brisbane's being made their Secretary. Mr. Vaughan refrains coming there any more, and Sir Thomas Lee is next door unto it. I do not believe there will be any discourse of an Irish Parliament till your Grace transmits the new Bills, which will give a fair occasion to debate the question. But what will be the event thereof, who can tell?

1679-80, February 7. London.—I am assured that Mr. Godolphin did put by the offer of being Secretary, and pointed rather to Sir Leolin Jenkins, unto whom he was sent to ripen that work, and on Thursday Sir Leoline waiting on His Majesty was commanded to turn his mind thereunto, and he will be assisted in the making up £6,500, (which I am told is the sum that Mr. Secretary Coventry is to receive) and so Mr. Secretary in consideration of his age and infirmity will leave the stage. I was told of this the last night very late, and casting presently about, how it would turn to profit or loss as to your Grace, I went early this morning to Sir Leoline's bedside, who does protest to me that, after the royal blood, he has no family living in greater veneration; and tho' he may not be so fierce a friend as Mr. Secretary, yet he will be as faithful a servant as ever your Grace had, in case he comes to that post. He is not a man that looks after any station of this kind, but in his nature turns away from all noise and the glittering of a Court. However, he is in the last resort most absolutely resigned to His Majesty's will and disposition. But he seems willing to see the Duke here before this

matter break out. Mr. Secretary did certainly believe he should have had a more considerable gratification for his place, but yet he held it with less content to see himself in all things so overdone by his junior. I suppose Mr. Thynne will retire with him from business, and so Mr. Bridgeman will naturally pretend to the agency of Ireland which formerly he had when with the first Secretary, and I am afraid he must not be displeased therein.

What your Grace transmitted about the ship with the Turks driven into Brandon Bay, is referred to Sir Leoline Jenkins to examine a report. There are some merchants of Bristol that claim the ship, and entreat His Majesty's favour. But I presume the dispensing of favour in this case will depend from the Lord High Admiral of Ireland, who is expected here as soon as these blustering winds will permit.

1679-80, February 14. London.—There offers little at present wherewith to entertain your Grace, only those who are zealously concerned in the prosecution of the Plot are wonderfully dismayed, and think all is damped by what has happened at the King's Bench Bar by the clearing of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, the severity upon Harris, the bookseller, the giving no judgment upon Price and Taesborow, with the bailing out of several who were in custody, which added to the great reformation in the roll of justice, and the coming of the Duke, makes the discontented shake their heads, and talk of wonderful severities, and in particular as if they were all to be disarmed.

Blood, Christian, and five more, are found guilty by the Grand Jury of a conspiracy to fasten the crime of sodomy upon the Duke of Buckingham. And it was affirmed to me by the foreman of the jury that the proofs are most evident and the whole contrivance most abominable, and that a Lord in the Tower was the promoter of all. If this should be made out so notoriously as is declared, it would strangely enlighten the late contention between Oates and Knox, who had been a servant in that family, and who, together with Lane, hath been lately found guilty for contriving to impute unto Oates a practise of this nature.

The last news from France about the prisoners sets forth that upon what Madame de Voysius, the great fortune-teller and face-mender, has discovered, the Duchess of Soissons is trumpetted, which is the manner of citation used in like cases when people absent themselves. And if she appear not at the third trumpetting her crimes and sentences will be pronounced, and then her *effigies* is to suffer. There is as yet no other crime laid to her charge but of a design to poison this young Duke of Savoy, and that she actually poisoned his father. The Duchess of Bouillon, which seemed before to be excused, was lately called upon to appear and be confronted with her accuser. But she pleading that it was a derogation to her privilege was ordered to retire to Novac, her house in Gascony, and there to be confined till further order. It seems the King has every night a report of what passes in these examinations, and being impatient to see an end thereof, the said

Madame de Voysius declared that she had yet more than in three days she could discover. So that 'tis thought that what between the concern of husbands, wives, heirs to estates, and maids with unlawful great bellies, there are above half the Court involved in these pernicious practices, and nobody now doubts the Duchess of Orleans was one of these first martyrs.

Touching the ship in Brandon Bay, Sir Leoline Jenkins reports that the merchants of Bristol who put in their claim ought to have all restored unto them. But that the Turks belong to the Lord High Admiral. That the Spanish renegado be sent with his crime of levying war against His Majesty unto the justice of his own Prince for punishment, and that the English one be upon the same crime tried there in Munster, upon a commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to the Vice-Admiral and others, as in such cases is accustomed.

1679-80, February 17. Spring Garden.—It was agreed at the Cabinet to-day that I should go in quality of Envoy Extraordinary to the Elector of Brandenburg, and that with all speed, in order to some alliances in those parts, to knit in some better understanding the interest of England with them and Holland together. Thus much I hear without doors, having not yet entered into the knowledge of my instructions.* But I perceive the thing arises from the Prince of Orange, and that I must go thither and from him derive a good part of my instructions. This expedition overthrows all my private concerns for the time it will last; and although they tempt me with a despatch and at most two or three months, yet I know what is it to reckon without mine host. My Lord Sunderland, who moved the matter to me, would not let my own concerns stand in the way, nor did I much struggle when he once told me that His Majesty's service required me, to which I must ever be devoted and will sacrifice all. The Treasury have been at this time a little propitious to me in considering what service I did in the recovery of the Queen's portion, and I think they will do me some good turn. I have not anything more to enlarge upon at present.

1679-80, February 24. London.—The Duke and Duchess arrived this day at Whitehall, both very well, and [were] received with all demonstrations of joy. But the King did forbid any expression to be made in the city by my Lord Mayor. Yet at this end of the town the bells are ringing and the bonfires numerous.

Monday next is assigned for my day of departure, but before that time I hope to write to your Grace, as His Majesty I think also will in my favour, being thereunto incited by the Lords of the Treasury, who are so convinced of my care and merit in the matter of the Queen's portion that they advise His Majesty to forgive me £75 per annum of my Quit Rents in Ireland, which

* Sir Robert Southwell's original instructions as Envoy Extraordinary to the Elector of Brandenburg are preserved in the British Museum. Addit. MSS. 31, 146, f. 13.

it seems is the only method left whereby I can have any gratification. And although I am sensible this will not sound well in Ireland, yet if I stay till I offend nobody I may continue to labour fifteen years more, and never be the better for serving His Majesty. I doubt not your Grace will concur with a powerful warrant and authority for the King, and observe to those that oppose it, whether they have not in so many years of equal service been better gainers by His Majesty's bounty than this amounts unto. I have so long looked after Sir James Shaen's deduction about the £12,000 that I was even tired with a vague solicitation before this Brandenburg's adventure took me off; but I hope if your Grace do but enlighten the Lords of the Treasury in it, their diligence and authority will bring it to a period.

William Blaythwayt to Ormond.

1679-80, March 6. Whitehall.—I humbly take leave to acquaint your Grace that Sir Robert Southwell set sail for Holland on Wednesday, the 3rd instant, towards the Court of Brandenburg, and that before his departure he had left with me all the papers that were in his hands relating to your Grace's affairs, which according to his directions I shall keep and dispose of as your Grace commands, and your service shall require. The great hurry Sir R. Southwell was in upon his departure hindered his giving your Grace this account.

Sir Robert Southwell to Ormond.

1680, May 17[-27]. Berlin.—It was no small affliction to me when at the same time I was here contending in my business against the charms and power of France, that I should hear of such a calumny against your Grace and your family as was mixed with the tidings of a new plot in that kingdom, and then also to hear of your Grace's particular kindness to me in the matter of my Quit Rents. I must confess I was all on fire that I should be absent in such a conjuncture, and not have any share in contending for your vindication, which truth and time have already given, and with shame enough I think upon the heads of those who took pleasure to accuse.

I am now in hopes of speedy orders for my return home, seeing this Elector is resolved upon a neutrality. He dares not accept what His Majesty has offered him, or what the Emperor points him unto, for fear of France; for he has armies in view ready to execute any displeasure that may be taken against him. He has also been told that if he needs friendship France offers a defensive alliance, and all the advantages that can attend it. And although the refusal hereof shall not pass for an affront, yet if he accepts elsewhere, His Most Christian Majesty will be obliged to take his measures accordingly, and this I presume is the style that haunts all Courts where His Majesty is at present to make any overtures.

If the Emperor and Spain were actively linked to England and Holland, and all engaged in a guarantee of the peace, it might,

perhaps, tempt the Princes here to start in by degrees, as they saw the protection grow strong enough against France. But as to their own strength, I do not see that they dare confide therein, and in the meantime they temporise, and yield to the jealousy and divisions that are by France fomented among them ; seeming to smile upon all that is said or done, and not thinking themselves in a condition to do otherwise. The first and last thing for our own honour and safety is unanimity at home, without which not only ours but the condition of Europe will look very crazy. For 'tis the voice of one and all here abroad, that if ever any good be done against France, England must be the bottom of the alliance, and depended upon as on the corner stone. I wish your Grace long life, and the happiness to see this good event.

1680, November 13. London.—Yesterday I reached hither from Hamburgh, and although the sea be not yet out of my head or my heels, I would not forbear to present my duty to your Grace. My business now in this place is but to report a negative, and to recover about twelve hundred pounds that is due to me for want of supplies. The first part will require little attendance in this busy time, and the latter is too difficult to be soon composed. So I propose in a few days to repair to my family in the country, there to repair my health if I can, and some breaches in my domestic concerns. All things are here in a great fermentation, and to hear fourteen days news at once (which I wanted) is, like the vision of St. Paul, more than I can well comprehend. Mr. Gwyn will believe that my intercession with your Grace must be of some avail for him in point of favour to him before others touching the retrenchment of officers in Ireland. I think him a very good man, full of zeal for your Grace, and in a station to acknowledge favour that may be done him. I beg pardon for this freedom.

1680, December 8. King's Weston.—By the honour of your Grace's of the 19th past my contentment in the country with my family and relations is extremely augmented. What your Grace mentions in Mr. Gwyn's case ought certainly to give him all satisfaction ; and it alleviates the loss I suffer by my nephew Percival that he is so favourably remembered by your Grace. His brother, Sir John, is now here with me, a plain young man, but virtuous and very intelligent. *And besides his own thanks I must also pay mine for your Grace's late favour to him about the troop. But Mr. Tisdall tells me likewise how inquisitive and earnest your Grace is in the means of my satisfaction about Rincorran. I confess I was extremely dismayed when my Lord lately told me in London of the impossibility in that expedition, for I had and still have fastened the discharge of £1,000 of what I owe and pay interest for on that payment, and my temper is

*Sir John Percival, 1st Baronet, grandfather of the 1st Earl of Egmont, married Catherine, sister of Sir Robert Southwell. The Sir John here mentioned was the third son of this marriage. See Egmont Papers, i., 569-574.

such that until I stand clear of my debts, I think myself in a river of sorrow. But your Grace's favour and justice will I hope in this instance, verify what I have proved in most other instances of my life, that all my matters become difficult, and I scarce ever succeed in any till I begin to despair. As for your Grace's part in the public affairs, I see your Grace preserves the same temper and inward quiet that has formerly served in all events. I presume the misfortune is that you have a station some affect for themselves, and others like not in your hands. But in this time where would your Grace be without some receiving envies, if you were not where you are.

1680-81, January 10. King's Weston.—This letter is singly about what concerns my Lord Courcy. 'Tis with some trouble I have heard for a long time that his Lordship's thoughts would not be turned to study, and that of late his Lordship was grown quite weary of Oxford as a place now useless to him. And, indeed, to those who once think it so it seldom proves otherwise. And what the Bishop says to this point your Grace will see here enclosed. I was therefore the more willing to invite over his Lordship to me this Christmas, the better to consider what I might offer your Grace in his behalf. He has now been with me about three weeks, and though I cannot venture on this trial to say what is his standing temper, or know if he have quite subdued that stock of pride and arrogance he carried with him five years ago, yet I must needs do him this right that his appearance is very gentle and agreeable; his manner in conversation, in dancing, and playing at cards very easy, and also without suspicion of vice. Besides, when I have pushed him very home about the Protestant religion, although I have not found him strong in argument, yet he seems to be so in inclination, assuring me he is fully satisfied with it, and that he will continue therein for ever, and that 'tis the religion he will die for.

As for his preferment in the world, I could wish for some rich heiress that were affected with deportment, good blood, and good manners. That would do his business at once. For I do not as yet discover fire enough to hope very much either in the civil or military ways. His Lordship speaks often of his hopes to travel with my Lord of Ossory, which is a point best left unto your Grace. But if that fail him, and there be thoughts of his travelling alone, 'tis plain that he cannot have less with him than a tutor and servant, and that with excellent frugality they cannot spend less than £400 per annum, and this to be as constantly supplied by some fit undertaker, as he has heretofore been quarterly supplied by me with his allowance at Oxford. When his Lordship considers this difficulty and the clouds that appear, he then begins to wish for employment in the army in Ireland, and that he will bend his mind to be a soldier. But then he does inquire, having still an inclination to travel, if he might not be allowed to employ the salary of such employment for a time that way. For my own part I cannot in these tender years but apprehend danger as to his religion in travel. And in the next place I fear that travel

would serve him to little other account than to better his outward deportment, which, though a good thing, is not to be relied upon as a talent. As to his going into Ireland to an employment there (if such a thing were as easy as he thinks to be had) he must still be molested and shaken by the importunity of his kindred, unless they found him better able to fence than he is. I confess I do not know many ways to propose for his Lordship : all that occurs to me is that if for a while he were transplanted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to learn under that shelter to deal with the dangers as well as the improvements of the world, he would afterwards with more safety be ventured for such trial if it should be judged fit, and then perhaps there would also be a better prospect of a friend to support him. But I suppose whatever course your Grace shall judge most advisable for him, he is not to be removed from Oxford without the knowledge and direction of the Council Board, seeing by their order he was there placed ; and that may come by intimation from the Bishop that his Lordship is now desirous to leave the University. I submit all that I mention in this matter to your Grace's good pleasure and direction, for I aim at nothing but service to this poor young Lord, who is in tottering circumstances. I wish your Grace all the happiness that a new year can afford.

1680-81, January 29. London.—It is not long since I writ to your Grace of my Lord Courcy, and how he might most fitly be disposed of, and having touched upon the same matter with the Lord Bishop of Oxford, his Lordship, as by the enclosed your Grace will see, does not approve of my Lord Courcy's going to the Archbishop's, but rather points at travel or the going with my Lord Ossory to Constantinople. But I presume to leave this, with what I said before, entirely to your Grace; only I think that seeing the Court and Parliament are now to be seen at Oxford, my young Lord will the better digest some further stay in that place. And although for this cause the Bishop may wish his Lordship elsewhere, yet seeing his Lordship will not elsewhere take to the books he must be ventured and left to his stars.

1680–81, February 12. — I have got unto this place and am labouring to draw from the Exchequer what I lately expended in Germany, and I make no ill progress considering the time, for from a payment of the Queen's portion (which twelve years ago I settled in Portugal) I come now to have my satisfaction. My next great work is to untangle myself from my debts. And having trespassed thus far with your Grace in my own domestic concerns, I will presume to acquaint your Grace that my nephew, Sir John Percival, is intending to marry a daughter of Sir Edward Dering's, in pursuance of an amour as it seems of long standing. Sir Edward agrees to pay down £2,000, and £500 more to each of Sir John's two sisters at their day of marriage We both intend, God willing, to wait upon your Grace in Dublin. I have hitherto had no time to see how the scheme lies, and therefore I shall not presume to enter on news of the present state of things.

1680-81, March 17. King's Weston.—Your Grace's of the 19th past found me on the 3rd instant in this place, whither I was come from London in some haste upon my wife's great sickness after a miscarrying. And because the chief concern of the letter was about my Lord Courcy, I sent it to the Bishop of Oxford for his information of your Grace's thoughts, and I have it now back with his Lordship's' satisfaction to attend what your Grace shall think fit to determine in that matter. I could not stay long enough in London to dance at Sir John Percival's wedding, but I find that he is very proud that he has your Grace's good wishes to the state of happiness whereinto he thinks he has entered.

In the same letter your Grace was mindful of my Rincorran business, and I find your Grace had soon after given your final orders for my payment. But this day I am told by an agent's letter of the 8th instant, how Sir John Champante makes answer that all the fund which was allotted is already expended upon the fort, and that the Farmers tell him the same thing; and that Mr. Robinson confirms what both of them say: namely, that there was as much money already expended as would answer the King's letter, and that in his estimate for the fort he never considered the purchase of my land. I think my fate very hard to be told I call too late, when I have for these three years past been soliciting with as much diligence as was decent for me towards your Grace. I do not really know now what to pray or to propose. But if a new fund must be erected, and new orders obtained to establish it, I know a little what circle those things take; and I hope in this case your Grace will not only allow but assist me in getting a suitable augmentation for the charges I am at, and the interest also for my money from the time the commission and valuation was returned until I be paid. For the matter is a plain bargain, and I have never since had the use of the land, but I have myself been paying interest for the want of this money since that time. I have this week, I thank God, paid off two debts and need this Rincorran money to deliver me quite. Therefore as nothing in the world is more uneasy to me than to be in debt, I hope your Grace will pardon my being solicitous in this question.

When the spring is a little more advanced, I presume Sir John Percival and I shall join in our humble request to your Grace to have the use of the frigate to transport us from hence to Kinsale.

1681, April 9. London.—Upon receiving the honour of your Grace's of the 19th of February I sent it to the Bishop of Oxford because the greatest part concerned my Lord Courcy. And his Lordship was thereby to remain in his station until the session of Parliament should be over. When I received back the letter with the Bishop's satisfaction to attend your Grace's time, I writ to your Grace by a ship then bound for Ireland, which was so very long stopped by ill winds that I thought fit to call back your letter, because I intended for Oxford, and might therein inform your Grace more particularly in what concerned this young Lord. Hence it is that your Grace has not had from me a sooner acknow-

ledgment of your Grace's extraordinary favour in the matter of the Rincorran money, nor Sir John Percival's humble thanks for your Grace's good wishes to his marriage, which I had mentioned before.

When I came to Oxford I found all running out of town upon the dissolution, but I continued there some days after and had opportunity to discourse my Lord Bishop and others about my Lord Courcy, and with the young Lord also as to himself. I found him become as [ ].* He told me of many kind expressions newly made him by [? Mrs. Wall], which he, taking for current money, did suppose he might easily obtain some place at Court, but named in particular to be a cornet of the Guards. I did labour to undeceive him and to dissuade him from thinking of the Court, till he had laid in some stock of merit, as well to make him useful there when he came, as to resist the temptations by which else he would soon be ruined.

In my discourse with the Bishop, his tutor, and others, I found all agreed that his talent was a facility in address and the multiplying of acquaintances. That he had laid it forth while the Court was there, and that in a very diligent manner, upon the great ladies in favour, and had soon made kindred with Mrs. Wall, that he might remain in the same grace with the Duchess of Portsmouth. This scene was so much overdone that everybody saw where his inclinations pressed, namely, to be at the Court, and therein to run all the dangers of a handsome youth, well-born and of good fashion, but no sort of steadiness of [character] raise his fortunes there by hopes of favour; so that 'tis plain your Grace has not any easy task in resolving how to dispose of him. All agree that London and the Court would be his bane; and I perceive that if he be not there then his inclinations are for travel. But as to this your Grace has already taken notice of the uncertainty of a support, and on the other side the grief and mischief it would be if, being in your Grace's family, he should warp in point of religion. I told your Grace before how firmly he had declared against any such thing. He has still appeared very steadfast in his duty to the Church and receiving the Sacraments; and his morals are thought entire, for the Bishop has kept him as in his bosom, and both wishes and prays that he may do well. He was naming for him a trial at sea, and to see if courage might not, as other things, be taught; to which all I can say is that his Lordship is not disposed that way, and if he be put upon it he will then press to be with the Duke of Grafton, who is too young to be a good governor. As for Monsieur Faubert's academy, I know not if he will bend to the discipline [ ].

I am returning in ten days to my house, where Sir John Percival intends to leave his lady while we ship over for Ireland, and to that purpose I shall ere long presume to entreat your Grace's favour that we may have the frigate to Kinsale. I went to Oxford with purpose to help Sir Thomas Southwell out of the briars, but the Parliament was dissolved the day his business

* The original of this letter has been injured by fire and some words here have been rendered illegible.

was to be heard [ ] home and gave him his pass, and he took leave of all the Ministers; which I the rather name to your Grace, because he spoke often of your Grace's very good treatment of him in his troubles. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for all this trouble, and though it be long, yet I cannot end without repeating again most hearty thanks for your Grace's favour about my Rincorran payment, which will fall in very seasonable for the accommodation of my concerns. May your Grace have happiness and long life by as sure a title as that wherewith I am, etc.

1681, May 4. Kings Weston.—I am here now in the country, indifferently labouring to undermine my distemper and the scurvy, which is become very obstinate; so that when I pass over into Ireland I must take my provision of medicaments along with me. Sir John Percival and I are both humble suitors to your Grace that the frigate on that side may have your Grace's orders to come to King-road, and there take us in for Kinsale, as soon in the beginning of the next month as it can.

I have not yet heard from your Grace touching my Lord Courcy's removal. Since I writ thereof to your Grace from London, his Lordship sent to me again to be mindful of it, as being quite sick of Oxford. And if this come in time to your Grace, it may lay somewhat of that matter more fully in your view. I made mention to your Grace what I had heard in Oxford of the great league and kindred struck up between Mrs. Wall and my Lord Courcy. And coming to London I heard more of her zealous endeavours to have my Lord at the Court, there presently to enter into fortune and preferments, and to shake off all other pedantic ways. And I do not doubt but she has found means to make the King speak kindly of him; for so my Lord Arran told me he found the King well inclined. My Lord's tutor, Mr. Benson, who is nephew to the Bishop, and a sober, careful man, was lately in great anxiety for him, as your Grace will see by his letter to me here inclosed. For it seems his Lordship was broken away to give Mrs. Wall a meeting at Windsor, at the late instalment of the Duke of Richmond. But I hope he returned back directly to Oxford, for Mr. Blathwayt did encourage him thereunto. His Lordship had a little before writ to me very artificially how much my advice had wrought upon his mind, and then in the postscript he desired to have a sight of Windsor, and that the Bishop was willing, if I would consent. I writ him back I left all to the Bishop as to the seeing the place; but that I thought the Court would be there in a few days, and that he ought not to be seen at the Court until his final orders came about his removal. But his Lordship, to be true, I suppose, to the assignation long before made, passed over the usual forms, and then told Mr. Blathwayt that the Bishop had actually given him leave. I would not mention so small an intrigue as this is, but I consider your Grace may just now be thinking of this young Lord's concerns, and so every instance at this time may serve to some purpose as to the method of his future course.

My servant tells me from Kinsale that he sent three horsemen to Tralee, with the Farmers' warrant for my Lord's Michaelmas pension, but that Mr. Trench [or French] the collector had sent them back without a farthing. He says also that after your Grace's orders, which are so strict and positive for my Rincorran payment, he could get nothing of it. I know your Grace will in both cases vouchsafe to do what is fit. I shall, soon after my arrival at Kinsale wait upon your Grace.

1681, June 21. Kinsale.—After attending many days for a fair wind on the other side, we were content at last to deal with an ill one, and after four days' trial we got into this place on Friday last. Sir John Percival and I are already preparing ourselves to pay our early respects unto your Grace, and not only to acknowledge what concerns the accommodation of our voyage, but a map of other benefits. Just as I was coming off I had a letter from my Lord Courcy of some persistence for his intrigue with Mrs. Wall. But the secret is that Mrs. Wall upon some sour message I sent here has reprehended my Lord for his too early advance towards the Court, and so they stand as it were upon ill terms. But my Lord continues still to be weary of Oxford, and desires me to solicit your Grace for his deliverance.

1681, September 9. Kinsale.—I most humbly acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 3rd instant, and in what concerns my Lord of Ossory I shall conform strictly to the discourse we parted withal, as I receive further intimation from your Grace therein. But when I compared in my mind the late Lady L. (which was all the notion I could have of her sister) and the creature I mentioned, I confess my head turned round with concern. There is yet no tidings of the *Swan* frigate, but that she was at Bristol on the 28th past. By a letter of the [ ] from London, I am told that my Lord of Courcy was there in the care of Monsieur Faubert.

Your Grace may please to remember the ruins of an old church here near adjoining to Charles Fort. It was, in my remembrance, the parish church of Rincorran, but now the minister of Kinsale, Mr. Vesey, has the grant of the tithes during his incumbency here. 'Tis in the King's gift, and my Lord Strafford, before the wars, gave it to one that had been his old schoolmaster. If His Majesty would vouchsafe to grant me the advowson, because my estate lies round it, I would provide one other fit place wherein to erect the church, and set out glebe land, and use endeavours to have the church new built. In which case I would have the minister (to be presented by me or my heirs) to oversee the poor of the almshouse which I am building and endowing with the quit-rents His Majesty lately gave me.

1681, September 27. Kinsale.—By Captain Aylmer, who came in upon the 24th, I have such ill tidings of sickness befallen my wife that I purpose to take the first turn of the weather to get

over. Yesterday came in hither Captain Wyburne in the *Happy Return* and Captain Dering (my brother-in-law) in the *Dover*. By what I gather from their discourse and in way of privacy they have not their instructions from the Admiralty—but signed by the King; and they are to correspond with Sir Leolin Jenkins. Captain Wyburne, who is chief, means to have Captain Dering to cruise between Cape Clear and the Land's End, and up and down along this coast. He himself has on board twenty-six thousand pieces of eight, which he says were furnished by the Lords of the Treasury, but that Sir James Shaen had the care of putting them on board; and he thinks they are to redeem the English Captains that are in Fez. He is here to take in Mr. Thistlethwaite, the Receiver-General for the Farmers, who carries with him about £5,000 for Tangier; and while there has orders of great authority and inspection upon all the affairs of that garrison.

The Captain is to cruise about Tangier about twenty-eight days, and to take in such redeemed captains or such maimed soldiers of that garrison as Mr. Thistlethwaite shall direct, and then to come straight to this port and give advice of all to Sir Leolin Jenkins. Here Mr. Upton, the collector, is to provide therein all necessaries of provisions, etc., and he talks of sending for his wife and here setting up his rest, and thinks that not only these two frigates but two or four more may be allotted for this coast, and to be maintained as well as Tangier by the revenue of this kingdom. This is the best collection I can make of the Captain's discourse to me, he being of my former acquaintance; and although your Grace may know things more distinctly, yet because you were once left in the dark to my great admiration, I am not unwilling to mention what I hear.

'Tis near six years ago that your Grace named Mr. Thring to be seneschal and receiver to the Lord Courcy. They both serve his lordship in a manner for nothing, and with fidelity and the approbation of all good men. His Lordship's uncle, McCarty Reagh gives out that your Grace will expect them both to make room for him; and they say if it should be so it would be much more to their disgrace than to their disprofit. I have assured them I would write to your Grace to justify their zeal and fidelity to my Lord's poor distracted concerns; and to add also that I think it would soon be dissipated if it fell into the hands that it seems pretends to it. As soon as it pleases God that I reach the other side I will inform your Grace thereof that I may receive your commands.

1681, October 10. Kinsale.—As I am just now ready to embark there is the cry of a great many poor people renewed upon me touching the debt of sixty odd pounds due unto them on the score of Tam and Birne. I did presume at Kilkenny to move your Grace herein, and you were pleased to tell me that at your return to Dublin it should be paid out of the concordatum; and truly if it be not the debt will fall upon myself. For these poor people say they minded not the Government, but my father, for their paymaster, who gave to them directions for what they did.

1681, October 14. Kinsale.—I am here still blocked up by the contrary winds; so that my cousin, Arthur Hyde, having got matter enough to call upon me, I have had occasion to enter seriously into the value of this gentleman, and of his zeal and principles, which are such in relation to the Government as even reproach a great many that hold offices and advantage by it. He lives in the esteem of the whole country, and as he has many children to provide for, perhaps his condition may need a little countenance and help. Sir Nicholas Armorer and I have since he left us had much discourse of this worthy gentleman, and we both really believe that your Grace will do not only a good work, but a thing of further approbation, if some mark of favour from the Government were placed upon him. If it be true, as is said, that many are to be displaced, and that for principles contrary to his, I heartily wish he had a troop of horse, or what else of consideration your Grace shall judge most fit. He is the nearest kinsman I have in the world, and for whom I have the greatest love. Therefore I most humbly beg pardon of your Grace for the liberty I take. 'Tis most certain I should not for myself be more grateful or concerned than for any success of this gentleman, which I leave at your Grace's feet.

1681, October 26. King's Weston.—Hither I got in the *Swan* frigate, and send your Grace the humble acknowledgments of Sir John Percival, and Sir Thomas Southwell and myself, for the conveniency we have had thereby, and very good passage. I dined at my house on Wednesday and here the like on Friday. I do not forget the enquiry I am to make for the pictures, nor the old notes of Sir Matthew Hale, nor the much more important affair which concerns your Grace more nearly. Just now came one to visit that passed the last week at Badminton, and repeats and verifies all that I said to your Grace about the young lady. He lay there several nights, and was able to speak as to various particulars. I beg your Grace's pardon for naming this again after the discourse you already gave me. But I am less able to conceal what my wife tells me of the other party, which she lately had from her mother that was here.

It seems the young man that played the prank with one of the sisters was pursued by the mother to London in [ ] to my Lord Chancellor, and there in very [angry] posture, dress and language, ripped up her debt. My Lord seeing the other daughter in her hands she had lugged up, but in a most beggarly condition, began to rally and comfort her with better prospects for that, and told her of £23,000 and a great Lord he could name to her; and, I know not how, named my Lord of Ossory. But as soon as she heard of Ireland, the woman cried out against any such thing, as if her child were to be murdered. My Lady [ ] sat at all this scene, and here lately entertained my sister with it, as if it had been a show; but in particular [said] that the young creature was most miserably bred up. I know not with what discretion I name these things, but I will

venture any censure or displeasure rather than not tell all I hear of so weighty a matter until past redress. However, I beg your Grace's pardon.

1681, December 3. London.—I have now been in town this fifteen days, and have met the honour of your Grace's of the 12th past, and yet what between some little indisposition of my own, and a very severe return of sickness to my wife, who is also here, I have not known how to get into the way of writing to your Grace anything that was material. I have not taken notice to anybody of what is in meditation about my Lord of Ossory, but I hear of the thing from unconcerned persons, so as I perceive 'tis no secret. And I also heard that the party wants neither shape nor an understanding, if anything were bestowed in culture.

My Lord Courcy is well in health, and appears very well fashioned, but Monsieur Faubert complains that their wants fire or inclination to arrive to much. He is much concerned to see no better prospect of supplies to his lordship; and for aught I yet have by my Lord of Arran his friend Mrs. Wall will not have credit enough to restore him in Ireland to his full pension. I now send the state of my accounts with his Lordship, to Mr. Tisdall, to be at a fit opportunity laid before your Grace. His Lordship is now only in my debt £33 9s. 9d.

As for news, I leave the matter of the Farm to those who have better knowledge how the proposed conditions proceed. My Lord Chamberlain told the King after the last hearing that the business appeared to him like a race at Newmarket, one horse the better at this post, and then lost at another; and so I find it generally thought that my Lord Ranelagh lost ground at the last hearing. But none can give me any colour of good reason why in a thing of this nature your Grace should remain unconsulted. I find one was still, as he tells me, of the same mind, and has since seen the inconvenience of omitting it.

I hear that the Dutch Ambassador here, as well as the French, informs His Majesty that the attempt in Holland reached no farther than to carry off the Count St. Paul, who writ the book of Europe, Esclave, etc., and that it no way regarded the person of the Prince of Orange, which yet is the belief of the generality there, and will probably in like manner take place here. The great point of [? Spain] is now to have Luxemburgh. His Majesty have used all endeavours to divert that stroke, and if he cannot he will certainly call his Parliament, and it may accordingly meet by the end of February. 'Tis believed that they will not more stir as to the point of the succession, but be content with such other assurances as His Majesty may be willing to give concerning religion; that His Majesty will assuredly send for the Duke to be here at the Parliament, and also bring the Lords in the Tower to their trial, who, if they escape or suffer, there may be an end of the plot, and then an Act of Oblivion pass as to all things which have either been said or done. This I have from good authority, and as a matter of secrecy.

I have lately had tears twice in my eyes on reading in the new poem* what concerned my dear Lord of Ossory who is in Heaven.

1681-2, March 15. King's Weston.—I never had a letter of your Grace so long before without acknowledgment, as of the 12th of December last. But it came to me when my heart was full of sorrow, and for a cause, alas, the most considerable that could befall me. It hath pleased God of late years to lessen much the number of my nearest friends—I presume in that list to place one who is very much in your Grace's also. But everything that is born must die, and that after all is the result of what this will afford. I turn my thoughts now to the care of my children's education, and my utmost endeavours to root out the effects of the scurvy, from which I can hitherto get little relief.

I had two things in charge from your Grace in Ireland, and the enclosed paper is the success of one. That is to say the arguments used at the trial of the Lord Maguire by Twisden and Hale, the counsel that were assigned him, and against his Lordship being tried in England. I had in London inquired among the servants of Sir Matthew Hale without any success. But at length my Lord Chancellor told me he himself, having attended that trial, had made a report thereof, which I might find with his son the Solicitor General. The Report, being writ in law French, was given to be put into English by one who had, it seems, occasion to go out of town; and this Mr. Solicitor writes me word was the cause I had it no sooner, for I have kept it but just to take a copy. Judge Bacon, who then sat on the Bench, was first of opinion that prisoners could not be tried in England, but then he after retracted it with an apology, as my Lord Chancellor noted to me, and it is hinted in the Report.

My next care is after the pictures at Acton. The lady lives still in the house, nor is the estate sold to Sir Robert Atkins or anybody else. I must go over to the place to be satisfied; for the endeavours I have hitherto used have been fruitless, only in general that everything of value there has been scattered to the four winds. I wish your Grace a prosperous voyage over, if it be true you are coming; and if your Grace ever see the Severn again I shall account myself happy, who resolve to live and die your Grace's most faithful and obedient servant.

1682, September 25. King's Weston.—When your Grace was the last summer at Charles Fort, you took notice of the ruined walls of the parish church of Rincorran there adjoining. And soon after I proposed in a petition to His Majesty the rebuilding thereof in a more convenient place, if the advowson might be conferred on me. Whereupon your Grace, being first consulted, was pleased to order Mr. Ellis to tell me that I should have your Grace's consent if the Bishop of Cork said nothing to oppose

* Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, which appeared in November, 1681, contains an elaborate *Éloge* on the Earl of Ossory, *lines* 830-853.

therein. At that time Mr. Vesey, the minister of Kinsale, who held this living also, (and that as well by presentation from the late Lord Bishop as from His Majesty, because the title was uncertain), he was for his health here absent in England; so as I could not consult him as I wished touching the King's right, in order to lay the same before the Bishop. But as soon as I got light into it I did; and his Lordship taking time to search and consider thereof, I now received his answer by the last post, and he gives me his free consent to proceed in my petition as your Grace by his letter will see. While I was in expectation of the Bishop's answer, I did at Sir Nicholas Armorer's motion, promise to Hignett, now chaplain of Charles Fort, that I would present him in case I did succeed. For Mr. Vesey, the incumbent, was thought to be a dying man. And so it happened that Mr. Vesey died almost a month past, and I am told that Mr. Meade (brother to Sir John Meade) was thereupon hastening to obtain Rincorran from my Lord Deputy, as well as another place called Taxanon held also by Mr. Vesey, Kinsale being given by the Bishop to one Mr. Lapp. But I would not move until I had the Bishop's answer and resolution in this matter, as your Grace had directed; and it coming now in favour of my suit (which I look upon as depending for a year), I hope Mr. Meade by stepping in will not disappoint Mr. Hignett, and, indeed, the rebuilding of the church: for I shall be loath to meddle about a reversion after one that may be near twenty years younger than myself. If your Grace think fit to cause a stop to be put to Mr. Meade's presentation, so far as concerns Rincorran, and to approve of my proceeding in the way I was for, I will then presume to present my petition to His Majesty, and to procure thereon a reference to your Grace; and I will attend till I receive direction by Mr. Gascoigne herein.

1682-3, January 25. King's Weston.—I know by very good authority that if your Grace had not lately stood in the gap I had undergone some censure which I very little deserve. This shows me how good it is for me to have been these twenty years past dedicated unto you. I have laboured and even prayed that I might in your Grace's service be such as your Grace would have me, that I might never demerit your protection, but show unalterably [ ] according to that glorious pattern I have before me. I am not so well known to some others, nor did I ever [pretend] to be so. I remain with deep acknowledgment of your Grace's condescension, and where I vary from what your Grace would have me to be I shall deserve to die.

1684, August 23. London.—The next day after your Grace departed from Berwick I found the Lord Fitzwilliams at Milton, near Peterborough. Upon reading your Grace's letter, his Lordship spoke to me of the papers, but seemed very unknowing in what he had, and almost hopeless of finding anything. But I told his Lordship I would come in a day or two and undertake

any searches that were necessary. When I came back to his Lordship, things were changed much for the better, and a great old trunk found out and brought in play, where with all freedom I was allowed to search, so that from Monday morning till Tuesday at five in the evening I and my two companions (and his Lordship also) found work sufficient to unravel what there appeared in dust and wonderful disorder. The enclosed list gives your Grace a general account of all, and under what heads I did reduce them.

There are about ninety-two original letters from the Queen; about eighty-four from the Council; about 206 from the great men in England, and of these many in the Lord Burleigh's own hand; about 259 letters and applications to the Deputy from those in Ireland; and among these letters some signed Thomas Ormond; copies of letters, etc., from the Deputy, 407; promiscuous papers, 285; sixty-four papers about the Earl of Kildare; five papers and parcels about the Earl of Clanricarde; copies of some instructions to the Lord Deputy Sidney.

When I had separated and bundled out not only these nine bundles, but all the others in the enclosed list, in order to be sent unto your Grace, which his Lordship frankly offered, there entered a certain man of the law (sent for I suppose to be consulted withal) and from thenceforth his Lordship seemed willing to part with papers only. But as to the books of accounts he knew not if future reckonings might not fall out and make them needful to his family. To this I told his Lordship that an hundred years past was a fair quietus from all exchequers; and his Lordship did at last agree that if your Grace should desire these also, he knew not why he might not also part with them. But I suppose his Lordship has in the enclosed to your Grace said somewhat as to this point himself. The nine bundles have now gone to town, and in the hands of Mr. Heriot, the goldsmith, to be sent your Grace with the first conveniency. I send with them a letter from his Lordship, wishing I would here more strictly peruse all the papers and return him back such of them as appeared to be only of private concern. But I promised to write to your Grace that all papers merely private should be laid by and returned back, and then such papers as were chiefly private, after the public passages were transcribed, should also be returned. There this matter stands, and I presume your Grace will find somebody that is at leisure to fulfil what I have promised, which will be a good expedient to get the remaining books, if any of them (as the world is now altered) should seem to be of any use. As for Council Books, there was not any at all of that nature appeared, nor do I believe that his Lordship has other than what I here give account of. For he let me enter at last among all the evidences of his estate, but nothing appeared, save in this old rotten trunk, which had never been opened and hardly ever seen by his Lordship before.

I must add that in these two days his Lordship entertained me and my company very kindly. He showed us the antiquities of his family, among whom the last twelve have been called Williams. They have affected this name from William Fitzwilliams' who

entered with the Conqueror, and being Marshal of the Lamp in the famous fight of Battle Abbey, the Conqueror gave him his own scarf in reward of his prowess that day. This scarf they preserve sacred, and by custom lay it over the face of all the male children when christened. But his Lordship showed me a book in parts, where there is entered upon vellum and curiously adorned (as the Church writings of former times) an exact deduction of the family, and their chief exploits from the time of the Conqueror down to the Deputy of Ireland, and all attested by the chief heralds of that time.

I presume to mention this to your Grace, as wishing you had the like, or that even what you know yourself (which is very much) were all noted down, for posterity runs more and more in the dark. I beg your Grace to pardon this presumption, which flows from a zeal that can never be extinguished but with my life.

1684, August 26. London.—This night my Lord Rochester is for his last being at the Treasury. He took on Sunday his place as Lord President of the Council, the [? Lord] Bath being first sent with a compliment to the Earl of Radnor, and that his pension should be continued. Mr. Secretary enters the Treasury as First Commissioner, and with [the] title of Lord Godolphin of Godolphin, and the Earl of Middleton is become Secretary of State in his room. The town makes this the workmanship of the two Seals, because of former ruffles and their present triumphing at it. But the more knowing say, as they own, it was sworn secret to them, and that it has blown from another point, namely, from the great lady, who, seeing him foiled in the former affair, resolved to fill that place with a favourite not involved in those quarrels. And if this calculation be true, which is the worst that could happen, the Duke must partake in the suffering.

'Tis certain my Lord Rochester comes with aversion to this new post. He owns it in his words and more in his countenance, and could he have followed his own will he had rather been nothing. This it what I can most materially collect at the distance I stand; and touching its aspect towards your Grace I must needs add, according to the freedom ever allowed me in what relates to your own province, and about which your Grace imparted something to me in the journal. The King is made believe that army is very slender. And among other tales these two things pass current, that a company in the Guards at Dublin is sold for £1,600, and in the country for £1,000. That a [Lieutenant] there undertakes to furnish his Captain £100 per quarter to spend here in London. And from these instances (taken for granted) infer how great the abuse must needs be in false musters, and how defective the army is.

I should add to the former part of this letter that His Majesty has given the Earl of Rochester £16,000 out of the confiscated estate of the Lord Grey. Having writ thus far I met with one who knows how matters go, and confirms the manner of this change as I here have represented it. How that the King complained that my Lord R. (on the first change of the Com-

missioners) was too impatient and addicted to his own thoughts and ways. And that this lady, taking advantage, has brought this matter to pass, and that her own friends stand firm, and the Duke's lose ground.

1684, August 28. London.—This letter (having writ largely by the last post) is only to tell your Grace the disappointment of the favour and bounty which your Grace intended to my son by recommending him to a reversion in the Auditor's place. I went to Windsor, and first in humble manner I told my Lord Rochester how it stood, and prayed his favour if occasion were. His Lordship told me he could give me no help, but must oppose it if it came before him; yet if it did not he should say nothing in the matter. I went then to my Lord Sunderland, and presented him your Grace's letter, which he received with all respect and a greater degree of courteous expressions to myself than I had usually found. He told me that in a day or two he would move His Majesty in it, and did believe His Majesty would not refuse your Grace's recommendation. But after ten days the answer is that no reversion can be granted, and his Lordship will, as I am told, signify to your Grace that this is not in disfavour, but to preserve the rule.

I should here end, there being no man readier to acquiesce in a reasonable answer than myself. But because I had in this matter calculated a lasting favour, which my son might in the next age have worn in memory of your Grace, and the dependence we have had for the age that is past, I cannot but own my sorrow for the disappointment; and the rather because I am shaping this youth all I can for the King's service, so in a peculiar manner I fill him with principles of devotion for your Grace's family. So that if any other thing comes fairly to your Grace's hand, which may fulfil my wishes in this particular and which may break no rules nor receive contradiction, I humbly recommend him (or myself in his behalf) to your Grace's favour and remembrance.

Postscript:—The evening my Lord Rochester left the Treasury he added a new Commissioner to the Excise; which your Grace knows in another case would not pass.

1684, September 29. King's Weston.—I lately had the honour of your Grace's of the 5th, which mentions three of mine. I see plainly that most of the London censure about the army is mere clamour, and perhaps increased by those who are much more guilty themselves. For (while there is no need of a Parliament) the greatest part of the Court and company about the King is made up of the officers and his army, and his ears are filled with nothing so much as regulations and reformations that way. So that if your Grace turn the note of indulgence to that of severity, it may be the safer borne.

I perceive your Grace vouchsafes to be well satisfied with what I did about the papers of my Lord Fitzwilliams, which are surely before this time in your hands. I noticed some memorials in his

family as things fit for imitation. And 'tis from the same spark of zeal that I now presume to tell your Grace, that having occasion to send lately for a book into Holland, I writ to Mr. Hill, who now preaches to the English there at Rotterdam. He is a Dissenter, but of the more sanguine strain. 'Tis he who writ "*The Zealander's Choice*," and was much countenanced for it by His Majesty. But he went back to that country about ten years past (where he is by death of friends become rich).

Your Grace may remember that he undertook while on this side to write out into more intelligible English a certain manuscript which came to my hand, and which Peter Walsh commended much for a true account of things in Ireland after 1641. He went on (by Peter's aid) as far as about 1648, and then I sent over, by your Grace's order, not only a copy of his original, but of his perseverance on it so far, and that with a broad margeut, to receive the amendments your Grace should think fit. But soon after this, the noise of the Popish Plot drowned it, as well as many other words. And Mr. Hill being at this time in London and in some credit in the city, did your Grace good service and told me still how things went, which my Lord of Ossory did reward by giving him fifty guineas for a picture (of King Solomon) which perhaps was not worth above half the money. To him therefore having lately writ, I put a question whether he thought any more of your history. His answer is that he had neither proceeded in it, nor forgotten it. That the whole thing depended on my answering him a plain, easy question—whether the Duke of Ormond (to whom I had sent a specimen) like the same and desire it to be done; in which case he would proceed upon it forthwith. Thus the matter stands, which had first its rise from Peter Walsh's affirming that the said history (which fell into my hands) did your Grace much right; and Mr. Hill's leisure and willingness to undertake it. I have myself writ a sheet or two, being a narrative of what passed with Prince Rupert, for the eight months he and his fleet were at Kinsale, 1648-9. If your Grace think fit to give any life to this matter, I will accordingly advertise Mr. Hill. I hope in a few days to meet the Under Sheriff who seized the pictures at Acton, and to find out if any of them can be returned.

1684-5, January 9. King's Weston.—May it please your Grace: I have had for some weeks the great honour of your Grace's of the 3rd past, and I could better read and take it to heart in the solitary place I am, than know what to answer in a case which is so extraordinary. There is one point touched by your Grace, about your intended resigning, wherein I think I am a competent voucher. For I well remember your Grace told me at Ailesbury, that although business at that season was most welcome, as excluding other melancholy thoughts, which it did for the day-time at least, yet you foresaw that in a short time nothing would prove so irksome unto you as business. So that, in effect, others have but snatched what your Grace was going to bestow. And if they have too much presumed on your Grace's talent of bearing mortification with courage, they may perhaps sooner fall into

the same disease than be masters of the same remedy. 'Tis now a felicity that your Grace can turn all this, as you do, to the most excellent account and contemplation that human changes are capable of. I see also how in the midst of greater things your Grace was more mindful of me than I was to know of. Since the success and good will of others did not answer, it is to me satisfaction and honour enough that I stood worthy in your Grace's eyes, and I will ever do what I think may best preserve me in that station.

As soon as your Grace comes over I will not fail of giving my attendance, nor shall I ever covet anything with more zeal or ambition than to live and die, my Lord, your Grace's most faithful and most obedient servant, ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

OXFORD LETTERS

OF THE

1ST DUKE OF ORMOND

AS

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

A manuscript volume, entitled on the cover, "Oxford Letters," *consisting chiefly of entries of* "Recommendations" *by the Duke of Ormond as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, respectively addressed to, and on behalf of, the persons named, as follows:—*

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Charles Hedges, M.A., student in the Civil Law, lately of Magdalen College. Dispensations in regard to the defect of time, etc., that he may accumulate the degree of doctor, performing all the exercises required, and paying the fees of a grand compounder, both for that degree and that of Bachelor.

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Francis Carswell, Master of Arts, formerly of Exeter College, who "has long waited and used his utmost endeavour to get a class for performing his school exercise for Bachelor in Divinity, but has not been able to procure it." Leave to accumulate the degree of Doctor in Divinity, doing all exercises for that degree, as also preaching a Latin sermon and paying the fees of a grand compounder for both.

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Robert Hanbury, formerly of St. Mary Hall, now Chaplain of New College and Student in Civil Law, "who is eight years standing from his matriculation, but kept not above five years residence, by reason of his father's sickness in the country and other affairs, which upon his death were left to him to manage there; nor was he entered upon the law line above three years." Leave that the overplus of time spent in the study of arts may be accounted to him for taking the degree of Bachelor in Law this Easter term, and as he cannot procure a class at present with whom to perform his exercise, further leave that upon sufficient stipulation being given, the doing of his exercise may be deferred till next Michaelmas term.

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of William Gould, scholar of Wadham College, "who was entered in Act Term, 1671, but not matriculated till the term following." Dispensation to reckon his time from his first admission, not from his matriculation, in order to be a candidate for the degree of B.A. this Easter term.

1675, 24th April. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Benjamin Barnett, B.A., of Merton College, "who was invited from thence to read prayers in St. Martin's church here in Westminster." Dispensation in regard of defect of time, being of full standing for Master, and only wanting three terms besides those the statute allows.

Undated.—To Mr. President.—On behalf of one Fitzherbert, now in Magdalen School and entered in
College. Recommendation that he may be chosen a Demi at the next election.

1675, 6th May. Whitehall.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Stephen Bryce, M.A., of Magdalen College, well known and approved of in the University, "having some years since answered the doctors in the Act for his degree of Bachelor of Laws." Dispensation to accumulate the degree of Doctor in that faculty, performing all exercises and paying all fees for both degrees.

1675, 6th May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Knight, B.A., of New Inn Hall, who is from the time of his matriculation to the next term, of full standing for the degree of Master of Arts, but being about the time he was to go out Bachelor visited with a grevious and lasting sickness, he was hindered from taking his degree for the space of three terms." Leave that these terms may be allowed him for his Master's degree, as he has always resided in the University, and performed all his exercises.

1675, 6th May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Thomas, B.A., of Alban Hall, "by reason of his necessary occasions in parts remote from Oxford, and being now of full standing for Master of Arts." Dispensation for the absence of three terms, and that one term which abounded to him for the degree of Bachelor, may be allowed for the degree of Master of Arts.

1675, 6th May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Hammond, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for the absence of one term, and more than the statutes ordinarily allow of, that he may take the degree of Master the next Act.

1675, 13th May. —To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Ed. Taylor, B.A., of All Souls. Dispensation for five terms' absence, occasioned by his necessary attendance on his Grace my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, so that he may take his Master of Arts the next Act.

*1675, 22nd May. Whitehall.—To the Provost of [Trinity-College], Dublin.—On behalf of Hugh (son of Mr. Matthew Anderson, of Chester) who went to Ireland with Dr. Lingard, and is now resident in college at Dublin. Recommendation for his election to a fellowship, for which he is fully qualified.**

1675, 22nd May. Whitehall—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of George Harris, of Trinity College, B.A., in Michaelmas term, 1669, "and determined the Lent following, but being hindered from his residence in the University by his employment as tutor to a gentleman's son in the country." Dispensation for not keeping six terms, that doing all his exercises, he may proceed Master the next Act.

1675, 22nd May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of John Pomfret, of Corpus Christi College, B.A. of five years' standing, who was "called into the country about some necessary occasions before he had been resident the full term required for his Master's degree." Dispensation for the loss of two terms.

1675, 22nd May. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Wm. Turner, B.A., of Edmund Hall, of full standing to take the degree of Master of Arts. Dispensation for the absence of one term.

1675, 1st June.—To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Gough, of Alban Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of B.A.

1675, 1st June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Isaak, M.A., of Exeter College, of more than full standing for Doctor of Physic. Dispensation to accumulate for that degree, doing all the exercises, and paying all fees for both.

1675, 1st June. To the same.—On behalf of John Ratcliff, M.A., of Lincoln College, and student in physic. Dispensation for not being entered in due time on the physic line, and that, being of full standing for the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, but not in a capacity to perform his exercise for want of a class, leave may be given him to stand for his degree this Act term, stipulating to perform his exercise within two terms after.

1675, 12th June. To the same.—On behalf of Venacles Keating, B.A., of Christchurch, who through mistake did not come to Oxford at first until some days after term was ended. Dispensation that the said term may be allowed him for his degree of Master of Arts this Act.

1675, 12th June. To the same.—On behalf of William Browne, B.A., of St. Mary Hall, who, being in the service of the Lord Marquis of Dorchester, has been detained from keeping his full residence. Dispensation for two terms' absence.

* This entry and others printed in italics do not appear to properly belong to the series of "Oxford" Letters.

1675, 12th June. To the same.—On behalf of Peter Shelley, B.A., of Christchurch. Allowance of those terms which he wants for completing his degree of Master, and which he lost through attendance on the Archbishop of Canterbury.

1675, 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Edward Gammage, B.A., of Jesus College, who had lately been granted a dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to his employment at a great distance from Oxford. Further dispensation for one more term's absence, due to unforeseen detention in the country, so that he may proceed Master of Arts the next Act.

1675, 16th June. To Mr. Vice Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Wm. Powell, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, having been detained from due residence in the University by reason of his attendance in His Majesty's chapel and elsewhere in the country, for some years past, that he may proceed Master the the next Act.

1675, 17th June. Whitehall.—To the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford.—On behalf of Mr. Matthew Bowles, formerly recommended by the King's command, for the fellowship vacant by the death of Mr. Fennis, but without effect. Recommendation that Mr. Bowles may now be appointed to the fellowship vacant by the death of Mr. Reekes.

1675, 9th July. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Parkhurst, of Katesby, in Northamptonshire, a gentleman of plentiful fortune, nephew of Lord Crew, a cousin-german of the present Bishop of Durham. Petition that he may be granted the honour of M.A. in Oxford University, having been about eleven years ago entered as a fellow commoner in Lincoln College, "this being a favour that has been upon occasion granted to strangers, and no way prejudicial to the scholars who stand for their degrees in the University, in hopes of preferment thereby."

1675, 10th July. Whitehall.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thadeus Lantman and Mr. John Wolnore, Ministers at the Hague, persons of good esteem in Holland, for their preaching, learning, and prudence. Recommendation that they should be granted the honour of D.D. of Oxford University.

1675, 13th July. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Nicholas, Warden of New College, son of the Dean of St. Paul's, and nephew of Mr. Secretary Nicholas. Permission to accumulate the degree of Doctor in Divinity standing in the next Act, he giving caution for the speedy performance of all other exercises to the degree of Doctor.

1675, 2nd October. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Doctor Bathurst. Proposal that Dr. Bathurst should continue in his office of Vice-Chancellor for another year.

1675, 4th October. To the Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Mr. Browne, servant to the late Earl of Clarendon, formerly Chancellor of the University. His appointment as Bell-toller and Clerk of the Schools at Oxford, upon the death of one Holder. His appointment having been promised to Browne by the Earl of Clarendon, but given to another during Browne's absence in France attending on his master.

1675, 12th October. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Peter Brooke, M.A., in Aberdeen, in Scotland, who is desirous of continuing his studies in Oxford. "He thinks it some discouragement to be admitted undergraduate, and yet he dare not take the confidence to beg the confirmation of his degree of Master. Therefore to hope it will be no immodest request if he desires to be presented completely to his degree of Bachelor in Arts." Leave to do this.

1675, 12th October. To the same.—On behalf of James Parkinson, B.A., and fellow of Lincoln College, being from his matriculation above standing for the degree of Master, but having continued undergraduate in Corpus Christi five terms longer than the statutes of the University require. Leave to be allowed four terms, so that he may be admitted Incept. in Arts this term.

1675, 12th October. To the same—On behalf of John Peck, a genteman commoner of New Inn Hall. Being by his father commanded to Cambridge, and taken thence to travel, he was by sickness detained in England, and is now of standing sufficient for the degree of B.A. Dispensation for the absence of six terms, and leave that his exercise of answering under bachelor, may be changed into answering generals.

1675, 16th October. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Crick, commoner of Christchurch, "who, falling sick of the small-pox and being thereby hindered from answering generals in due time and opposing *Juramenti Gratia* during the term of his sickness, desires" dispensation for one term's absence, and that his answering generals this term and opposing thrice *Juramenti Gratia*, may go *pro forma* in order to the degree of B.A.

1675, 17th October. To the same.—On behalf of William Hanmer, of Brazenose College. Dispensation for the absence of one term towards his taking the degree of B.A., the said term having been lost through a suit of law.

1675, 17th October. To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Grylls, of Brazenose College, son of Mr. Francis Grylls, who did eminent services for His Majesty and his royal father of blessed memory, and particularly in preserving Sir Joseph Wagstaff after the defeat in the West, and was sequestered of all his patronage and temporal estate during the

time of the late rebellion. Leave that he may be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law, the next Michaelmas term.

1675, 18th October. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. William Williams, formerly of Jesus College, Oxford, and now chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Derby. He matriculated in the year 1651, was forced by the iniquity of those times to quit his studies in Oxford, and to betake himself to a country retirement in which he has ever since continued, and now has a great ambition to be known in the University. Leave to be admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, performing all the exercises required by the statutes, and paying the fees of a grand compounder for the degree.

1675, 26th October. London.—To the Warden and Fellows of All Souls.—On behalf of Mr. Colt, of Oriel College. Recommendation for a fellowship in All Souls, in addition to those from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Rochester.

1675, 13th November To the Rev. Dr. R. B[athurst], Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to be communicated to the Dean of Christchurch, Warden of All Souls, and President of Magdalen College.—On behalf of Dr. Moryson. Recommendation, by His Majesty's command, for the appointment of Lecturer in Natural philosophy in the University of Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. Willis.

1675, 16th November. London.—To the Rev. Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christchurch.—On behalf of John Masson, a scholar in Christchurch. Admission as a student of the Foundation at the next election.

1675, 16th November. To the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Convocation.—On behalf of John Plimley, of St. John's College, of ten years' standing in the University, but, by reason of employment in the country, disabled from taking the degree of B.A. at the time. Leave to accumulate for the degree of M.A., doing all exercises, and paying all fees for both degrees.

1675, 16th November. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Richard Vaughan, of Jesus College, of five years' standing in the University, and prevented by a long illness in the country from keeping his due residence. Dispensation for the loss of three terms, in order that he may take his degree of B.A. this term.

1675, 23rd November. To the same.—On behalf of Martin Hirst, of Trinity College, who has for some time been hindered from coming to the University by a design of travelling into foreign countries. Leave that, having matriculated at the beginning of Act term, 1672, he may compute his standing in the University from the preceding term, so that he may complete his degree of B.A. next Lent.

1675, 29th November. London.—To the same.—On behalf John Short, of Pembroke College, who matriculated a term too late, and has otherwise time to proceed B.A. this term. Leave to reckon his time from his first admission and not from his matriculation.

1675, 29th November. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Plimley, of St. John's College, who is of some years' standing in the University, but, by reason of employment in the country, has been prevented from taking the degree of B.A. in due time. Leave to accumulate for the degree of M.A., paying all fees, and doing all exercises for both degrees, save only instead of answering under bachelor, to twice answer generals.

1675, 8th January. To the same.—On behalf of Meredith Phillips, B.A., of Jesus College, of six terms' standing above his time for the degree of Master, but hindered from residence by necessary and urgent occasions. Dispensation for the lack of six terms.

1675, 8th January. To the same.—On behalf of Francis Nation, commoner of Balliol College. Dispensation for the absence of part of one term through sickness, that he may take his B.A. next term.

1675, 24th January. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr Piers, son of the Dean of Salisbury, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor of Laws, and who has performed all exercises for this degree. Dispensation for some terms' absence occasioned partly by his attendance on his father's removal from Magdalen College, and partly by his own indisposition, so that he may complete his degree at Oxford, and not need to apply for that favour to Cambridge, to which several have resorted upon like occasion.

1675, 1st February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Jonathan Lowe, hindered by the nonconformity of his nearest relations from going to Oxford, and sent to Glasgow, in Scotland, where he took the degree of M.A. several years ago. Leave to be admitted into the University, first to the degree of B.A., and afterwards, upon paying all fees and doing all exercises, except determination, to that of M.A.

1675, 9th February. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Isaac Walton, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for one term, which he was hindered from keeping by reason of absence from England, that he may take the degree of Master this term.

1675, 15th February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Davis and Henry Hill, M.A. and fellows of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, of full standing for the degree of Bachelors of Divinity, which by their local standing they are required immediately to take, find some difficulty in so speedy performance of their duty. Leave to be admitted to the degree

of Bachelors of Divinity, having first finished their disputations, paid all their fees, and stipulated to preach their Latin sermon within a year.

1675, 21st February. To the same.—On behalf of James Libb, an undergraduate of St. John's College, who was, soon after his entrance, prevented by sickness from matriculating that term, and has time now to take the degree of B.A. Dispensation for that term wherein his matriculation was omitted, that he may reckon his time from his entrance.

1675, 25th February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Edmund Sermon, of St. Mary Hall, who took his degree of B.A. above ten years since, but, being detained in the country about a necessary attendance on the education of youths of noble extraction, and officiating his cure, he has been unable to regularly take his degrees of M.A. and Bachelor of Divinity. Dispensation for paying the fees of both and performing all exercise except that of examination.

1675, 29th February. To the same.—On behalf of David Watkins, B.A., of Jesus College, of above eight years' standing. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, due to necessary employment in the country, that he may take his degree of Master of Arts the next Act.

1675, 14th March. London.—To the same.—On behalf of one Throckmorton, proposed by Mr. Jeffrey Banister, the King's servant, who keeps an academy for music and dancing, and other scenes for the education of youth in London, as a fit and skilful person to teach those arts in the boarding-schools of Oxford.

1675, 7th April. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Price, B.A., of Christchurch.—Dispensation to reckon his time from his admittance into college, and not from his matriculation, so that he may take his degree of M.A. in Act term next.

1676, 30th March. To the same.—On behalf of Monsieur Le Moine, designed to be Professor of Divinity in the University of Leyden, and invited thither by the Prince of Orange, that he may have the honour of Doctor of Divinity conferred on him by the University of Oxford.

1676, 16th April. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Herbert Pie, B.A., of Hart Hall, of full standing for the degree of M.A. the next term, who has had some preferments in the country offered to him, which he cannot accept until he has his Master's degree. Dispensation that he may proceed M.A. this term, paying his fees and performing all exercise previous thereunto, and standing in the next Act.

1676, 15th April. London.—To the same.—On behalf of David Evans, of Jesus College, of full standing for the degree of B.A. this term. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to sickness in the country.

1676, 8th May. To the Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Mr. Collier, Beadle to the University, that he may have the place of Bailiff there.

1676, 9th May. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Samuel Collier, of Trinity College, of full standing for the degree of B.A. the next term. Leave to reckon his time from his entry into college, not matriculation.

1676, 9th May. To the same.—On behalf of John Bagwell, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to necessary employment, and long distance from the University, so that he may take his degree of M.A. this next Act.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Knight, of Exeter College. Dispensation for one terms' absence through illness, so that he may proceed to B.A. the next Trinity term.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Gilbert Knight, of Christchurch, of full standing for the degree of M.A., but who deferred his Bachelor's degree seven times, in hope of a scholar's place in the University, which afterwards fell not. Leave to reckon those seven terms which he exceeded in his B.A., so that he may proceed to the degree of M.A. the next Act.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Philip Fall, B.A., of Alban Hall, of more than full standing for the degree of master, but who deferred his Bachelor's degree by reason of his father's death, and other avocations which issued thereupon. Leave to reckon the eleven terms supernumerary to his Bachelor's degree, towards taking the degree of Master the next Act.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Baker, B.A., of Edmund Hall, of above eight years' standing. Dispensation for one term's absence, in order to proceed M.A. the next Act.

1676, 9th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Meredith Reynolds, B.A. of Christchurch. Dispensation for the absence of term, due to necessary business in the country, that he may take his degree of M.A. the next Act.

1676, 12th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. William Warner, of St John's College, for twelve years M.A. Leave to accumulate the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Physics the next Act, paying the fees for both degrees; also dispensation for the exercise of Bachelor of Physics, performing that for Doctor only, in regard that for some late years he has not been resident in the University, and cannot procure classes for the performance of that exercise so timely as before the Acts.

1676, 16th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Cornish, B.A., of Exeter College, of twelve terms' standing. Dispensation for one terms' absence, due to the small-pox then raging in the University, that he may proceed M.A. this next Act.

1676, 16th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thomas Pargener, Bachelor of Divinity, of Lincoln College. Leave that one year, which was supernumerary in taking that degree, may, with the addition of the two terms more, be allowed him for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, especially as he is about to leave the University, and as yet no other hath appeared to stand in that faculty this ensuing Act.

[Undated]. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Joseph Moyle, who entered the University about twenty years ago, and applied himself to the study of physic, but, after six years' standing, he was called from the University by his father's death and forced by some extraordinary occasions to remain in the country ever since, although he has followed his studies with great industry and considerable proficiency. Leave to proceed Doctor in Physic, notwithstanding his absence, and omission of taking other degrees.

1676, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Nathaniel Highmore, B.A., of Trinity College, of full standing for the degree of M.A. Leave that one term which was supernumerary to him in taking his degree of B.A. may be allowed him so that he may proceed Master this next Act.

1676, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Thomas, B.A., of Trinity College, of full standing for the degree of M.A. last Michaelmas, but who was detained from his due residence by necessary employments in the country. Dispensation for four terms, that he may proceed M.A. the next Act.

1676, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Ludwell, Bachelor of Physic and Fellow of Wadham College, of full standing for Doctor in that faculty, and desirous to proceed the next Act. Dispensation for not reading his lectures till the term following, first giving sufficient security to perform that exercise without fail at the time appointed.

1676, 19th May. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Haotaine Morgan, gentleman commoner of Magdalen College, who was sent to travel into foreign parts, when he was designed for the University, a good opportunity then offering; and after a considerable time spent to good advantage, he returned home and was admitted into the University, where he has been a constant student now about four years. Leave to have his grace for the degree of Bachelor of Law, and to be presented after he shall have performed all his exercise and paid his fees as a grand compounder.

1676, 25th May. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Ralph Gardner, recommended by Sir Charles Cotterell, Master of the Ceremonies, as very expert in fencing and vaulting, and fit to teach gentlemen in the University.

1676, 30th May. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Henry Price, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to necessary employment in the country, that he may take his Master's degree.

1676, 31st May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of James Finny, B.A., of St. John's College. Leave to transfer the term supernumerary to his degree of Bachelor towards the taking of that of Master the next Act, at which time he will be of full standing.

1676, 6th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Morgan, B.A., of Jesus College, of full eight years' standing from his matriculation, but hindered from keeping his due residence by necessary employment in the country. Dispensation for five terms' absence, that he may proceed M.A. the ensuing Act, for which he hath already performed all his exercises.

1676, 10th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Owen Eyton, formerly of Brazenose College, where he resided for six or seven years. His father, Sir Gerard, was an active assertor of His Majesty's interest, and a great sufferer for his loyalty. His brother, Sir Kendric, serves His Majesty as chief justice of North Wales. He himself is very well beneficed in Wales, and has estate suitable to the dignity of Doctor, besides the character of a virtuous man, a good scholar, and a good preacher. Leave to accumulate the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and proceeding Doctor in Divinity the next Act, performing exercise only for Doctor's degree, and paying fees for both.

1676, 13th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Avery Thompson, scholar of Lincoln College, who matriculated one term too late, and kept his residence ever since. Leave to reckon this time for the degree of Bachelor from his first admission, and not from his matriculation.

1676, 13th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Ralph Evans, B.A., of Queen's College. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to urgent occasions in the country, so that he may proceed Master the next Act.

1676, 13th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Fox, Bachelor of Arts, of Christchurch, of full standing for the degree of Master this next Act. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to a necessary employment in the country.

1676, 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Augustin Mervyn, clerk, who "entered in Oxford in 1640, and continued in Oriel College for about five years; but, by reason of his uncle's death (who maintained him), he was forced to accept of a small parsonage in Glostershire, where by the opposition he met with from his neighbouring independent ministers and their violent persecuton, he was brought to so (low?) a fortune as not to be able to bear the ordinary charge the taking of the degrees would cost him." Leave to be admitted Bachelor of Divinity the next Act, performing his exercise and doing all matters requisite thereunto, "being now invested in a more considerable benefice."

1676, 17th June. To the Bishop of Oxford.—On behalf of John Martin, now a scholar of Christchurch, that he may be made a student of the foundation at the forthcoming election.

1676, 17th June. London.—To the warden of Wadham College.—On behalf of the son of one Mrs. Lidgold, sister of Lord Ormond's former chaplain, Dr. Hall, a woman with many children and but mean substance. That the said son may be admitted a scholar of the foundation of Wadham College.

1676, 17th June. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Morgan Jones, of St. John's College, who has performed all exercise for Master's degree, and is of more than full standing. Dispensation for one term's absence.

1676, 17th June. To the President and fellows of Magdalen College. On behalf of John Adeane, now of Magdalen College, son of Mr. Adeane, late servant in the wardrobe to His Majesty, and now in very distressed circumstances. The election of the said John Adeane as a demi at the College.

1676, 20th June. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. George Owen, B.A., and some time fellow of All Souls' College, of more than full standing for the degree of Doctor in Divinity, but hindered from taking his degree of Bachelor by reason of his constant employment in remote parts of the kingdom. Leave to accumulate the degree of Doctor in Divinity, doing all the exercise for that degree, and paying all fees for both. A special reason for the granting of this favour being the small number of proceeders in divinity this Act.

1676, 20th June. To the same.—On behalf of Richard Carter, B.A., of Hart Hall. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to long sickness, that he may proceed Master this Act.

1676, 21st June. London.—To the Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Mr. Ogilby, His Majesty's cosmographer, who has

with great pains compiled a book of the survey of England, and received a licence from His Majesty under the Great Seal to erect a lottery of his own books in any part of England. Leave to erect the same at Oxford.

1676, 23rd June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Sir John Powlett, Col. Paul Smith, Sir John Osborne and others who have been granted by His Majesty's letters patent under the great seal, a licence to erect in any city, town corporate or elsewhere in the realm of England, a lottery called the Royal Oak Lottery, for the benefit of such officers as served him and his royal father of blessed memory in the war, and are now reduced to a mean condition. Leave to have their lottery at Oxford under the care of Mr. Laurence Osborne and Mr. Robert Cleeter, "in hopes that from the concourse of the gentlemen to Oxford the next Act, some considerable advantage may arise to them."

1676, 23rd June. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Edward Morse, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to an employment in the country.

1676, 27th June. To the same.—On behalf of William Whittington, B.A., of Hart Hall, of full standing for the degree of M.A. this next Act. Dispensation for one term which he lost through a false suggestion at his first coming to the University, though he was constantly resident there.

1676, 26th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Edward Reynolds, M.A., and some time fellow of Magdalen College, of much more than full standing for the degree of Doctor in Divinity, but detained by employment in the country (about thirty miles distant from the University) from taking the degree of Bachelor in Divinity in due time. Dispensation for accumulating the degree of Doctor in Divinity, paying all fees as grand compounder for both degrees, and performing his exercise for Doctor the next term, and standing in the Act.

1676, 26th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Cheyney, B.A., of Magdalen College, of full standing for the degree of Master from his matriculation, but not having taken his Bachelor's degree in due time, by reason of his being a demi of that College. Leave that those terms which were supernumerary to his degree of Bachelor may be allowed towards that of M.A., standing in the next Act, as he is shortly leaving Oxford in hopes of preferment abroad.

1676, *27th June. London.—"Whereas his sacred Majesty hath been graciously pleased by his letters bearing date the 15th July*, 1672, *to grant unto Henry Stiles, Doctor of the Laws, and Senior Fellow of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin, that such licence or licences of absence from the said College as shall be given under the hand of the*

Chancellor of that University or his Vice-Chancellor for the time being, shall be of force to all intents and purposes for the time so granted to execute and acquit the said Stiles, from all manner penalties, censures whatsoever. It is therefore hereby certified that licence is granted unto the said Stiles that he may be absent from the said College for the term and space of two years from the date of the letters aforesaid.

1676, 3rd July. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Dr. Clarke, President of Magdalen College. Nomination as Vice-Chancellor of the University for the ensuing year, in succession to Dr. Ralph Bathurst, who has prudently filled the position for three years. The said nomination to be communicated to the Heads of the Houses and the Convocation.

1676, 8th July. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Michael Cory, B.A., of Alban Hall, of more than full standing for M.A. Dispensation for absence of term caused by constant employment in the country.

1676 15th July. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Mr. Levins, a proctor at the University. His fitness to succeed in the moral philosophy lecture at the next election.

1676, 24th July. To Dr. John Lloyd, Principal of Jesus College.—On behalf of Wm. Bowen, that he may be admitted to the next vacant scholarship.

1676, 19th August. To Dr. Clarke, President of Magdalen College.—On behalf of Nathaniel Birch, of Trinity College, whose parents are not able to maintain him at his studies without some additional help, and therefore Lord Bridgewater desires he may be admitted a demi at Magdalen College, at the next election.

1676, 24th November. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Thomas Tippet, of Merton College, student of the civil law, and of full standing for the degree of Bachelor in that faculty. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, during which he was hindered by necessary occasions from residing in the University.

1676, 18th December. London.—To the Rev. Dr. Newlyn, President of Corpus Christi and the Fellows there. On behalf of Humphry Hody, a student in Wadham College, son of a minister in Somersetshire, who has a very large family, three of whom he maintains in Wadham College. His being chosen a scholar of Corpus Christi, at the forthcoming election of one born in Somersetshire.

[Undated.] To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of George Halsted, now scholar of Corpus Christi. Dispensation for one term, that he may take his Master's degree, and not lose the chance of a preferment intended for him by his relations.

1676, 13th January. London.—To the [Principal and Fellows of Wadham College?].—On behalf of Francis Smith, of Wadham College, whose uncle served His Majesty very faithfully under Lord Ormond's command in Ireland, and suffered much by the rebellion there. His admission as demi of the College at the next election.

1682, 20th May. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Maximilian Buck, commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, who entered in November, 1666, and continued there till July, 1670, at which time he was called thence by urgent necessities, and has discontinued his residence ever since. Leave to go out Bachelor and Master the next Act.

1682, 22nd May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Hugh Ellis, B.A., of All Souls' College, who was called from his studies in the University by the death of some relations on whom he depended. Dispensation for the loss of six terms, that he may take the degree of Master the next Act, performing the exercises and paying such fees as are usual.

1676, *6th January.* "*A qualification for Mr. Samuel Synge, M.A., to be chaplain to my Lord Duke in ordinary.*"

1676, 29th January. London.—To the Vice-Chancellor.—On behalf of Thomas Frankland, lately senior Fellow of Brazenose College, and senior Proctor of the University. Leave to be admitted *ad eundem gradum* in his mother University, he having taken the degree of Doctor of Physic at Cambridge, and being at present a Fellow and Censor of the College of Physicians in London.

1676, 29th January. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Charles Twisden, M.A., of Christchurch, of full seven years' standing next Easter term, but who, through several years' absence in foreign parts, has been hindered from taking his degree of Bachelor in Physic. Leave to accumulate the degrees of Doctor and Bachelor in that faculty, being grand compounder for both, and stipulating to answer the Doctor in the next Act, which is statuteable exercise, and reading his lectures for the degree of Doctor.

1676, 5th February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Latten, M.A., and Fellow of Wadham College, who has done all exercises required for a Bachelor of Law's degree, but not yet of full three years' standing in the law line. Dispensation for the rest.

1676, 8th February. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Claridge, of St. Mary Hall, of more than six years' standing, B.A., and having performed all exercises, for the degree of M.A. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, due to necessary employment in the country.

1676, 1st March. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Francis Harding, of St. John's College, Oxford. Dispensation for one term wherein he was entered into his college before his matriculation, so that he may take the degree of B.A., determining this Lent, all fees paid and exercises performed.

1676, 8th March. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William James, of Jesus College, of full standing for the degree of B.A., and having performed all requisite exercises. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, due to necessary employment in the country, that he may take his degree and determine this Lent.

1676, 12th March. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Anthony Sanders, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of full standing for the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Leave to be admitted Doctor in Divinity this next Act, he paying his fees and performing all exercises.

1677, 4th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Grove, commoner of Pembroke College, of full standing fort the degree of B.A., and having done all his exercises. Dispensation for three whole terms and part of another, which he lost through the spread of small-pox in the University.

1677, 7th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Richard Browne, fellow of Corpus Christi College, who is to go out Bachelor of Divinity this term. Dispensation from preaching his Latin sermon till Michaelmas term.

1677, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Richard Annesley, son to my Lord Privy Seal, and now M.A., and Fellow of Magdalen College. Dispensation for one term, that he may answer the Doctors in Divinity for his exercise of Bachelor in that faculty, this next ensuing Act.

1677, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Mascall, born in the bishopric of Durham, and brought up in Edinburgh, where he commenced Master, as may be seen from a diploma which he has. Leave to be entered at Oxford as Bachelor of Arts, a favour which has previously been granted to others.

1677, 18th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Cuffe, B.A., of New Inn Hall. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, due to employment by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that he may proceed M.A., for which he hath performed ll his exercises.

1677, 21st May. To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Bonnor, B.A., of Magdalen Hall, of more than full standing for the degree of Master and having done all exercises belonging to that degree. Dispensation for the loss of two terms, due to a necessary employment in the country, that he may proceed Master the next Act.

1677, 21st May. To the same.—On behalf of Christopher Smith, B.A., of Queen's College. Dispensation for two terms, lost through sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of M.A. the next Act.

1677, 21st May. To the same.—On behalf of Philip Gamage, B.A., of Jesus College, of more than full standing for the degree of Master. Dispensation for the lack of two terms, due to an employment in the country, that he may proceed M.A. the next Act.

1677, 20th May. London.—To the same.—On behalf of William Coward, scholar in Wadham College, of more than full standing for B.A. degree. Dispensation for two terms that he omitted matriculation, by reason of the raging of the small-pox.

1677, 23rd May. To the same.—On behalf of John Bagshaw, B.A., and student of Christchurch. Dispensation for want of one term to full standing for his Master's degree, as he has been designed by one of the Proctors to do some public exercise in the Act.

1677, 31st May. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thomas Huxley, M.A., and fellow of Jesus College, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, having perfored all the exercises xcept preaching a Latin sermon. Dispensation to be admitted to that degree next term, stipulating to preach his Latin sermon in Michaelmas term.

1677, 4th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Salter, B.A., of Oriel College. Dispensation for the loss of one term, due to sickness in the country, that he may take his master's degree the next term.

1677, 4th June. To the same.—On behalf of Richard Berkeley, B.A. of Hart Hall, " who, being from his matriculation of full standing for the degree of M.A., was by a long sickness in the country necessitated to stay five terms after he had completed his time for his Bachelor's degree, before he could be a candidate for it." Leave that these supernumerary terms may be allowed and transferred to the computing of his time for the degree of M.A. the next Act.

1677, 1st June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Barzillai Jones, M.M., and student in the Civil Law, lately of Jesus College. Leave to accumulate the degree of Doctor in that faculty, performing all the exercises required, and paying the fees of a grand compounder both for that degree and Bachelor of the Civil Law. Also dispensation for the defect of time required thereunto, stipulating to read his lectures the next Michaelmas term.

1677, 15th June. To the President of Magdalen College.—On behalf of Thomas Feckenham: his father being dead, he lives with his uncle, a minister in Herefordshire,

and is recommended to the Duke of Ormond by one who served His Majesty under his Lordship's command in Ireland, in the time of the rebellion there, and suffered very much thereby. His admission as a demi in Magdalen College at the next election.

1677, 14th June. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Giles Shaw, B.A., of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for the absence of two years from the University, due to being in His Majesty's service in the Straits as Chaplain to the ship under the command of Captain Richard Travanion, that he may take his Master's degree the next Act, and in regard the time for performing his exercise then is so short at this time, he desires he may be permitted to stipulate for the performance thereof in Michaelmas term."

1677, 14th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Peter Brookes, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for one term that he may proceed M.A. this Act; although the said Peter Brookes is M.A. in another university, he again took his degree of Bachelor that he might be permitted to follow his studies in Oxford.

[1677,] 14th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Peter Terry, of New Inn Hall. Dispensation for one term that he may go out Master the next Act, being in hopes of some preferment speedily, for which a Master's degree is a necessary qualification.

1677, 14th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Samuel Synge, of Christchurch. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to service with the Duke of Ormond, that he may take the degree of Master of Arts the next Act, performing his exercise, and doing all things necessary.

1677, 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Jones, late fellow of Jesus College, M.A. and Bachelor of Law, now of full standing for Doctor, and willing to proceed in that faculty this next Act. Licence to practice physics before he takes the degree of Doctor in Law.

[1677,] 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of John Owen, B.A., of All Souls' and of more than full standing for his Master's degree. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, that were spent in necessary employment in the country, so that he may proceed M.A. this next Act.

[1677,] 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Joseph Bampton of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to necessary employment in the country.

[1677,] 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of James Fulwood, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for the absence of one term.

[1677,] 15th June. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Peter Longworth, of St. Mary Magdalen College, who, upon the performance of his exercise, had his Grace for the degree of B.A., but afterwards for some reason, he transferred his studies to the Civil Law, but did not enter in due time in the law line. Dispensation that his time may be computed towards the taking his degree, as if he had been timely entered upon the law line, that so he may take the degre of Bachelor in that faculty this Act term, being of full standing, and having preferred all the exercises thereunto required.

1677, 19th June. To the same.—On behalf of Walton Poole, commoner of Edmund Hall, of full standing for the degree of B.A. Dispensation for the loss of one term, due to the outbreak of small-pox.

1677, *26th June.* *A qualification for Mr. Charles Walsh, Prebend of St. Andrew's, Dublin, to be my Lord's chaplain in ordinary.*

1677, 27th June. London.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of James Astrey, formerly gentleman commoner of Brazen-nose College, where he continued for some years. Leave to be admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Law, paying his fees as grand compounder for the said degree, and stipulating to perform all his exercises the next term after his admission to his degree.

1677, 29th June. [To the same.]—On behalf of Sir William Davenant. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to sickness.

1677, 29th June. To the same.—On behalf of Robert Hanbury, of Hart Hall, student in the Civil Law, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor in that faculty, and having performed all exercises required to that degree. Dispensation for one term, wherein he was not admitted in the law line.

1677, 1st July. To the same.—On behalf of Robert Greneway, B.A., of Wadham College, who, according to the custom of that college, was kept back four terms from taking the degree of Bachelor when he was of full standing for it, by the statutes of the University. He has now quitted his scholar's place, and the society is willing to allow him the four terms towards the taking of his Master's degree. Leave to do this.

1677, 7th January. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of Dr. Dunn, who has very good testimonials from the Universities of Aberdeen, in Scotland, Valentia in Dauphiny, and Trinity College, Dublin, also the degree of Doctor in Physic. Grace to admit him to the same degree in the University of Oxford, and signify so much under your public

seal. "Superscribed—For the Reverend Dr. Nicholas, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to be communicated to the heads of the houses and the convocation."

To the same.—On behalf of Dr. William Aglionby, recommended highly by Lord Longford, and, as may be seen from his diploma, a Doctor in Physic at Bordeaux. Grace to take the same degree at Oxford, he performing such exercises and paying such fees as in such cases are usual.

1678, 18th May. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Arthur, chaplain to Lord Longford, a B.A., of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for two terms that he may complete his Master's degree the next Act, performing his exercises and paying all fees.

1678, 19th June. Dublin Castle.—To the Bishop of Oxford.—On behalf of Mr. Richard Flood, recommended highly by the Archbishop of Tuam for proficiency in his studies when he was at Trinity College, Dublin. He is now M.A., of New Inn Hall, Oxford, "the Master whereof esteems him very deserving some encouragement in the church." The Archbishop desires the Bishop of Oxford's favour and recommendation to Dr. Clarke, President of Magdalen College, either for a chaplain's place or curateship, or some other preferment to enable Mr. Flood to continue his study in the University.

1678, 21st June. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of one Jones, of Exeter College, son of the late Captain Edward Jones, one of the captains in His Majesty's regiment of guards, who behaved very gallantly and faithfully in His Majesty's service, both in the late wars in England, and in Ireland since the Restoration. Encloses a petition which has been presented to the Duke of Ormond in Dublin.

1678, 19th November. Dublin Castle.—To the Lord Bishop of Oxford, and the rest of the delegates appointed for the affairs of Oxford University, or any of them to be communicated to the other.—On behalf of Dr. Bouchier, Regius Professor of the laws at Oxford. His nomination for the headship of Alban Hall, vacant by the appointment of Dr. Marsh as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

1678-9, 8th January. Dublin Castle.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Secretary Coventry's election on the occasion of calling of Parliament.

1678-9, 8th February. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Solicitor Finch's son, that he may be elected member for the University of Oxford, to serve in the new Parliament summoned for the 6th of March.

[Undated.] To the Lord Bishop of Oxford.]—On behalf of Mr. Richard Fitzgerald, *alias* Francklin, a kinsman of the Duke of Ormond, a youth of eighteen, now scholar in Westminster College. His admission to Christchurch College at the next election.

1679, 16th July. Dublin Castle.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Dr. Timothy Halton, Provost of Queen's College, as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to succeed the present one, Dr. Nicholas, removed to the Wardenship of Winchester.

1679, 22nd July. Dublin Castle.—To the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, "to be communicated to the heads of the Houses and the convocation."—On behalf of Mr. James Lane, son of Viscount Lanesborough. His election as member for Oxford University, in the ensuing Parliament, called for October the 7th.

1680, 30th March. Dublin Castle.—To the Reverend Dr. Timothy Houghton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.—On behalf of the Duke of Ormond's actors, who desire to play at Oxford at the time of the Act.

1680, 13th May. Dublin Castle.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor, "to be communicated to the heads of the houses and the convocation."—On behalf of Mr. John Teadle, B.A., of Queen's College, and chaplain to Lord Fitzharding. Leave to proceed M.A. the next Act, by way of creation, as he cannot with convenience leave his cure long enough to perform his exercise for that degree, or keep his proper terms.

1680, 13th May. Dublin Castle.—To the same.—On behalf of the Duke of Ormond's chaplain, Mr. Thomas Hinde, Bachelor in Divinity, and unable, through his duty in Ireland, to keep his proper terms or do the exercises for the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Dispensation for the terms wanting, that he may be admitted Doctor in Divinity, only paying his fees due for that degree.

1680, 19th August. Kilkenny.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Dr. Halton, that he may continue Vice-Chancellor of the University for another year.

1681, 19th May. Dublin Castle.—To the Lord Bishop of Oxford and the rest of the delegates appointed for the affairs of the University. On behalf of Dr. Levett, his appointment—in regard of a promise made to the late Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England—as head of Magdalen College, on the death of Dr. Hyde.

1681, 24th September. Kilkenny.—To the Rev. Timothy Halton, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to be communicated to the heads of the houses and the convocation.—On behalf of Dr. Timothy Halton. His continuance as Vice-Chancellor for another year.

1682, 4th May. Whitechurch.—To the Provost and fellows of Trinity College, near Dublin.—On behalf of Thomas Wilson, an industrious and ingenious youth. His admission as scholar the next election.

1682, 27th May. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Richard Brideoake, Esq., son of the late Bishop of Chichester, fellow commoner and Bachelor of Arts of Trinity College, Oxford. Dispensation for the lack of five terms, that he may proceed grand compounder and senior of the next Act, he having performed all the exercises required by the statutes for the degree of Master of Arts.

1682, 12th June. Windsor.—To Dr. Timothy Halton, etc. Having heard of the undignified proceedings and neglect of order and decency in convocation, the Duke of Ormond, acting on the precedent given by his predecessor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on a similar occasion in 1639, sends a letter to be publicly read in convocation, and then strictly put in execution by the Vice-Chancellor and proctors, also registered, that there may be no excuse for the like disorders in future times.

Enclosed.—Letter bearing date 1639, 10th July. Lambeth, signed Will Cantuar. Giving rules for behaviour in convocation, and penalties for their infraction.

1682, 12th June. Windsor.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Rowland Griffith, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for three terms' absence, occasioned partly by His Majesty's calling the Parliament to sit at Oxford, and partly urgent occasions in the country.

1682, 12th June. Windsor.—To the same.—On behalf of Farewell Perry, B.A., of Harts Hall. Dispensation for two terms' absence, partly due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford, and partly to a "fit of sickness."

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Hugh Drysdale, Archdeacon of Ossory, chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, and public preacher in the cathedral church of Kilkenny, about to visit Oxford University for the first time. Leave to be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he paying all fees, but unable through the shortness of his time to perform the exercises for the degree.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Anthony Chester, of Christchurch, son and heir of Anthony Chester, Baronet, of full standing for the degree of B.A., and having done all the exercise required by the statute "excepting that he did not answer generals and procure himself to be created senior sophister and oppose *pro termino* three terms preceding his being a candidate for his degree." Dispensation that he may take his degree the next Act.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of John North, B.A., of New Inn Hall, who by reason of some advantage in the Hall, was seven terms more than standing when admitted to the said degree, and was always resident during the said time. Leave that so many of the terms that were supernumerary may now be allowed him for the absence of five terms, that he may proceed M.A. the next Act.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Nathaniel Trewin, late of Trinity College, Oxford, now of St. Mary Hall, of full standing for the degree of B.A. last Michaelmas term, but hindered from taking his degree by reason of the Parliament's sitting at Oxford. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, as also for not answering generals, and opposing therein three terms before he is candidate for the degree of Master.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of John Birkett, B.A., of Queen's College, of more than two years' standing for the degree of M.A., who, being called away from the University by reason of an employment in the country, could not determine in Lent, as by the statutes are required. Dispensation that in lieu of the said exercise, he may be permitted to answer twice in Austins in order to take his degree of Master of Arts the next Act.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Smith, B.A., of Hart Hall. Dispensation for four terms' absence, due, partly to the Parliament's sitting at Oxford, and partly to a necessary employment in the country.

1682, 12th June. [Windsor.]—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Edward Antwisle, B.A., of Brasenose, College, in Oxford, who was admitted in the year 1676, and by reason of sickness, as also through a mistake of Lent term, came too late to enjoy the benefit of his degree. Leave to proceed Master of Arts the next Act.

1682, 19th June. London.—To the same.—On behalf of John Randolph, B.A., of St. Alban's Hall. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to necessary employment in the country, that, being of full standing, and having performed all exercise, he may proceed M.A. the next Act.

1682, 19th June. [London.]—To the same.—On behalf of James Thomas, of Merton College, who was not created senior sophister till last term. Dispensation for opposing *juramenti gratiâ* three times in one term, instead of three times in three distinct terms.

1682, 19th June. [London.]—To the same.—On behalf of James Gwin, of Jesus College. Dispensation as above.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of Arthur Pollard, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for one term, that he may take his degree of M.A.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of John Pollard, of Exeter College. Dispensation for one term, that he may take his degree of M.A.

1682, 21st June. To the same. On behalf of George Hardman, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation of one term, for good reasons, that he may proceed M.A. this Act.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of Robert Launder, B.A., of Pembroke College, of three terms above standing when he took that degree. Leave that one of these supernumerary terms may be transferred towards his taking the degree of M.A. this Act.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of William Lux, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for six terms' absence in the country, where he kept a school, that he may proceed M.A. the last Act.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of Hum. Smith, B.A., of Queen's College, of four years more than standing for the degree of M.A., and had determined and is performing the rest of the exercise for the said degree. Dispensation for six terms' absence, due to employment in the country, that he may proceed Master the next Act.

1682, 21st June. To the same.—On behalf of Hump. Humphrys, Bachelor in Divinity, of Jesus College, and Dean of Bangor. Dispensation for defect of two terms this Act, in order to proceed Doctor in Divinity.

1682, 27th June. To the same.—On behalf of Ralph Price, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for one term, that he may proceed Master of Arts this next Act.

1682, 27th June. To the same.—On behalf of William Hughes, B.A., of Jesus College, who has been hindered at the University by reason of the sitting of Parliament at Oxford. Dispensation for four terms that he may proceed M.A. this Act.

1682, 27th June. To the same.—On behalf of Charles Libb, Bachelor of Physic, of Magdalen Hall, of full standing for Doctor in that faculty, but who did not take his degree of Bachelor of Physic as soon as he was capable. Leave to reckon his time from his proceeding M.A., and to be admitted Doctor in Physic, stipulating that he shall read his lectures before the end of next Michaelmas term, not having time to do so before next Act, on account of absence in the country.

1682, 29th June. To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Aris, B.A., of All Souls' College, of above six years' standing for degree of Master of Arts. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to employment at sea in His Majesty's service, that he may proceed Master of Arts this Act.

1682, 29th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Beynon, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for one term's absence due to the Parliament sitting at Oxford, that he may proceed Master next Act.

1682, 29th June. To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Eddenbrooke, B.A., of Alban Hall, one term above standing when he took the degree, and who has done all necessary exercise for the degree of M.A. Leave to count the supernumerary term towards his proceeding Master this Act.

1682, 30th June. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Hump, B.A., of Queen's College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to employment in the country, that he may proceed M.A. this Act.

1682, 3rd July. To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Jo. Pooly, Dean of the cathedral church of Kilkenny, in Ireland, about to visit Oxford University at the time of the next Act. Leave to be admitted Doctor of Divinity, paying the fees, but unable, through shortness of time, to perform the exercise for that degree.

1682, 3rd July. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Dr Wm. Johnson, of Warwick, Doctor of Physic at Leyden, recommended by Lord Conway. Leave to be admitted Doctor of Physic at Oxford University the next Act, he paying all fees and performing all exercises usual in such cases.

1682, 5th July. London.—To the Bishop of Oxford, etc.—On behalf of Richard Chapman. Admission to the next vacant scholar's place at Christchurch.

1682, 1st August. Windsor.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Char. Leigh, of Brazen Nose College. Dispensation for two terms that he may take his degree of B.A. the next term, so "that he may the sooner perform his resolution of taking to his studies at the University of Leyden, to which place his friends have designed him.

1682, 17th August. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Dr. Lloyd, Principal of Jesus College. His appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in succession to Dr. Timothy Halton, who has held the post for some years, and now has urgent affairs in the country that demand his attention.

1682, 30th September. To the same.—On behalf of Robert Wynn, of Jesus College. Dispensation for one term's absence, occasioned by the sitting of Parliament at Oxford.

1682, 30th September. To the same.—On behalf of John Furneaux, of New Inn Hall. A like dispensation.

1682, 30th September. To the same.—On behalf of Richard Lidgould, of Trinity College. Dispensation for

one term, when he must be absent through urgent occasion, that he may take his degree of B.A. this Michaelmas term.

1682, 17th October. To the same.—On behalf of Char. Hawles, M.A., and fellow of Magdalen College, of more than standing for the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. Leave to be admitted to that degree as soon as he has preached his Latin sermon, upon stipulation for the performance of his other exercise in Lent term, he being now obliged to go into the country on urgent business.

1682, 28th October. To the Rev. Dr. James, Warden of All Souls'. On behalf of Mr. Leopold Finch, son of the Earl of Winchelsea, and candidate for a fellowship in All Souls College.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Elkanah Horton, B.A., of Brazen-nose College. Dispensation for one term's absence due to the sitting of Parliament at Oxford, that he may proceed Master of Arts.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Bryce, commoner of St. Edmund Hall, Dispensation for one term's absence, due to the sitting of Parliament at Oxford.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Trenchard, commoner of St. Edmund Hall. A like dispensation.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of William Hancock, commoner of Christchurch College. A like dispensation.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Davis, commoner of Christchurch College. A like dispensation.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Smith, commoner of Merton College. A like dispensation.

1682, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Kingford, commoner of St. Mary Hall. A like dispensation.

1682, 6th November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Benjamin Milward, B.A., of St. Mary Hall, of full standing for the degree of M.A., and who has performed all his exercise for that degree. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to employment at a considerable distance from the University.

1682, 9th November. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Skinner, of Balliol College. Dispensation for one terms' absence, due to the Parliament being at Oxford.

1682, 9th November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Jeanson, commoner of St. Alban Hall, a year above standing for the degree of B.A., and having performed all exercises for the same, "but being by the death of one of his nearest relations detained in the country, could not keep such residence as the statutes require nor perform part of his exercise in due time." Dispensation for the absence of one term, as also for not being created senior sophister three terms before he supplicates for his Grace in the University.

1682, 9th November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Leigh, commoner of Brazen-nose College, who, by the death of his father in 1679, was "detained in the country from the latter end of Lent to the beginning of Act term, by which means he lost the benefit of two terms to be computed towards the taking his Bachelor's degree. And whereas he is now upon urgent occasions called into the country, and after the despatch of his important affairs there expects that he shall be immediately engaged to travel beyond seas, that he cannot without great prejudice continue longer than this term in the University." Dispensation that the time lost by his father's death may be allowed him to enable him to be a candidate for his degree this term, he being willing to perform all exercise and pay all dues.

1682, 23rd November. St. James' Square. To the same.—On behalf of Francis Foster, of Merton College, formerly of Glasgow University, where he took the degree of Master, and now a commoner of Oxford. Leave to be admitted B.A. upon condition of determining the next Lent, in consideration of the time spent in Glasgow, and the exercise performed there.

1682, 23rd November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Phineas Elwood, fellow of C.C.C., and Bachelor of Physic, of four years more than standing for the said degree when he was admitted to it. Leave that the said time over and above that requisite for Bachelor of Physic may be allowed him and transferred towards taking the degree of Doctor of Physic, and that he may be forthwith admitted a candidate for that degree, giving caution to read his lectures the next term, as by reason of very urgent business he cannot do so this term.

1682-3, *18th January. St. James' Square.—To the Provost and fellows of Trinity College, near Dublin.—On behalf of one Allen Cooke, an industrious and ingenious youth. Admission into a native and scholar's place at the next election.*

1682-3, 25th January. To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of John Miles, of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1682-3, 25th January. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Shaw, scholar of Brazen-nose College. A like dispensation.

1682-3, 25th January. To the same.—On behalf of Rowland Vaughan, of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, occasioned by the sitting of Parliament at Oxford.

1682-3, 29th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Samuel De L'Angle, minister of the Reformed Church at Paris, who has retired into this kingdom with his whole family, intending to live here the remainder of his time. He has exercised his function for five and thirty years, partly at Rouen, and partly at Paris, and has the degrees of M.A., all that the Protestant divines in France do usually take. Leave to admit him to the degree of Doctor in Divinity of the University of Oxford, without imposing exercise or putting him to the charge of fees, "considering how low those of the Reformed Churches in France are reduced by their late persecution there."

1682-3, 30th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Hugh Lewis, B.A., of New Inn Hall, of full standing for the degree of M.A. the Act last past. Dispensation for the absence of four terms, due to a necessary employment in the country, that he may take his said degree this next term, he having performed all his exercises.

1682-3, 9th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Ambrose Rock, of the County of Salop, formerly clerk of Merton College, who matriculated in the year 1665, took his degree of B.A., but owing to private and urgent affairs in the country, was hindered from staying in the University and taking his degree of M.A. Leave to be admitted M.A. this term, paying all fees accustomed, and stipulating to perform his exercises.

1682-3, 10th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Clarke, commoner of Brazen-nose College, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to the Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1682-3, 10th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Cooke, of New College, of full standing for the degree of B.A. this term. Dispensation for not being created senior sophister three terms before he takes his degree.

1682-3, 24th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Lewis Powell, of Jesus College. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1682-3, 24th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Francis Kingston, commoner of Pembroke College. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1682-3, St. David's Day, March.—St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Browne, commoner of St. John's

College. Dispensation that not having matriculated his first term of admission, his time may be computed from his admission, and not from his matriculation.

1682-3, St. David's Day, March.—St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Dudley Hoper, of Christchurch, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Dispensation for not being created senior sophister three terms before he becomes a candidate in the University for the said degree.

1682-3, 6th March. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Conant, M.A., and fellow of Merton College, student in the civil law, but not entered on this line the full time, although of fourteen years' standing the next Act term—the utmost time required by the statutes for taking the degree of Doctor of Law. By the custom of his college, he was hindered from taking his degree of Master of Arts at the first statutable time. Leave to compute his time from his first admission to the University, that he may accumulate the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Law this next Act, performing all exercises and paying all fees.

1683, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Sam. Astley, of C.C.C., of three terms more than full standing for the degree of B.A. before it was conferred on him. Leave that two of these three terms may be transferred on him to enable him to take his degree of M.A. this next Act.

1683, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of David Burchinsha, Bachelor of Arts, of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms occasioned by employment in the country, that he may take the degree of M.A. this next term.

1683, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Giles Aylworth, student in the Civil Law, of Pembroke College, who has performed all exercises, and is above the standing required by the statutes for the degree of Bachelor in that faculty. Dispensation for not being entered timely enough upon the law line, as also for the absence of three terms, that he may take his degree the next Act.

1683, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Read, B.A., of Trinity College, of fourteen years' standing from his first admission into the University, and ten ears since his admission to his Bachelor's degree. Dispensation for the absence of three terms and part of a fourth, due to a necessary employment in the country, that he may take his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 12th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr David Williams, M.A., of Oriel College, and student of physic of full standing for the degree of Doctor in that faculty (recommended by a particular friend). Dispensation for the exercise of Bachelor of Physic, he being

willing to perform that of Doctor, and paying all fees as the statutes require for both degrees, in order to proceed Doctor of Physic this next Act.

1683, 12th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Anthony Gold, B.A., of New Inn Hall, of seven years' standing from his matriculation. Dispensation for the absence of one term and the transposition of another, in order to take his Master's degree this next Act, he having performed all his exercises in order.

1683, 12th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Walker, of New Inn Hall, of full standing from his matriculation for taking his degree of B.A. Dispensation for the absence of one term and part of another, occasioned by his being sent for into the country, upon the death of his mother.

1683, 12th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Price Williams, of Wadham College, of full standing for his degree and having performed all his exercises in order. Dispensation for the absence of one term, "by reason of some urgent affairs laid on him by his father, whose residence is beyond sea, and the Parliament sitting at Oxford," that he may take his degree this next Easter term.

1683, 17th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Joseph Spinal, commoner of Queen's College, of full standing for the degree of Bachelor, "and being created senior sophister, and having opposed *juramenti gratiâ* the last term, and designing to oppose a second time this term." Dispensation for not performing his generals, and for not being created senior sophister, three terms before his taking his degree at the due time, as also for not opposing *juramenti*, etc., a third time.

1683, 20th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Spencer, B.A., of Jesus College, of full standing for that degree at Michaelmas, 1680, but by reason of urgent occasion was deferred that degree until Lent term following. Leave that the said term which was over and above standing for the degree of Bachelor, may be transferred on him to enable him for the degree of Master this next Act.

1683, 20th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Herbert Hooke, Mr. Lingen's friend. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1683, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of German Goldston, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, due partly to Parliament's being at Oxford, and partly to the sickness of his father, that he may take his master's degree this next Act.

1683, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Leigh, commoner of Brazen-nose College.

Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to His Majesty and Parliament being at Oxford, that he may take his degree of Bachelor this next Act.

1683, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Gabriel Hastings, commoner of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, one occasioned by Parliament being at Oxford and the other by sickness; also for not being so timely created senior sophister as the statutes require.

1683, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Philip Wescott, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, two occasioned by the Parliament sitting at Oxford, "and the third by being some little time absent," that he may take his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 3rd May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Philip Jones, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to Parliament being at Oxford.

1683, 5th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Jones, B.A., of Harts Hall, who was of seventeen terms standing before he took his degree, one term more than the statutes require. Leave to be allowed this term over and above, "which he was absent by the death of his mother," that he may take his degree of M.A. this next Act.

1683, 8th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Vincent Barry, B.A., of Oriel College, of three terms above standing for his degree of Master. Dispensation for five terms' absence, "by reason of the death of his father, who left him very much encumbered by several embrangled circumstances."

1683, 12th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf, of Robert Huntington, fellow of Merton College, of above twenty years' standing. Leave to accumulate the degree of Doctor in Divinity this next Act, performing all the exercises required for that degree, and paying the fees for that and Bachelor in Divinity, the latter of which he could not take in the regular time, being employed in public service in foreign parts.

1683, 15th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Llewellin, B.A., of Christchurch College, above standing when he took the said degree. Leave that term may be allowed him towards taking his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 17th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Prichard, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for two terms' absence, one due to Parliament being at Oxford, and the other to sickness, that he may be capable of taking his degree of Master this next Act.

1683, 17th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Morgan, B.A., of New Inn Hall. Dispensation that four terms, which were overstanding in his degree of Bachelor, may be transferred towards his Master of Arts, to enable him to take that degree this next Act, he having performed all exercises in order thereunto.

1683, 17th May. St. James' Square—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thomas Bevans, of Jesus College, M.A. of twenty years' standing, and living about a hundred miles away from the University. Leave to accumulate the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity the next Act, he performing all exercises for the latter, and paying his fees for both degrees.

1683, 24th May. St. James' Square.—To the Reverend the President of Magdalen College, Oxford.—On behalf of Robert Walker, now of University College, a relation of a friend whom the Duke of Ormond is willing to oblige. Admission as demi at the next election in Magdalen College.

1683, 31st May. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Charles Vernon, commoner of Pembroke College. Dispensation for not having matriculated as soon as the statutes require, and that his time may be reckoned from his admission, not from his matriculation, so that he may be a candidate for the degree of B.A. this next Act term.

1683, 31st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of His Royal Highness' chaplain, Mr. Thomas White. Admission as Doctor of Divinity (though absent), and his diploma sent him.

1683, 31st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Dering, B.A., of C.C.C., who has urgent occasion to travel beyond sea in August next about matters of great importance, and will not be of full standing till Michaelmas term. Leave to commence Master of Arts this next Act, " which, if he should be otherwise stayed till the next following Act, it would prove very prejudicial and totally divert his business."

1683, 3rd June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of William Durham, B.A., of Trinity College, now near two years above standing for the degree of Master, but who did not keep his due residence, " by reason of his being chaplain to a lady of good quality and tutor to one of her sons, and since her death left executor." Dispensation for absence of five terms, that he may take his degree of Master the next Act.

1683, 3rd June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Baldwyn, esquire, a gentleman of quality and good estate, who, on the occasion of His Royal Highness' late visit to Oxford, expected to be admitted Doctor in the Civil Law, but there was no letter of recommendation from the Chancellor. His admission to the degree of Doctor in Civil Law (though absent) his diploma to be sent to him.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Whiteing, B.A., of Wadham College. Dispensation that one of the terms that he was above standing when he took his Bachelor's degree, may be transferred and allowed him towards his Master's degree this next Act, he having performed all his exercises.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Saunders, scholar of New College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, and for not being created senior sophister in such due time as the statutes require, so that he may be a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts this next Act term.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Francis Davis, B.A., of New Inn Hall, of complete standing for the degree of Master of Arts this next Act term, and having performed all his exercises. Dispensation for the absence of four terms, due partly to an employment in the country, and partly to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Wace, B.A., of Wadham College, of full standing for the degree of M.A., and having performed all the exercises. Dispensation for the absence of four terms, due to urgent and necessary affairs in the country, so that he may take the degree of Master this next Act.

1683, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Perry, B.A., of Magdalen Hall, above standing for the degree of Master, and who has performed all due exercises. Dispensation for the absence of four terms, occasioned partly by the Parliament's being at Oxford, and partly by his father's death, when, being left executor, he was encumbered with several urgent businesses in the country, that he may take his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead. To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Horndon, B.A., of St. Mary Hall, of three terms more than standing when he took his degree. Dispensation that these three terms may be transferred and allowed him towards taking his degree of Master the next Act.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of James Eustace, B.A., of University College, of one term above standing when he took his degree. Dispensation to transfer this one term towards the taking of his Master's degree this next Act.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of John Triggs, of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to sickness in the country.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Timothy Hodson, B.A., of University College. Dispensation that one term may be given him, that he may be capable

of taking his Master's degree this next Act term, as he has a preferment in the country, which will oblige him to so constant a residence and diligent attendance on the same," that he will not be able to come here afterwards.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Gerard Errington, B.A., of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, occasioned by a tedious sickness in the country, that he may be a candidate for the degree of Master this next term.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the President [of Magdalen College.]—On behalf of the son of Dr. Fulham, an ancient chaplain of the King's and of the Order, a youth well qualified from his education in Eton College. Admission as demi of Magdalen College, at the next election.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of John Acton, student in law, of Hart Hall, of above eight years' standing in the University, who has performed all the exercise required for the degree of Bachelor in Law. Dispensation for the loss of seven terms, in the whole number requisite for the degree, due to unexpected travels into foreign countries, and to Parliament's being assembled at Oxford .

1683, 16th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Peter Wynne, B.A., of Jesus College, of one or more terms above standing for the degree of Master, but hindered from keeping such residence as the statutes require, by reason of an employment in the country, and by the Parliament's being at Oxford. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, that he may become a candidate for the degree of Master this Act.

1683, 16th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Marston, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for the absence of five terms, due partly to the Parliament's sitting at Oxford, and partly to an employment in the country.

1683, 16th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Cornelius Tilbourne, Chirurgeon in Ordinary to His Majesty, who has obtained His Majesty's leave to go to several cities in England, and set up his stages there, and vend his antidotes against poisons and other medicines, which have been very successful in London. Leave to erect his first stage at Oxford, for about a month or six weeks' time.

1683, 19th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Wm. Cutler, B.A., of Christchurch. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to Parliament's being at Oxford.

1683, 19th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Hall, M.A., canon and treasurer of the church of Exeter, of full standing for the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Leave to accumulate the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, paying all fees for both degrees, and performing the exercise for the latter before the Act, or giving sufficient caution (if straitened in time) to read his lectures in Michaelmas term next.

1683, 19th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Hugh Hughes, B.A., of Jesus College of full standing this term for the degree of Master from the time of his matriculation. Leave that one term which he was above standing when he took his Bachelor's degree may be allowed him towards taking his Master's degree this Act.

1683, 19th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—On behalf of Humphrey Drake, B.A., of Brazen-nose College, admitted into the University in 1676, but by sudden sickness he was detained in the country so long that he lost the benefit of Lent term following. Dispensation for absence of time so lost, that having performed all his exercises, and being of full standing, he may take his Master's degree this Act.

1683, 22nd June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Francis Haselwood, B.A., of Magdalen College. Dispensation for two terms wanting in his standing for the degree of Master, that he may take it this next Act, "his father being a Turkey merchant, and having all his concerns managed at Smyrna by one of his sons as factor (who now lies extremely ill of a consumption there), and the said father being old and infirm himself, desires that the said Francis Haselwood may go over to settle his affairs and take care of his effects, and choose some faithful correspondent there, to supply his future occasions."

1683, 2nd July. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Rice Jones, of St. Mary Hall, of eight years' standing, but prevented by the sickness and death of his mother from taking his Bachelor's degree till last year. Leave that six terms may be transferred on him that he may take his Master's degree the next Act.

1683, 2nd July. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Richard Greenway, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for four terms' absence, due partly to Parliament's sitting at Oxford, and partly to urgent and necessary business in the country.

1683, 15th September. Winchester.—To the Rev. Dr. Lloyd, Vice- Chancellor, etc.—On behalf of Dr. John Lloyd, President of Jesus College. Nomination to continue in his office of Vice-Chancellor.

1683, 22nd September. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Wm. Risdon, commoner of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to Parliament's being at Oxford.

1683, 22nd September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Kingford, commoner of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for one term, due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford.

1683, 22nd September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Barker, commoner of St. Alban Hall, who was taken ill suddenly at his first coming to the University, with a violent sickness, which continued some time, and hindered him from matriculating his first two terms. Leave that these two terms may be allowed him, and his time computed from his admission, not his matriculation, so that he may take his degree this term.

1683, 22nd September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Joshua Powell, of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, caused by His Majesty's calling his Parliament at Oxford.

1683, 24th July. St. James' Square.—On behalf of Dr. Henry Stiles, Doctor of Laws and senior fellow of the College of the holy and undivided Trinity, near Dublin. Licence, in pursuance of His Majesty's letters, dated 15th July, 1672, of absence from the said college, for the term and space of one year from the date of these presents, and the said Dr. Stiles to enjoy immunity from all manner of penalties, and censures whatsoever, mentioned or contained in the statutes of the said college.

1683, 29th September. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Henry Parkhurst, M.A., and fellow of Corpus Christi College, who, some time since, was sent with the Bishop of London. Licence to preach in Nevis, where he officiates with good success. Dispensation that, being of full standing for the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, he may be allowed it in his absence, "and not suffer in his private concerns at home whilst he is doing public service abroad."

1683, 8th October. London.—To the same.—On behalf of Abraham Turner, of Wadham College. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to Parliament's being at Oxford, that he may take his degree the next term.

1683, 25th October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Samuel Garmston, B.A., of All Souls' College, of seven years' standing, who has been hindered from due residence at the University by keeping a school at Nuneaton, in Warwickshire, and that so successfully that he is now importuned by the chapter of Lincoln to take the post of chief schoolmaster at Lincoln, for which none under the degree of Master of Arts is capable, and which must be filled before next St. Thomas' Day. Dispensation for the absence of six terms, that he may proceed Master of Arts (performing all exercise and paying all fees) and thereby be qualified for the preferment.

1683, 30th October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Morse, B.A., of Merton College, of full standing for the degree of Master of Arts, but hindered from keeping such residence as the statutes require, by a necessary employment in the country. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, to become a candidate for the degree of Master this term.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Southcott, M.A., at Exeter College, hindered from taking his degree of Master till one term after he was of full standing, on account of urgent and necessary occasions, which caused the loss of a whole year in his regency, so that he could not be entered on the physic line as soon as he ought to have been. Leave for that year to be allowed him towards taking his degree of Bachelor of Physic this term.

1683, 15th November. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Martin, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, above six terms' standing for the degree of M.A., but hindered from keeping due residence at the University, by reason of urgent affairs in the country. Dispensation for the absence of four terms that he may take his degree of Master this term.

1683, 4th December. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Humphreys, of Balliol College, of several terms above standing for the degree of B.A., but hindered from keeping due residence at the University, by an employment in the country. Dispensation for the absence of three terms that he may take the said degree this term, performing all exercises and paying his first fee.

1683, 4th December. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Littleton Evans, of All Souls' College. Dispensation for one term, occasioned by the Parliament's being at Oxford.

1683-4, 5th January. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mr. Francis Bragge, fellow commoner of Wadham College, of full standing, for the degree of B.A., who by reason of the Parliament's sitting at Oxford was constrained to leave the University and to enter himself at the Inns of Court, with an intention to study the law, contrary to the first directions of his friends; he has however returned to his college. Dispensation for the absence of six terms, and not being matriculated and created sophister in statutable time.

1683-4, 5th January. St. James Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Whitfield, of Brazen-nose College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the Parliament's being at Oxford.

1683-4, 5th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Thomas Mathews, B.A., of Christ Church College, who did not take his degree until three terms after he was of full

standing, because he stood for the place of one of the students of that college. Leave that the three terms so lost may be allowed and transferred to enable him to take the degree of Master.

1683-4, 19th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Lancelot Blackbourne, B.A., and student of Christ Church College, of five terms above standing for the degree of Master, but hindered from taking his degree at the due time, by being engaged in an employment in His Majesty's service in one of the foreign plantations. Leave to be admitted to the said degree, having performed most of his exercise, and his sudden departure preventing him from doing the rest and paying all fees.

1683-4, 19th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Griffith of Jesus College, of several terms above standing for the degree of B.A., but by reason of an employment in the country, hindered from keeping due residence. Dispensation for the absence of one term for not being created senior sophister in due time.

1683-4, 19th January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Samuel Musgrave, of Wadham College, of two terms above standing at the taking of his degree of Bachelor. Leave that these terms may be allowed towards his Master's degree.

1683-4, 19th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Pigott, B.A., of Wadham College, of two terms above standing when he took his degree. Leave that these terms may be allowed him for the taking his degree of Master.

1683-4, 23rd January. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Obadiah Browne, commoner of Lincoln's College, of fourteen terms standing this Lent term, and in hopes of a preferment, for which only a graduate is eligible. Dispensation for the want of two terms, that he may take his degree of B.A. this term, having performed all the exercises requisite. Recommended by the Duke of Norfolk.

1683-4, 16th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Robinson, B.A. and fellow of Oriel College, who in the year 1676 kept all his terms, and performed most of the exercise for the degree of M.A., but was prevented from finishing it by being employed in His Majesty's service in Sweden. Dispensation for not performing all his excercise, that he may take his degree of Master, he paying all fees.

1683-4, 28th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Martin Lister, esquire, Professor of Physic, lately at York, but now in London, a person of exemplary loyalty and of high esteem amongst the most eminent of his profession for his excellent skill and successes therein, also author of several learned books. He has such an " affection for the University of Oxford that he hath lately presented your library with divers valuable books, both manuscript and printed, and enriched your new museum with several altars, coins and other antiquities, together

with a great number of curiosities of nature, whereof several cannot be matched for any price, which yet he declares to be but an earnest of what he further intends." His admission as Doctor of Physic as a suitable return for his gifts.

1683-4, 28th February.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Jacam, commoner of Pembroke College. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to an employment in the country, in order to take the degree of B.A. this Lent term.

1683-4, 28th February.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Wolcomb, commoner of Exeter College. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, due to a fit of sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of B.A. this Lent term.

1683-4, 28th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Lewis Roberts, scholar of Brazen-nose College, of two terms above necessary standing for the degree of B.A. Dispensation for the absence of two terms, occasioned by Parliament's being at Oxford, and by his living in the country at a great distance from the University, that he may take his degree this Lent term.

1683-4, St. David's Day. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Flutter, B.A., of St. Mary Hall, of full standing from his matriculation for the degree of M.A., who has ever since his first admission to the University been constantly resident, but did not take his degree of Bachelor as soon as he might have done (being hindered by hopes and expectations of some preferment in the University). Dispensation for six terms that he was above standing for the degree of Bachelor, that they may be allowed him towards taking his Master's degree this Lent term.

1683-4, 12th March. St. James' Square.—To his Grace, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.—On behalf of the son of Dr. Duncombe, enclosing a letter of recommendation from the Bishop of Winchester. His admission as fellow of All Souls' College by *mandamuri* at the next election, his Grace being visitor of All Souls College.

1683-4, 12th March.—To the Warden of All Souls' College.—On behalf of George Duncombe, son of Dr. Duncombe (recommended in the enclosed letter from the Bishop of Winchester) and B.A. of St. Mary Hall. His admission by *mandamuri* as fellow of All Souls College at the next election.

1684, 4th April. St. James' Square.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of Mathew Nichols, of St. Alban Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term due to Parliament's sitting at Oxford, that he may take his degree of B.A. this Easter term.

1684, 3rd April.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas West, B.A., of Merton College, of one term more than standing for that degree when he took it. Leave to transfer the said term towards taking his Master's degree this term.

1684, 5th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Bainbridge, B.A., of University College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, due to travel in foreign parts, that he may take his degree of Master this term.

1684, 12th April.—To Sir Thomas Clayton, Warden of Merton College.—On behalf of Martin Hartopp, son of Sir William Hartopp (whose loyalty and service to the King have reduced his income £2,000 per annum)—and a student of Merton College. His admission as fellow of the said college at the next election.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To Mr. Vice-Chancellor and gentlemen.—On behalf of John Wisman, of St. John's College, of seven years' standing since his matriculation, but not entered in statutable time on the law line. Dispensation for the same that he may take the degree of Bachelor of Law this term, performing his exercise.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To the same.—On behalf of David Davids, M.A., of Jesus College, of fifteen years standing since his matriculation. Leave to transfer three terms that he was above standing when he took his said degree, towards taking the degree of Bachelor in Divinity this next term, he performing all exercises and paying all fees.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To the same.—On behalf of Solomon Wheatly, B.A., of Magdalen College, of five terms above standing when he took his degree, and constantly resident at the University. Leave to be allowed these terms towards taking his Master's degree this next Act.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To the same.—On behalf of John Parry, B.A., of Jesus College, of six years standing since his degree, but hindered from due residence in the University by employment in the country. Dispensation for the absence of five terms that he may take his Master's degree this next Act.

1684, 29th April. Hampton Court.—To the same.—On behalf of Howel Griffith, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of three terms, due to employment in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this next Act.

1684, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Robert Perkinson, B.A., of Brazen-nose College, of full standing for the degree of Master. Dispensation for three terms' absence, due to employment in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this next Act.

1684, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Paul, of St. Mary Hall. Dispensation for two terms' absence, due to a fit of sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of B.A. this next Act.

1684, 1st May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Sylas Ayles, of Wadham College, above standing for the degree of B.A., but not matriculated as soon as the statutes require.

Dispensation for the same and allowance of his time from his admission, not his matriculation.

1684, 13th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Nicholas Drue, B.A., of Exeter College. Dispensation for one term's absence, due to sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this next Act.

1684, 15th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Francis Rogers, some years since of Exeter College, of seven years' standing before he parted thence, in which time he performed most of his exercise for the degree of M.A. Having been commanded into His Majesty's service, he has spent eight years in Syria, the Mediterranean and West Indies, and though now returned is yet engaged in one of His Majesty's ships of war, whereby he is hindered from his personal appearance at Oxford to pay his duties. Leave to be admitted M.A. this next Act, dispensation for the remaining part of his exercise, paying all due fees for the same, and his diploma to be sent him.

1684, 15th May. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Chrysostome du Charole, who took his degree of M.A. at Avignon in 1669, and has served in His Majesty's Chapel Royal for seven or eight years past, as one of the daily Chaplains. Leave to be admitted M.A. at Oxford University.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Edward Langford, B.A., of All Souls' College, of eight terms above standing when he took that degree, and all that time resident in the University. Leave to transfer seven of those terms towards taking his Master's degree this next Act.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Onely. B.A., of Merton College. Dispensation for one term's absence due to the Parliament's being at Oxford, and leave to be allowed three terms, which he was above standing for the degree of Bachelor, towards taking his Master's degree this next Act term.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Jonas Holme, of Magdalen Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the small-pox being at Oxford, that he may take his degree of B.A. this next Act.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Pilsworth, B.A., of Magdalen Hall, of full standing for the degree of Master this Act, and having performed all his exercise for the same. Dispensation for two terms' absence, due to the increase of small-pox at Oxford the last year.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Charles Standish, of Wadham College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the small-pox the last year, that he may take his degree of B.A.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of John Cave, commoner of Lincoln College. Dispensation for the absence of

two terms, on account of the small-pox at Oxford, that he may take his degree of B.A. the next term.

1684, 26th May.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. La Roy, a French Protestant minister, driven for refuge into England. The assistance of the University in helping him to acquire the English language, in order to fit himself for some employment, until he have opportunity to return to the service of the Church in his native land.

1684, 3rd June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Thomas Mathews, B.A., of New Inn Hall, above five years' standing since taking his degree, but by reason of an employment in the country, hindered from keeping his due residence in the University. Dispensation for the absence of two terms that he may take his degree of Master this next Act.

1684, 3rd June.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. John Smith, Bachelor of Physic, of Wadham College, of ten years above standing for the degree of Doctor in that faculty. Leave to be admitted a candidate for that degree the next Act, standing in the Act and paying the fees of a grand compounder; giving sufficient caution to read his lectures some time before the end of next Michaelmas term, since by reason of present affairs in the country he cannot perform the exercise before next Act.

1684, 3rd June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Henry Broughton, B.A., of St. Alban Hall. Dispensation for the absence of one term, due to the small-pox being at Oxford, in order to take his degree of M.A. this next Act.

1684, 4th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. William Latham, B.A., of Balliol College. Dispensation for the absence of last Lent term, occasioned by an urgent affair which needed his personal presence in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this next Act term.

1684, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Giles Clarke, student of Christ Church College, of three terms above standing when he took his degree of Bachelor. Leave that those three terms may be transposed and allowed him, in order to take his degree of Master this Act term.

1684, 5th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of Mr. Charles James, late student of Christ College, who is now above standing for the degree of Doctor of Divinity " but being detained in the country in breeding up several persons of quality's sons (as fitting them for the University) was thereby hindered from taking his degree of Bachelor of Divinity in due time." Dispensation for the same, and leave to be admitted to the degree of Doctor this Act, paying all fees and performing all exercises for the same.

1684, 6th June.—To the same.—On behalf of Christopher Smith, of Pembroke College. Dispensation for two terms' absence, due to sickness in the country, so that he may take the degree of B.A. this term.

1684, 6th June.—To the same.—On behalf of George Nelson, B.A., of Merton College. Dispensation for the transferring of four terms he was above standing when he took his degree of Bachelor, and that they may be allowed him towards taking the degree of Master this Act.

1684, 6th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Evans, B.A., of Jesus College. Dispensation for the absence of one term, occasioned by a fit of sickness in the country, that he may take his degree of Master this Act.

1684, 6th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—On behalf of John Coles, B.A., of All Souls' College, of above nine years' standing since his matriculation. Dispensation for six terms' absence, due to attendance upon the Bishop of Sarum, that he may take his degree of Master this Act.

HOUSEHOLD CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

1ST DUKE OF ORMOND

AS

LORD HIGH STEWARD OF ENGLAND.

In the same MS. Volume that contains the "Oxford Letters" *(as above)—but commenced from the other end of the Volume (reversed)—and entitled on this cover* "King's Household," *are various warrants from the Duke of Ormond, in his capacity of Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household.*

On the first page is an entry as follows:—"James, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Ormond, Earl of Ossory and Brecknock, Viscount of Thurles, Baron of Arclo and Lanthony, Chief Butler of Ireland, Lord of the Regalities and Liberties of the County Palatine of Tipperary, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, one of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council of England, Scotland and Ireland, Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, etc."

"Londini, 13th June, 1682. Per W. WOGAN, Clerk."

The Warrants are entered as follows:—

1675, 20th April. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth. To swear and admit the bearer, John Littlemore, now groom, into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Ewry in Ordinary, void by the death of John Woodman, late Yeoman thereof.

1675, 20th April.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To instate and admit the bearer, Robert Mawer, into the place of youngest Groom of His Majesty's Ewry in Ordinary, void by the removal of John Littlemore.

1675, 26th April. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the bearer, Josiah Poulter, into the place of supernumerary Groom of His Majesty's Ewry in Ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place shall become void in that office, by death, resignation or otherwise.

1675, 24th May. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Henry Bulkeley into the place of Master of His Majesty's Household, on the resignation, death or other avoidance whatsoever of Sir Herbert Price, now Master of His Majesty's Household, according to the tenor of the enclosed warrant from His Majesty, dated, Whitehall, 9 May, 1675.

1675, 25th October. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To enter and admit the bearer, John Hay, into the place of a Wine Porter to His Majesty's household in ordinary, void by the death of Richard Harding.

1675, 1st November.—To the Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary: On behalf of Andrew Lynn, esquire.—Nomination, by letters patent under the Great Seal of the said county, as High Sheriff for the county of Tipperary for the ensuing year—making him take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to His Majesty, and give good security for the profits of the employment.

1675, 1st November.—To the Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary.—To grant to Bartholomew Foulks, esquire, the several offices of Seneschal and Justice and Chancellor of the Courts of the Liberties of the county Tipperary, during the absence of Richard, Earl of Arran, Lord John Butler, Sir William Davys, knight, and John Keating, esquire, from the said county.

1675-6, 7th December.—To [the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth].—To instate Charles Morgan as Grocer to His Majesty's Household, vacant by the death of George Townsend.

1675, 30th December. Board of Greencloth.—William Boreman, W. Churchill and Richard Mason, to the Duke of Ormond.—In obedience to your Grace's reference to us upon the petition of Robert Twiford, purveyor of oils and pickles, we have seriously considered of his pretensions therein, and find that by warrant from your Grace, dated the 24th of July, 1660, he was admitted, but not sworn, into the place and service of oils and pickles for His Majesty's use, at such rates as should be agreed by the officers of the Board of Greencloth, but without any fee or allowance, and that ever since he hath constantly served and supplied the oils and pickles and such like provisions as were spent and employed at the entertainments of Ambassadors or at the feasts of St. George, which he ought still to enjoy. But as we humbly conceive His Majesty's Grocer, being a sworn officer, and having at all times, both before His Majesty's happy restoration and since, served the oil for their Majesties' household, the same may still continue in the same course, and the rather because we find the petitioner's place was then erected and the other of ancient establishment; all which, notwithstanding, we submit to your Grace's grave determination.

1675-6, 7th January.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth. —To swear and admit Sylvanus Landon into the place of Yeoman of the month in His Majesty's cellar in ordinary, void by the death of Daniel Munt, late Yeoman of the month in that office.

1675-6, 29th January.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Parks into the place of supernumerary Brewer to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, during the absence of Thomas Firth, employed on other occasions of His Majesty's service in Ireland.

1675-6, 19th January.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Barclay into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's chandry in ordinary, void by the death of Matthew Shepherd.

*1675, 10th February.—Recommendation of John Constable as a scholar in Charterhouse.**

1675-6, 14th February.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Parkes into the place of Purveyor of beer, brewer for His Majesty's household in ordinary.

1675-6, 15th February. Panton House.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To enter and admit Adrian Pearson into the placesof Basket maker to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, void by the resignation of William Williams.

1675-6, 4th March. Panton House.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Richard Full into the place of youngest Groom of His Majesty's chandry in ordinary, void by the death of Matthew Shepherd, late Yeoman of the said office.

[*Undated.*]—To his Grace, James, Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of His Majesty's household.—Petition of Silvanus Landon, employed for many years in the service of His Majesty and Royal Father of blessed memory, as Page, Groom and Yeoman, and obtained warrant the 10th of January last to be sworn into the place of Yeoman of the month to His Majesty in the cellar—in which post it was customary in former times to have four months waiting in the Privy Cellar, and two in the Great Cellar.—Order to be given that he may have the turns of waiting according to his right and as his predecessors have enjoyed.

1675-6, 10th March. Board of His Majesty's Greencloth, Whitehall.—To all whom it may concern.—Certificate that Charles Morgan is sworn and admitted Grocer of His Majesty's Household, by virtue whereof he is to have and enjoy the wages, profits, privileges and advantages to the said place belonging; his person not to be arrested or detained without leave first had and obtained from this Board, neither is he to bear any public office nor be

* This entry and others printed in italics do not appear to properly belong to the series of "Household" entries.

empanelled upon any inquest or jury nor warned to attend at Assizes or Sessions, whereby he may pretend excuse to neglect His Majesty's Household, which he is constantly to attend, according to his oath and duty.

Signed: Ormond.

Will. Ashburnham. Ste. Fox. Herbert Price.
Wm. Boreman. Rich. Mason.

1675-6, 14th March. Board of His Majesty's Greencloth, Whitehall.—To all persons whom it may concern.—To permit and suffer Charles Morgan, His Majesty's Grocer, or his deputy, to buy and provide all the spices, oranges, lemons, oils, pickles and other groceries for the use of their Majesties' diet and Household, in the markets or elsewhere from time to time, without molestation or disturbance; the said Charles Morgan or his deputy paying ready money upon the receipt thereof, according to the prices of the markets, or as shall be agreed upon between the buyer and the seller.

Signed: Ormond.

Wm. Ashburnham. Herbert Price. Ste. Fox.
Wm. Boreman. Richard Mason.

1675-6, 15th March. Panton House.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Board of Greencloth.—Instructions to consider the above petition and send information as to what the former custom in cases of this nature was, so that those in the office of the Cellar may be settled in their respective waitings, and that there may be no further occasion of complaint.

1675-6, 20th March. Panton House.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Approval of the report printed above, and order to be re-entered as a rule "that Charles Morgan, His Majesty's Grocer now being, have and enjoy the purveyance of oils and pickles for their Majesties' household during his life or continuance in that employment, together with his other purveyances as grocer."

1676, 28th April.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Petition of Sir Francis Wenman, knight—"Sheweth that dame Elizabeth Morgan, widow, deceased, to whom your petitioner is executor did in her lifetime—that is to say about the month of September, 1674, at the Court of Great Sessions, held for the county of Carmarthen, in Wales,—recover and obtain *rationabile parte honorum* for the third part of two thousand pounds due to her, the said Lady Morgan by the custom of that country out of the personal estate of Sir Anthony Morgan, her late husband, deceased, unto whom the said Elizabeth, the lady of the said Sir James Butler, is executor. Your petitioner humbly prayeth that in regard the said Sir James Butler is one of His Majesty's Council and Steward of His Majesty's Court of the Palace of Westminster that your Grace would be pleased to order him to give an appearance for himself and his lady upon your petitioner's action in case he will not make satisfaction of the said debt; otherwise

that your petitioner may be at liberty to proceed by due course of law against them, as usual is in such like cases."

[*Endorsed*].—Let this petition be shown to the within named Sir James Butler, who is to satisfy the petitioner or within fourteen days after notice hereof show cause in writing why the request hereof should not be granted. Ormond.

1676, 29th April. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of His Majesty's household.—(Royal warrant) to swear and admit John Thompson into the place of supernumerary Clerk of the Pastry in ordinary, in reversion to succeed and come into the actual possession and enjoyment of the said place, after the resignation, removal or death of Thos. Webb, esquire, present Clerk of the Pastry, and of Henry Gascoyne, esquire, who hath been lately sworn into the place of supernumerary Clerk of the Pastry to succeed the said Thomas Webb. Further, if any other of the particular household clerks shall happen to die, resign, or be removed after the said Henry Gascoyne shall be admitted into any the places to which he is to succeed according to our said warrants or shall die, whereby any other clerk's place shall become void, that then the said Henry Gascoyne and the rest of our particular clerks be removed according to the custom of succession, so that the said John Thompson may in the next place be admitted Clerk of the Pastry in ordinary. " And, whereas, we have allowed a pension of £50 per annum to Robert Roan, a supernumerary clerk of our house, during his life, and have by our warrant declared our pleasure that if the [said] Robert Roan die before the said Henry Gascoyne be admitted Clerk of our Pastry in ordinary, that then the said pension of £50 per annum be settled upon the said Henry Gascoyne until he be admitted in ordinary as aforesaid. And our further will and pleasure is that if the said Robert Roan shall die before the said John Thompson shall be admitted Clerk of our Pastry in ordinary, and that the said Henry Gascoyne shall die, resign or be removed or admitted into ordinary, whereby the said pension shall cease and not be payable, either the said Robert Roan or Henry Gascoyne before the said John Thompson shall be admitted in ordinary as aforesaid, that then the said pension of £50 per annum shall be settled upon the said John Thompson to hold and enjoy the same until he shall be actually admitted into the place of Olerk of our Pastry in ordinary in possession."

1676, 10th May.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Thompson into the place of supernumerary Clerk of our Pastry in ordinary, according to the contents of His Majesty's warrant.

1676, 22nd May.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Petition of William White, to be referred to the Board of Greencloth, that such wages, board wages and other allowances as are in arrears and due to the late Henry Walthew, Sergeant of the Confectionery, may be paid to the petitioner, for satisfying the said Henry

Walthew's debt of £75, in addition to other charges incurred in administering on the goods and chattels of the said Henry Walthew.

[*Endorsed*].—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To consider the above petition, and, finding the allegations thereof to be true, to give orders for the petitioner's satisfaction.

1673, 23rd March.—Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant that the pension of £50 per annum granted to Robert Roan, supernumerary Clerk of the Household, shall, upon his death, be settled upon Henry Gascoyne, if he is not admitted in ordinary as Clerk of the Pastry, to hold and enjoy until such time as he shall be admitted in ordinary as aforesaid.

1676, 13th May.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Robert Roan, being dead, to pay, allow and pass the said pension of £50 per annum unto the said Henry Gascoyne, from the time of the death of the said Robert Roan, until he shall be admitted Clerk of the Pastry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1676, 15th June.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Petition of Eliz. Godfrey that her licence for keeping an ordinary in Scotland yard may be continued and renewed.

1676, 15th June.—To the Officers of the Board of Greencloth.—Order that the above petition shall be granted if it cause no inconvenience.

1676, 15th July.—To
To be supernumerary Child of the Kitchen in ordinary.

1676, 15th July.—To
William Taylour to be Server of the Hall in ordinary, void by the surrender of John Kyme.

1676, 22nd July.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear John Goodchild into the place of Marshal of His Majesty's Hall in ordinary, void by the voluntary resignation of Francis Whitehead.

1676, 25th Ocotber.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To admit John Hay as Wine Porter to His Majesty's household.

1676, 5th November. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Patrick Lamb, esquire, into the place of Sergeant of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, void by the death of William Astley, late Serjeant of that office.

1676, 10th November. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Patrick Lamb into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1676, 10th [November]. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Thomas Teild into the place of youngest Child of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, void by the removal of Patrick Lamb.

1676, 16 December. Whitehall. To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Edward Allen into the place of supernumerary Child of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, till a place become void in that office, and then he is to succeed in ordinary.

1675, 14th November.—To Sir William Davys, knight, Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the county of Tipperary.—To cause letters patents to be passed under the Great Seal of the said county, thereby nominating Andrew Lynn, esquire, to be High Sheriff of the county of Tipperary for the year ensuing, and to take care that besides the Oath of Sheriff he do take the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance to His Majesty, and do enter into good security to be truly accountable to us in our exchequer for the profits of the said employment.

1676, 7th November, London.—To Sir William Davis, knight, Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary.—"Forasmuch as we are given to understand that divers recognizances, bills and bonds entered into by several persons inhabiting within the county of Tipperary are become forfeited unto us, and that the same are issued forth in green vases to our Sheriff of the said county, by means whereof some of the said inhabitants may suffer contrary to our intentions, we have caused a commission of reducement of the said forfeitures directed to several persons therein named to be engrossed; We therefore by these presents will and require you that the said commission, dated the seventh day of the month of September last past, and signed by us, do forthwith pass under the Great Seal of our liberty of the County aforesaid—for which this shall be your warrant." *Ormond.*

[1676,].—To Sir William Davis.—To supersede A. Lynn.

1676, 25th November.—[To Sir William Davis].—A warrant for Charles Minchin to be Sheriff of Tipperary.

1675-6, 5th January.—[To Sir William Davis].—A warrant for Richard Toler to be Sheriff of Tipperary.

*1681-2, 7th February, Dublin Castle.—To Edward Herbert, esquire, Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the county of Tipperary.—To nominate and appoint Giles Powell, esquire, to continue High Sheriff for the county of Tipperary during the ensuing year.**

1676, 12 September, Whitehall. To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.—Petition of John Price, Yeoman Purveyor of His Majesty's Buttery, for an annuity of £50 a year (as the rest of

* See note at p. 644 *supra*.

the Yeomen of His Majesty's Buttery now have) for his constant and long domestic service, or otherwise £50 a year as other indigent military men have, "or some other way as your Majesty in your princely wisdom shall think fit to preserve" the petitioner "from destruction."

To the Duke of Ormond.—The above petition is referred to the Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household, who is desired to consider the particulars and say what he thinks fit to be done for the petitioners' relief, whereupon His Majesty's further pleasure will be declared.

Signed: H. Coventry.

To the King.—Report on the above petition, and recommendation of John Price as a fit object of charity.—Suggestion that the pension granted to William Ramsey, lately dead, should be bestowed on the petitioner—which pension was allowed by the Board of Greencloth and paid by the Cofferer of His Majesty's household.

Signed: Ormond.

1676-7, 23rd January.—[To
To swear Abraham Smedmore into the place of Yeoman Keeper of His Majesty's ice and snow houses, void by the death of Simon Mansell.

1676, 19th December. London.—To Sir William Davis, Chancellor of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary.—To cause letters patents to be passed under the Great Seal of the Court of the Regalities and Liberties, thereby pardoning and acquitting Teig Neale for the offence of felony, of which he was found guilty on the 8th of April in the 27th year of His Majesty's reign. Condemned to death and afterwards reprieved.

1676, 8th November.—To Richard, Earl of Arran, Lord Seneschal of the Liberties and Regalities of Tipperary.—Petition of Richard Moore, esquire, Sheriff of the county Palatine of Tipperary, in 1675, who has been fined £500 and threatened to be proceeded against for the escape of a criminal named Williams to direct the Attorney General of the Court of Regalities to cause a pardon of the said offence.

[Endorsed].—The above petition is referred by the Earl of Arran to Sir William Davis, knight, Chancellor, and Standish Hartstonge, esquire, Attorney General of the Regalities Court of Tipperary.

*Report on the above petition by Sir William Davis and Standish Hartstonge.—The petitioner did nothing out of malice or intention to obstruct justice or prevent the delinquent's trial and judgment, but all was due to mistake and inadvertency: therefore he is recommended as a fit object of mercy for his Grace the Lord of the Regalities' pardon from further prosecution.**

* See note at p. 644 *supra*.

1676-7, 23rd January.—To Standish Hartstonge, Attorney of the Court of the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary.—Authority to draw up a Fiant in due form of the Law containing the pardon of Richard Moore for the escape of the criminal, Williams, and from any further prosecution concerning the same, except what relates to the fine imposed on him.

1676, 22nd February.—To [ ].—To swear Robert Bromfield into the place of Yeoman of His Majesty's Pitcher house in ordinary, void by the resignation of Francis Gale.

1677, 4th May.—To [ ].—To admit Richard Jones to be Page of the Cellar in extraordinary, in the place of Philip Victory, lately deceased.

To the Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of His Majesty's household.—Petition of Henry Sclater, one of the waiters of His Majesty's hall, to obtain leave of absence from his duties for the space of two years, that he may go to Dantzic to look after his wife's affairs, which are in the hands of her uncle, Mr. Hoyer, a merchant of that city, who is in a very weak and crazy condition, being upwards of seventy-six years of age.

1677, 8th May.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Leave of absence for twelve months to be granted to Henry Sclater, that he may go to Dantzic—" without prejudice to his entertainment."

1677, 9th May.—To [ ].—To admit Patrick Jack to be youngest Groom Porter at His Majesty's gate, upon the death of William Mathewes.

1676-7, 7th March.—To [ ].—To admit Henry Collins to be wine porter, void by the death of Christopher Pound.

1677, 29th May.—To [ ].—To swear Thomas Whitmore as supernumerary Page of the Pantry, without a fee in that office, till a place shall fall void.

1677, 28th May.—To Needwood Forest.—For a buck—one of his Grace's fee bucks—for Captain Richard Dyett, of Lichfield, at the desire of Lord Arran.

1677, 28th June.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Harold Miller into the place of supernumerary Groom Caretaker to His Majesty in ordinary, to come into waiting upon the first avoidance or vacancy in that office.

1677, 6th June. Whitehall.—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To direct, according to the Book of Establishment signed by His Majesty, to commence the first day of July, 1674—

" a diet of seven dishes of meat, a meal in lieu of board wages, to be delivered and served in kind to any officers of the Greencloth that shall attend either the King or Queen upon removes, and particularly to Sir Stephen Fox, Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth, that is now to attend Her Majesty to the Bath; and with the said diet all incidents thereunto belonging in as ample manner as formerly hath been served to any officer's diet of seven dishes of meat a meal. And for so doing this shall be as well to pass, allow and pay the same as also to abate the allowance of board wages during the time the said diet shall be served in kind."

[*Undated*]. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear Sir Stephen Fox, Clerk of the Greencloth ever since the Restoration, into the office of Cofferer of His Majesty's household, when it is void by the death or resignation of William Ashburnham, the present Cofferer, and Henry Brounker, who has been promised the reversion of this office.

[*Undated.*]—To Sir William Boreman, knight, youngest Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Sir Stephen Fox into the place of Cofferer to His Majesty's household, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1678, March.—To Sir Stephen Fox and Sir William Boreman.—Twelve blank warrants.

1678, 23rd July.—[To].—To admit William Tozer to be General Harbinger supernumerary.

1678, 23rd July.—To [" Lord Newport "].—To admit Nicholas de Loch to be Yeoman Harbinger supernumerary.

1678, 23rd July.—To [ ].—Two supernumerary blank warrants.

1678, 14th September.—To [ ].—To swear — Erndle a Gentleman of the Buttery in ordinary.

1678, 26th October.—To [ ].—A blank warrant for to be admitted Harbinger.

1678, 29th December.—To Sir Stephen Fox.—Twelve blank warrants.

[*Undated.*]—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit John Jennings into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Pantry in ordinary, void by the voluntary resignation of Franciss Cobb, late Sergeant thereof.

[*Undated.*]—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said John Jennings into the said place of Sergeant of His Majesty's Pantry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

[*Undated.*]—Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit William Yardley into the place of

supernumerary Clerk of His Majesty's Accatry in ordinary, the present holder of the office, Robert Fenn, being incapable of performing his duties by reason of his old age and great deafness. The said William Yardley to enjoy no wages, board wages, fees or perquisites of the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Accatry until the same shall become void by the death, resignation or removal of the said Robert Fenn.

[*Undated.*]—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said William Yardley into the said place of supernumerary Clerk of His Majesty's Accatry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1679. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Thomas Hardyman into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Silver Scullery in ordinary, void by the resignation of Edward Tomes, esquire.

[*Undated.*]—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Thomas Hardyman into the said office of Serjeant of His Majesty's Silver Scullery in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

" A warrant for His Majesty's signature for the removing of Thomas Webb, esquire, Clerk of the Pastry, to the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Scullery, void by the death of —— Hubberd, and his Grace's warrant therein enclosing His Majesty's."

" The like for His Majesty's signature, and his Grace's warrant thereon for admitting Henry Gascoigne, esquire, to be clerk of His Majesty's Pastry, being void by the removal of Thomas Webb."

" And twelve blank warrants signed by his Grace were sent on the 27th November, 1679."

1679, 28th December.—To [ ].—To swear and admit Neile Moloy to be Porter in ordinary of the Back Gate of Somerset House, to attend the Queen's Majesty; the said place being void by the death of Norris Roberts.

1676, 29th April. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant concerning the pension of £50 per annum bestowed upon Robert Roane, a supernumerary Clerk of His Majesty's House, during his life, and afterwards on Henry Gascoigne, if he be not already admitted Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary. When the said Henry Gascoigne shall die, resign or be removed, or be admitted in ordinary, whereby the said pension shall cease and not be payable to either Robert Roane or Henry Gascoigne, then, if John Thompson be not admitted Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the said pension of £50 per annum shall be settled upon the said John Thompson, to hold and enjoy until he be actually admitted into the said place of Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary.

1679-8, 17th March.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To pass, allow and pay the said pension of £50 per annum (enjoyed for some years since the death of Robert Roane, by Henry Gascoigne) unto the said John Thompson, from the time that the said Henry Gascoigne hath been admitted into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary (upon the death of Abraham Hubert, late Clerk of His Majesty's Silver Scullery) according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

168—.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Twelve blank warrants sent for England.

1679, 8th December. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit James Halsey into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Accatry in ordinary, void by the voluntary resignation of Robert Angell, late Serjeant of the Accatry.

[*Undated.*]—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said James Halsey into the said place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Accatry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1680, 24th October. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—To swear and admit Roger Andrews, esquire, into the place of Gentleman of His Majesty's Ewry in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Hugh Calberley, esquire, late Gentleman thereof. Royal warrant.

[1680, 27th November.]—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Roger Andrews into the place of Gentleman of His Majesty's Ewry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

[*Endorsed*].—*Mem.*—This warrant for Mr. Andrews and twelve blank short warrants signed were sent for England the 27th November, 1680.

1680-1, 18th February.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Samuel Douglas into the place of supernumerary Groom Caretaker to His Majesty, without wages, board wages, fees or perquisites belonging to the said place until it become void by the death, resignation or removal of the present Groom Caretaker in ordinary, and then the said Samuel Douglas is to succeed and come into the actual possession and enjoyment of the said place, without further warrant.

1680-1, February,—Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit John Manley, esquire, into the place of third Clerk of the Kitchen in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Ralph Jackson, esquire.

[*Undated.*]—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said John Manley into the said place of third Clerk of His Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1680-1. 31st March. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear Henry Progers into the place of supernumerary Serjeant Porter of His Majesty's house, as the present holder of the office, Sir Edward Brett, cannot by reason of sickness give his attendance at His Majesty's gates so often as his place requires. The said Henry Progers is to execute the said place without any wages, board wages, fees or other allowance belonging to the said place of Serjeant Porter, until the place shall become void by the death, resignation, or removal of the said Sir Edward Brett, and then he is to succeed in ordinary, without need of further warrant.

[*Undated.*]—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear the said Henry Progers into the place of Serjeant Porter, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1681, [7th December.] Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Thomas Marshall into the place of Master Cook of His Majesty's Side Kitchen in ordinary, void by the death of Richard Pierce.

1681, 7th December.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Thomas Marshall into the said place of Master Cook of His Majesty's Side Kitchen, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1681, October. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear John Flock, esquire, into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Wine Cellar in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Richard Dalton, senior.

[*Undated.*]—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear the said John Flock into the said place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Wine Cellar in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1681, 7th December.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Twelve blank warrants for England.

1682, 13th June. Windsor.—To the Duke of Ormond.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Lawrence Ball, esquire, into the place of Serjeant of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, void by the death of Nicholas Johnson, late Serjeant of that office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Lawrence Ball into the said place of Sergeant of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Edward Gray into the place of Yeoman of His Majesty's Privy Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being void by the promotion of Lawrence Ball, late Yeoman of the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Edward Ball into the place of Yeoman of His Majesty's Great Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Edward Gray, late Yeoman of the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Charles White into the place of Groom of His Majesty's Privy Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being void by the promotion of Edward Ball, late Groom of the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit William Walton into the place of Groom of His Majesty's Great Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being void by the promotion of Charles White, late Groom of the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Thomas Fenn into the place of Eldest Conduct of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of William Walton, late Eldest Conduct of the same office.

1682, 8th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Collins into the place of eldest Groom of His Majesty's counting house in ordinary, void by the resignation of Andrew Whitengam, late eldest Groom thereof.

1682, 8th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Thomas Fox into the place of youngest Groom of His Majesty's counting house in ordinary, void by the promotion of John Collins.

1682, 20th July. St. James' Square.—To the Master and Register of the Charter House.—Nomination of James Wills for a scholar's place, next after those already recommended.

1682, 25th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit James Boswell into the place of supernumerary Groom Porter at His Majesty's Gate in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place become void in the said office.

1682, 14th June. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Arthur Bedborough into the place of youngest Conduct of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, the same being void by the promotion of Thomas Fenn, late youngest conduct of the said office.

1682, 11th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Mary Cardin into the place of Laundress of His Majesty's Table Linen extraordinary.

1682, 25th July. London.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit John Roberts into the place of supernumerary Child of His Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place become void in the said office.

1682, 1st August. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Richard Warden to be sworn supernumerary Child of Her Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, to be given a place as soon as one shall become void.

1682, 1st August. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth, or to any other of His Majesty's Officers of the Greencloth whom these may concern.—To order and appoint the two Clerks of His Majesty's Spicery for the time being in their several and respective waitings to make provision of all sorts of sugar, fruits, oranges, lemons, spices, etc., as belong to and issue out of the office of His Majesty's spicery as from time to time shall be needful and necessary for the expense of His Majesty's house, at such rates as shall, from year to year, be contracted with them by the officers of His Majesty's Greencloth, and to settle upon them such allowances as the late Charles Morgan, Grocer of His Majesty's Household, had enjoyed for executing the said place. The office of Grocer of His Majesty's Household is to be therefore discontinued.

1682, 2nd August. Windsor.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear Walter Price, His Majesty's servant, into the place and quality of Gentleman Harbinger in extraordinary to His Majesty's Household, without fee or allowance, until a post shall become vacant in that office.

1682, 19th August. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Nathaniel Hebin supernumerary Page of His Majesty's Cellar in ordinary, until the same shall become void by the death or other avoidance of a Page now in ordinary.

1682, 19th August. Whitehall.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear William Brome, esquire, supernumerary Marshal of His Majesty's Hall in ordinary until the same shall become void by death or other avoidance of a Marshal now in ordinary.

1682, 9th November.—To the same.—To admit Daniel Parker, one of the Wine Porters of His Majesty's household, in the room and place of Francis Gore, lately deceased.

1682, 6th December. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit William Fatheree into the place of supernumerary Groom Porter at His Majesty's Gate in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place become void in the same office.

1682, 11th December. St. James' Square.—To the Master and Register of the Charter House.—Nomination of John King,

gentleman, to be admitted to a pensioner's place in the Charter House, next after those already recommended.

1682-3, 13th February. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of His Majesty's household.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Isabella Heuston into the place of Laundress of the Board in extraordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place shall become void by the death or other avoidance of Susanna Jennings, Laundress of the Board now in ordinary.

1682-3, 15th February. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Isabella Heuston into the said place of servant as Laundress of the Board in extraordinary, etc., according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1682-3, 14th February. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Patrick Lamb, esquire, into the place of His Majesty's Master Cook in ordinary, the same being void by the death of John Sayers, esquire, late His Majesty's Master Cook.

1682-3, 14th February. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Patrick Lamb, esquire, into the said place of Master Cook in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1682-3, 27th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Emanuel Hicks into the place of Yeoman of Her Majesty's Kitchen, in the place of Thomas Clarke, superannuated, and put to pension by his own consent.

1682-3, 27th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Leonard Welbeck into the place of Groom of Her Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Emanuel Hicks, late Groom thereof, into the place of Yeoman.

1682-3, 27th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Richard Warden into the place of eldest Child of Her Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Leonard Welbeck into the place of Groom of the same office.

1682-3, 27th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Richards into the place of youngest Child of Her Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, vacant by the promotion of Richard Warden into the place of eldest Child of the same office.

1682-3, 3rd March. A letter from my Lord Duke to call Mr. Bickerstaffe to his employment as clerk of His Majesty's woodyard.

1682-3, 6th March. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Philip Lemon into the place of Yeoman of the Field to His Majesty, to attend the Queen, the same being vacant by the voluntary surrender of Charles White.

1683-3, 6th March. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Peter La Roch into the place of a supernumerary Yeoman Harbinger to His Majesty in the room and place of Edmund Gregory, deceased, late supernumerary Yeoman Harbinger, without fees or allowance, until there become a vacancy by the death, resignation, or removal of any of the present Yeomen Harbingers in ordinary to His Majesty, then the said Peter La Roch to succeed in ordinary, without any further warrant.

1683, 10th May. Windsor.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit William Walley into the place of supernumerary Serjeant of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until that place shall become void by the death, resignation, or removal of Lawrence Ball, the present Sergeant of that office, and then the said William Walley is to have and to hold the said place of Serjeant of His Majesty's bakehouse, without any further warrant.

1683, 12th May. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said William Walley, into the place of supernumerary Serjeant of His Majesty's Bakehouse in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—To swear and admit Samuel Browne into the place of eldest Groom of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Henry Adams into the place of Yeoman.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—To swear and admit William Murray into the place of second Groom of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Samuell Browne into the place of eldest Groom.

1683, 14th June. [Hampstead.]—To the same.—To admit Thomas Field into the place of youngest Groom of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of William Murray into the place of second Groom.

1683, 14th June. [Hampstead.]—To the same.—To swear and admit Edward Allen into the place of eldest Child of His Majesty's Pastry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Thomas Field into the place of youngest Groom.

1683, 14th June. Hampstead.—To the same.—To swear and Admit Thomas Herd into the place of youngest Child of the Pastry to His Majesty in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Edward Allen into the place of eldest child.

[*Endorsed*].—For these warrants of the pastry Mr. Secretary had paid fifteen guineas at my Lord Duke's house

1683, 23rd July. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Philip Bickerstaffe, esquire, now Clerk of His Majesty's Woodyard, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Poultry in ordinary, the same being void by the death of James Mungar, late clerk of His Majesty's poultry.

[*Endorsed*].—He paid Mr. Secretary at the Rumer near Whitehall.

1683, 24th July. St. James Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Philip Bickerstaffe, esquire, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Poultry in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 23rd July. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Thomas Webb, esquire, now Clerk of His Majesty's Scullery, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Woodyard in ordinary, the same being vacant by the removal of Philip Bickerstaffe, esquire, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Poultry.

[*Endorsed*].—Mr. Webb paid Mr. Secretary with Mr. Bickerstaffe, etc.

1683, 24th July. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Thomas Webb, esquire, into the said place of Clerk of His Majesty's Woodyard in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 23rd July. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc. Royal warrant to swear and admit Henry Gascoigne, esquire, now Clerk of His Majesty's Pastry, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Scullery, the same being vacant by the removal of Thomas Webb, esquire, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Woodyard.

[*Endorsed*].—Memorandum: Doctor Gascoigne owes Secretary Gascoigne for this warrant. Witness, W. Wogan, Clerk.

1683, 24th July. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Henry Gascoigne esquire, into the place of Clerk of His Majesty's Scullery in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 24th July.—To all whom it may concern.—At the request of Philip Bickerstaffe, esquire, clerk of His Majesty's Poultry, I do hereby give leave to the said Philip Bickerstaffe to repair into the country about his private concerns, and to be absent from the duty of his said place of Clerk of the Poultry for the space of eight months from the date hereof. Ormond.

[*Endorsed*].—I paid Mr. Secretary for this warrant 6 guineas, 29 July, 1683.

1683, 23rd July. [Whitehall].—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Joseph Cent Livres into the place of Cook and Potagier of His Majesty's Privy Kitchen in

ordinary, and to settle upon him an allowance of five shillings per diem for his salary in the execution of the said place, to commence from the day of the date hereof, to be passed and allowed as the rest of His Majesty's servants and paid by the Cofferer of His Majesty's Household for the time being.

1683, 24th July. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Joseph Cent Livres into the place of Cook and Potagier of His Majesty's Privy kitchen in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 30th July. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Giles Rose into the place of Yeoman of the mouth of His Majesty's Privy Kitchen in ordinary, the same being void by the death of —— Wilson, late Yeoman thereof.

1683, 30th July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit Robert Foxall into the place of youngest Yeoman of the Side Kitchen to His Majesty's household in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Giles Rose.

1683, 30th July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit John Thompson into the place of Groom of His Majesty's Privy Kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Robert Foxall.

1683, 30th July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit Henry Smith into the place of youngest Groom of the Side Kitchen of His Majesty's household in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of John Thompson.

1638, 30th July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit Alexander Houseden into the place of eldest Child of His Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Henry Smith.

1683, 30 July. [St. James' Square].—To the same.—To swear and admit John Linchcome into the place of second Child of His Majesty's privy kitchen in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Alexander Houseden.

1683, 28th August. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Shaw into the place of supernumerary Child of His Majesty's Kitchen in ordinary, without fee or entertainment, until a place become void.

1683, 28th August. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Fosbrooke into the place of supernumerary Groom of His Majesty's Pitcher house in ordinary, without fee or allowance, until a place become void.

1683, 25th September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Richard Salmon into the place of a Groom Porter at the Back Gate of Somerset House in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Neale Molloy.

To his Grace, James, Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of His Majesty's household.—The petition of Chastillain, to whom Monsieur Mezandier, late gentleman of the chamber to the Duke, and now Sergeant of His Majesty's Poultry, is in debt for between three and four hundred pounds upon account. The petitioner begs the Duke of Ormond to order the said Mezandier to come to an account and give the petitioner such satisfaction as shall be justly due, or otherwise if he will not so comply, the liberty of the law to sue him for the said debt.

1683, 26th, September. St. James' Square.—Let the within-named Mezandier see this petition and satisfy the petitioner, or else within two months show cause in writing why the petitioner's request should not be granted. *Signed*, Ormond.

1683, 27th September. Whitehall.—To the Duke of Ormond, etc.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Richard Dalton into the place of Gentleman and Yeoman of the mouth in His Majesty's Privy Cellar in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Abraham Smedmore.

1683, 28th September. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Richard Dalton into the place of Gentleman and Yeoman of the mouth in His Majesty's Privy Cellar in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1683, 28th September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Richard Jones into the place of second Yeoman of His Majesty's Cellar and Yeoman of the ice and snow to His Majesty in ordinary, the same being void by the removal of Richard Dalton.

1683, 28th September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Francis Clarke into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Cellar in ordinary, the same being void by the removal of Richard Jones.

1683, 28th September. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Jones into the place of Groom Grubber of His Majesty's Cellar in ordinary, the same being become void through the removal of Francis Clarke.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Thomas Landon into the place of eldest Yeoman of His Majesty's Buttery in ordinary, the same being void by the death of James Gourlaw.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Henry Cocksedge into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Buttery in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Thomas Landon.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Murray to be eldest Groom of His Majesty's Buttery in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Henry Cocksedge.

1683, 31st October. St. James' Square. To the same.—To swear and admit Neal Nelson to be youngest Groom of His Majesty's Buttery in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of John Murray.

1683, 27th November. [St. James' Square.]—To the Officers of His Majesty's Greencloth.—Reference on the petition of John Thurston and Henry Crane.

1683-4, 23rd January. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear William Arnold into the place of Child of His Majesty's Privy Kitchen in ordinary, he having been admitted supernumerary Child in the year 1680.

1683-4, 16th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Arthur Upcott into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Ewry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the " dismiss " of Robert Maur.

1683-4, 16th February. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Peter Berry into the place of Groom of His Majesty's Ewry in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of Arthur Upcott into the place of youngest yeoman of the said office.

[*Endorsed*].—Paid Mr. Secretary for the above and this warrant 5 guineas in Lord Duke's dining room, 26th.

1684, 14th April. Windsor Castle.—To James, Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of His Majesty's Household.—Royal warrant to swear and admit Major Michael Arnold into the place of Brewer to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, " and to settle upon him the wages or fee of five pounds per annum, to commence and be paid from Michaelmas, 1682, with all other rights, privileges and advantages thereunto belonging, in as full and ample a manner as any other person or persons ever enjoyed the same, any thing, matter or clause in His Majesty's book signed to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

1684, 30 April. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit the said Major Michael Arnold into the said place of Brewer to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, according to the contents of the above Royal warrant.

1684, 30th April. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Philips into the place of Blacksmith to His Majesty's Household in ordinary, the same being vacant by the voluntary resignation of John Walker.

1684, 2nd June. Windsor.—To the same.—To swear and admit John Clifton into the place of youngest Yeoman of His Majesty's Scalding house in ordinary, the same being void by the death of Jonas Clifton.

1684, 18th June. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit William Vuljohn into the place of youngest

Groom of His Majesty's Scalding house in ordinary, the same being vacant by the promotion of John Clifton.

1684, 3rd July. St. James' Square.—To the same.—To swear and admit Mary Lamb into the place of Laundress of the Board to the Queen's Majesty extraordinary, until the same shall become void by the death or voluntary surrender of Mary Leigh, now Laundress of the Board to Her Majesty in ordinary.

1684, 3rd July.—To his Grace James, Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of England.—" The petition of Henry Wagoner, 'landskip' painter. In March, 1680, the petitioner took a deaf and dumb youth, Benjamin, son of John Ferrers, gentleman, as an apprentice for eight years, and the said Mr. Ferrers, in consideration thereof, agreed to give the petitioner £30 —twenty pounds of which was paid down, and the remaining ten to be paid in a year's time, according to a bond given by Mr. Ferrers, who, however, has never paid the ten pounds, and moreover has now removed his habitation into Spring Garden, within the verge of the Court, so that the petitioner cannot touch him; that lately the petitioner sued Mr. Ferrers " to an outlawry of which he had timely notice and might have prevented the same, either by payment of the said money or by giving your petitioner bail to his action, both which means he slighted or neglected, and now, knowing himself out of the petitioner's reach, bid him defiance, intending to defeat your petitioner of his said just debt." The petitioner therefore begs an order that His Majesty's writ may be executed upon the said Mr. Ferrers at his said habitation, without which the petitioner will never get his money.

1684, 3rd July. St. James' Square.—Order: " Let John Ferrers see this petition and satisfy the petitioner, which if he shall delay or refuse to do, then the Officers of the Board of Greencloth are to take care that the said John Ferrers be put out of the verge of the Court that so the petitioner may have his due course of law for the recovery of his debt."

1684, 3rd July. St. James' Square.—" A like order of the same words and date on the petition of Dr. John Betts against Sir John Clayton, knight, for debt—the said Sir John Clayton took lodgings in Hampton Court to protect him, etc."

1684, 9th July. St. James' Square.—To the Clerk of His Majesty's Greencloth.—To swear and admit Samuel Douglas into the place of Groom caretaker to His Majesty in ordinary, the same being void by the death of —— Hobbs.

1684, 16th July.—To James, Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of England.—The petition of Lewis Dehavion.—" That one Walter Butler, having much injured your petitioner and several others, and being a great offender against the laws to avoid the justice thereof, doth shelter himself within the limits

of His Majesty's Royal Palace at Westminster to the great wrong of your petitioner and others. And forasmuch as your petitioner hath no way to bring the said Mr. Butler to justice but by the aid of this honourable Board, your petitioner humbly prays that your honours will not permit the said Walter Butler any longer to reside or be within the limits of the said palace; but give such order and directions for the apprehending the said Walter Butler (in case he be found there) that your petitioner and the other parties injured may be enabled to prosecute the said Mr. Butler according to law."

1684, 16th July. St. James' Square.—Order: "Let Walter Butler see this petition and satisfy the petitioners, which if he shall delay or refuse to do, then the Officers of the Board of Greencloth are to take care that the said Walter Butler be put out of the verges of the Court that so the petitioner may have his due course of law."

AN ACCOUNT OF

WOOL LICENCES GRANTED IN IRELAND,

1678-1681.

An Account of Wool Licenses Disposed of, beginning the 28th of September, 1678.

No. 142.	Edward Wright, for seven hundred stone of wool from Cork, fourteen pounds. Dated the 28th of September, 1678 ...	14 : 00 : 00
No. 143.	Wm. Howell, for one thousand stone of wool from Cork, twenty pounds. Dated the 1st of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 144.	Robt. Ball, for one thousand stone of wool from Youghal, twenty pounds. Dated the 1st of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 145.	Robt. Boardman, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin, twenty pounds. Dated the 5th of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 146.	Daniel Ivy, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 12th of October, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 147.	Geo. Ash, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin, twenty pounds. Dated the 29th of October, 1678	20 : 00 : 00
No. 148.	John Harrison, for one thousand stone of wool from Cork, twenty pounds. Dated the 2nd November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 149.	Wm. Dennis, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 2nd of November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 150.	Tho. Faux, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 2nd of November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 151.	John Murphy, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 2nd of November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 152.	Mich. Head, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford, twenty pounds. Dated the 4th of November, 1678 ...	20 : 00 : 00

No. 153.	Nath. Stephens, for four hundred stone of wool from Ross, twenty pounds. Dated the 6th of November, 1678 ...	10 : 00 : 00
No. 154.	Tho. Percival, for five hundred stone of wool from Drogheda. Dated the 8th of November, 1678, twenty ...	10 : 00 : 00
Nos. 155 and 156 (*sic.*)	Isaac Holroyd, two licenses, each for one thousand stones of wool from Dublin. Dated the 12th of November, 1678, forty pounds	40 : 00 : 00
No. 157.	James Burrowes, for six hundred and fifty stone of wool from Kinsale. Dated the 12th of November, 1678, twelve pounds, sixteen shillings, eight pence	12 : 16 : 08
No. 158.	Tho. Wright, for one thousand stone of wool from Cork. Dated the 14th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 159.	Geo. Ash, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 15th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 160.	Jer. Yendall, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 16th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 00 00
No. 161.	Isaac Ambrose, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 16th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 162.	John Murphy, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 16th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 163.	Wm. Vaughan, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 16th of November, 1678, twenty pounds	20 : 00 : 00
No. 164.	Robt. Boardman, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 19th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 165.	Edwd. Collier, for five hundred stone of wool from Kinsale. Dated the 19th of November, 1678, ten pounds ...	10 : 00 : 00
No. 166.	Saml. Randall, for one thousand stone of wool from Cork. Dated the 19th of November, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 167.	Tho. Faux, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 30th of November, 1678, twenty pounds	20 : 00 : 00
No. 168.	Edwd. Hoare, for two hundred stone of wool from Cork. Dated the 30th of November, 1678, four pounds ...	04 : 00 : 00
No. 169.	Wm. Howard, eight hundred and forty stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 2nd of December, 1678, sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence	16 : 13 04

No. 170.	Geo. Ash, for one thousand stone of wool from Dublin. Dated the 2nd of December, 1678, twenty pounds	20 : 00 : 00
No. 171.	Wm. Vaughan, for seven hundred stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 7th of December, 1678, fourteen pounds	14 : 00 : 00
No. 172.	Richard Butler, for six hundred stone of wool from Ross. Dated the 7th of December, 1678, twelve pounds ...	12 : 00 : 00
No. 173.	Edwd. Vernon, for one thousand stone of wool from Youghal. Dated the 14th of December, 1678, twenty pounds	20 : 00 : 00
No. 174.	John Murphy, for one thousand stone of wool from Waterford. Dated the 17th of December, 1678, twenty pounds ...	20 : 00 : 00
No. 175.	Tho. Percival, for five hundred stone of wool from Drogheda. Dated the 24th of December, 1678, ten pounds ...	10 : 00 : 00
		£593 : 10 : 00

NAMES OF LICENCEES.

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of December, 1678, and the 27th of March, 1679, with the total amounts of the Licences for that quarter :—

Nos. 176-200 inclusive.

Isaac Holroyd.
Robt. Boardman.
Edward Hoare.
John Murphy.
Edwd. Collier.
Geo. Ash.
James Burrows.
Tho. Faux.
Wm. Stoker.
Danl. Smart.
John Sandiford.
Jeremy Udall.
Mich. Head.
Tho. Percival.
James Neale.
John Whitmore.
Henry Aston.
John Boswell.
Wm. Dennis.
Benjamin Withrington.

Total amounts for the quarter ... £392 : 11 : 08

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of March, 1679, and the 27th of June, 1679, with total amounts of the Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 201 to 251 inclusive.

Thomas Deane.
Edward Vernon.
Isaac Holroyd.
Samuel Martin.
Henry Aland.
Edward Collier.
Daniel Smart.
John Harrison.
John Davis.
Thomas Holt.
William Howard.
Mich. Lincoln.
John Bowden.
Robert Boardman.
Anthony Bartlett.
Samuel Whitehorne.
Michael Head.
Richard Butler.
Henry Aston.
Jeremy Udall.
Christopher Blackwood
Nathaniel Stephens.
Edward Wright.
Edward Bagley.
Henry Smith.
Thomas Faux.
Richard Maybank.
John Leonard.
James Burrowes.
William Makan.
James Smithfield.
Matthew Spencer
Thomas Willis.
Wm. Boler.
Wm. Vaughan.
Ralph Moxon.
Christopher Crofts.

Total amount for the quarter ... £894 : 03 : 00

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 28th of June, 1679, and the 26th of September, with the total amounts of the Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 252 and 339 inclusive.

William Edwards.
Michael Lincoln.
Edward Hoare.

John Newenham.
Nathaniel Stephens.
Isaac Holroyd.
Wm. Dennis.
Robert Boardman.
John Murdock.
Henry Aston.
Wm. Ballard.
Richard Maybank.
Edward Collier.
John Merrick.
Thomas Holt.
Thomas Faux.
Thomas Michell.
Wm. Morgan.
Alexander Shaw.
Thomas Willis.
Christopher Blackwood.
Michael Head.
Edward Wright.
Thomas Percival.
John Harrison.
John Hanbury.
William Bussell.
Wm. Osborne, senr.
John Bowden.
William Howard.
William Field.
Robert Rogers.
John Sharpe.
John Atkin.
Edward Crockford.
Edward Lawndy.
James Burrowes.
Edward Pomeroy.
Samuel Whitehorne.
Jeremy Berstow.
Richard Yates.
William Vaughan.
James Neale.
Lawrence Smith.
Abraham Smith.
Edward Bagley.
Zachariah Foxon.
Edmond Smith.
Philip Cox.
Simon White.
Richard Carleton.

Total amount for the quarter ... £1,312 : 04 : 00

	£	s.	d.
The Quarter ending 24th of December, 1678 ...	593	10	0
The Quarter ending the 27th of March, 1679 ...	392	11	8
The Quarter ending the 27th of June, 1679	894	3	0
The Quarter ending the 26th of September, 1679 ...	1312	4	0
	3192	8	8

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of September, 1679, and the 27th of December, 1679, with the total amounts of the Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 340 and 378 inclusive.

Wm. Vaughan.
John Bowden.
Abraham Smith.
Thomas Holt.
Michael Head.
Robert Boardman.
Henry Aston.
Jeremy Udall.
John Sharpe.
John Leonard.
Thomas Faux.
Isaac Holroyd.
Lawrence Smith.
Edward Bagley.
Edward Hoare.
Samuel Whitehorne.
John Hammon.
Edward Collier.
Christopher Blackwood.
Wm. Howard.
Hugh Charnock.
Isaac Ambrose.
Richard Butler.
Michael Lincoln.
Edward Smith.
Wm. Smith.
Robert Ball.
Wm. Dennis.
Mich. Head.
Jeremiah Berstow.

Total amount for the quarter ... £676 : 3 : 4

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 28th of December, 1679, and the 26th of March, 1680, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 379 and 411 inclusive.

Augustine Bodkin.
Wm. Vaughan.

Tho. Faux.
Edward Collier.
Edward Bagley.
Wm. Smith.
Thomas Percival.
Richard Maybank.
Christopher Blackwood.
Michael Head.
Francis Atherton.
Robert Boardman.
Lodowick Jackson.
John Bowden.
Jeremy Udall.
Thomas Butler.
John Baron.
Hugh Charnock.
John Hanbury.
Thomas Deane.
James Burrowes.
Henry Aston.
Michael Lincoln.

Total amount for the quarter ... £515 : 18 : 0

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of March and the 26th of June, 1680, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.
Nos. 412 and 453 inclusive.

Thomas Faux.
Richard Maybank.
Wm. Howard.
Edward Smith.
John Wright.
John Leonard.
Lawrence Smith.
Wm. Dennis.
Saml. Whitehorne.
Robert Edbrooke.
Francis Atherton.
Christopher Blackwood.
James Burrowes.
Henry Aston.
Micheal Head.
Wm. Smith.
John Bowden.
Tho. Butler.
Edward Collier.
Henry Moore.
John Davis.
John Harrison.
Isaac Ambrose.

John Vernon.
John Bowden.
Wm. Vaughan.
Wm. Dennis.
Jeremy Udall.
Wm. Barton.
Richard Faux.
Michael Lincoln
Christopher Crofts.
Tho. Willis.
Francis Dorman.
Robert Rogers.
James French.

Total amount for the quarter ... £737 : 0 : 0

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 27th of June and the 25th of September, 1680, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.
Nos. 454 and 567 inclusive.

Thomas Percival.
Nathaniel Willmore.
Wm. Dennis.
Luke Conley.
Tho. Willis.
Christopher Rye.
John Newenham.
Richard Maybank.
Jeremiah Berstow.
Edward Smith.
Robert Edbrooke.
Wm. Vaughan.
Robert Turner.
Thomas Faux.
John Leonard.
Wm. Hickman.
John Wright.
John Davis.
Thomas Preston.
Michael Lincoln.
Christopher Blackwood.
Peter Crainsborough.
Michael Head.
Thomas Brown.
John French.
Andrew Browne.
John Luxbury.
Robert Rogers.
Roger Turner.
Henry Nicoll.
William Barton.

John Hawkins.
Samuel Travers.
Edward Collier.
Richard Maybank.
William Howard.
Thomas Butler.
William Dennis.
Samuel Whitehorne.
James Travis.
John Bowden.
John Delap.
Thomas Preston.
John Moxon.
John Sharpe.
Robert Boardman.
Francis Atherton.
Isaac Holroyd.

Total amount for the quarter ...	£2038	11	8½

	£	s.	d.
Quarter ending 26th June, 1680	737	0	0
Quarter ending 26th March, 1680	515	18	0
Quarter ending 28th December, 1679	676	3	4
The total for the whole year ...	3967	13	0½

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 26th of September, and the 28th of December, 1680, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.
Nos. 568 and 606 inclusive.

John Bowden.
John Wright.
Wm. Vaughan.
John Leonard.
Richard Maybank.
Mich. Head.
Robert Boardman.
Isaac Holroyd.
Jerimy Udall.
James Neale.
Thomas Faux.
Wm. Barton.
Robert Edbrooke
Christopher Blackwood.
John Hanbury.
Samuel Whitehorne.
John Hammon.
Edward Collier.
Michael Lincoln.

Thomas Percival.
John Harrison.
William Dennis.
Richard Butler.
Patrick Moore.
James Travis.
John Vernon.
Edward Smith.

Total amount for the quarter £262 : 0 : 0

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 28th of December, 1680, and the 22nd of March, 1681, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.
Nos. 607 to 640 inclusive.

Wm. Barton.
Wm. Dennis.
Tho. Howard.
John Vernon.
Rich. Maybank.
Christopher Blackwood.
Michael Lincoln.
Tho. Preston.
Robt. Boardman.
Christopher Crofts.
Edward Collier.
Robert Edbrooke.
Thomas Poole.
John Vernon.
Mich. Head.
James Burrowes.
Thomas Faux.
Fra. Atherton.
John Hanbury.
John Bowden.
Richard Maybank.
Wm. Charneley.
Edward Smith.
John Wright.
Wm. Vaughan.
Thomas Percival.
Walter Yeadle.

Total amount for the quarter £559 : 12 : 8

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 26th of March and the 24th of June, 1681, with the amounts of the Licences for that quarter.
Nos. 641 and 693 inclusive.

Michael Head.
John Bowden.

Sam. Pudner.
John Vernon.
John Leonard.
Christopher Blackwood.
Robert Turner.
Michael Lincoln.
Thomas Faux.
Daniel Bowman.
Caleb Wade.
Jeremy Berstow.
Patrick Moore.
Ed. Collier.
Ed. Smith.
Thomas Poole.
Richard Butler.
John Wright.
James French.
Robt. Boardman.
Lawrence Warren.
Christopher Crofts.
Walter Udall.
James Crofts.
Richard Maybank.
Wm. Dennis.
Abraham Smith.
Wm. Smart.
Patrick Moore.
Wm. Vaughan.
Pierce Grimes.
Henry Aston.
John Harrison.
Thomas Willis.
Richard Stephens.
Abraham Smith.

Total amounts for the quarter £946 : 2 : 6

Names of Licencees between the dates of the 2nd of July and the 30th of September, 1681, with the amounts of Licences for that quarter.

Nos. 694 and 770 inclusive

Edward Smith.
Wm. Dennis.
Michael Lincoln.
Charles Brookes.
Andrew Miller.
Edward Collier.
John Harrison.
John Wright.
Thomas Percival.
Thomas Willis.

Thomas Preston.
Nicholas Latham.
Robert Ball.
James Burrowes.
Thomas Barnard.
Patrick Moore.
Robert Boardman.
Isaac Holroyd.
Henry Smith.
Samuel Whitehorne.
Abraham Smith.
John Harrison.
William Vaughan.
Christopher Blackwood.
Joseph Pike.
Richard Maybank.
Luke Conley.
Nathaniel Willmore.
John Vernon.
John Hanbury.
John Bowden.
Thomas Willis.
Anthony Sharpe.
Robert Rogers.
Edward Pomeroy.
Michael Head.
John Delap.
Christopher Crofts.
Charles Brookes.
Richard Gray.
John Sharpe.
Jeremy Berstow.
William Barton.
John Leonard.

Total amount for the quarter £1,385 : 2 : 8

£	s.	d.
1385 :	2 :	8
946 :	2 :	6
559 :	12 :	8
655 :	0 :	0
3545 :	17 :	10

The year ending the last day of September, 1681.

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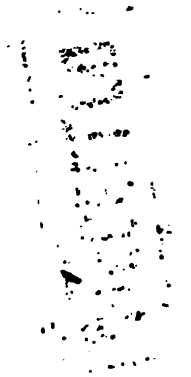
	Ditto. Dean and Chapter of Wells -	,,	[C.2810]	[*In the Press.*]
	Ditto. Earl of Ancaster - - -	,,		[*In the Press.*]
	Ditto—Various Collections. Vol. IV. - Bishop of Salisbury; Bishop of Exeter; Dean and Chapter of Exeter; City of Salisbury, etc.	,,		[*In the Press*]
	Calendar of Stuart MSS.; belonging to H.M. the King. Vol. III.	,,		[*In the Press.*]



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